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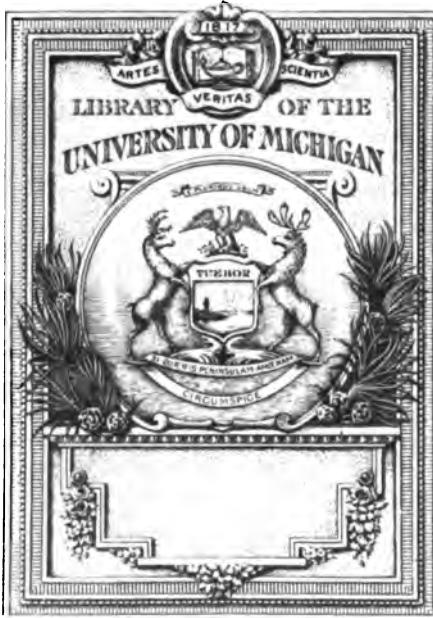
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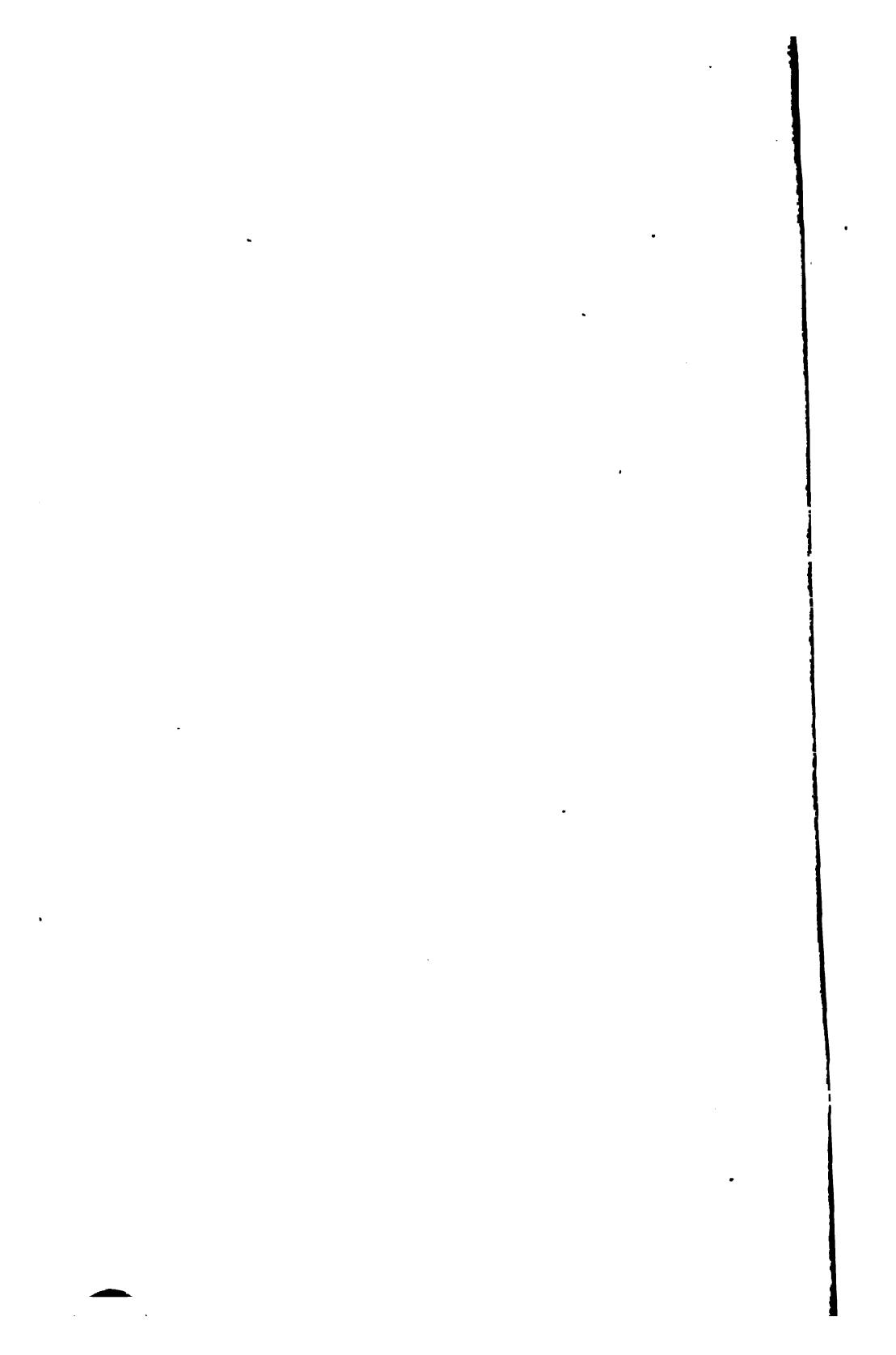
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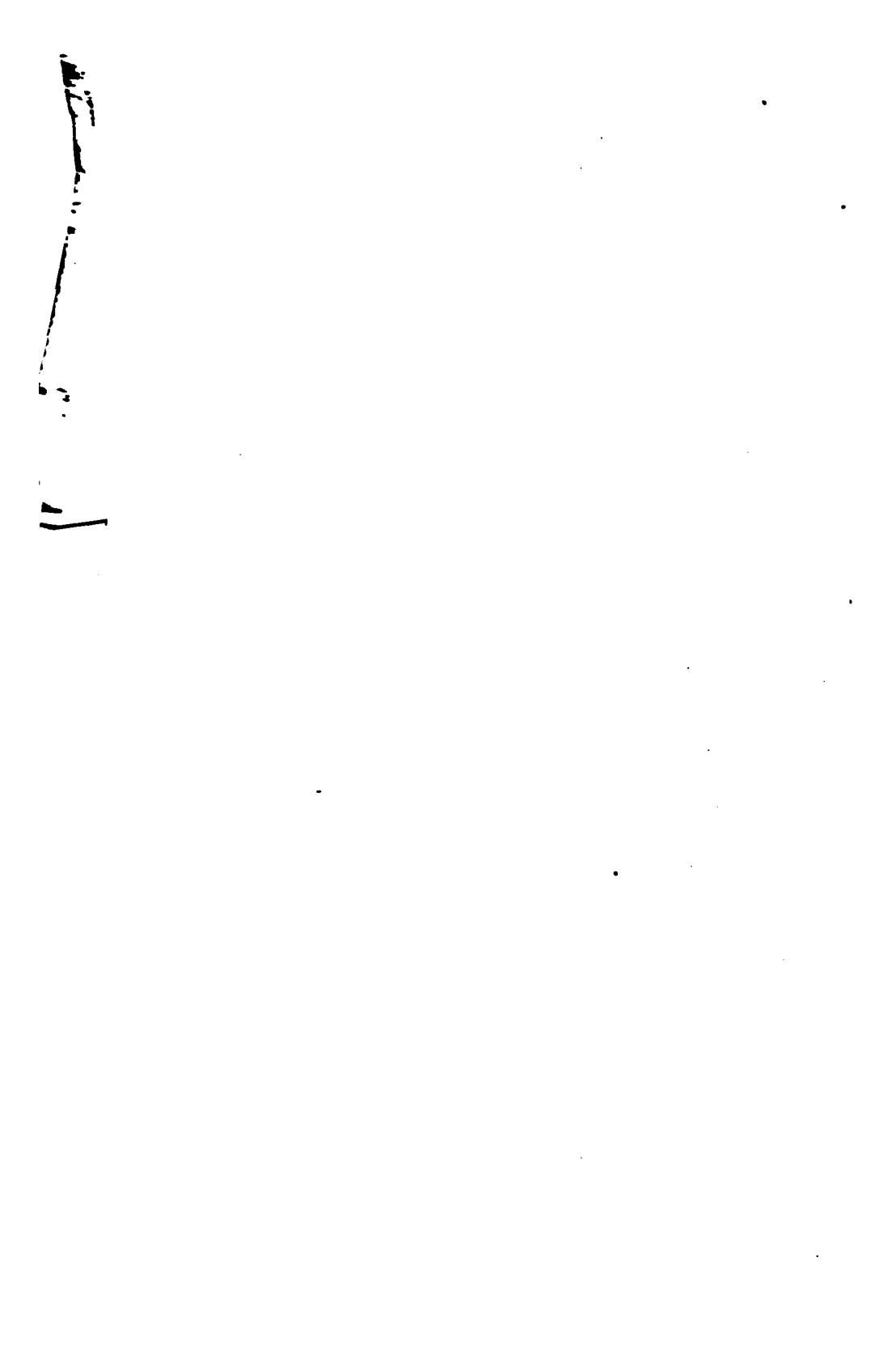


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Reformed church review

THE

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VOLUME II.—1850.

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MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

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VOL. II.—NO. I.

THE NEW CREATION IN CHRIST.

THERE are many valuable thoughts in the article of Prof. Schaff, though some of his declarations seem to us to savor of the transcendental. The affirmation he makes that "the Lord is perpetually born anew in the hearts of believers," sounds strangely to our ears. That his image is created there is indeed true, but that the Lord is born there, is not the teaching of the Bible. Again: "The commencement," he says, "of Church History, is strictly the incarnation of the Son of God, or the entrance of the new principle of light and life into humanity." The incarnation of the Son of God is plain enough, but what is this "new principle of light and life?" And what "new principle" has there been in humanity since the incarnation, that was not in it before that event.—*N. Y. Observer*, Sept. 8, 1848.

THIS paragraph occurs in a short notice of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for August, the first article of which is a masterly Introduction to Church History from Prof. Schaff. It is significantly characteristic of the system of thinking it represents, and furnishes fit occasion, in such view, for a few remarks.

Here is some approach to a determination of what we are to understand by that most ambiguous term "*transcendentalism*," in the popular vocabulary. It savors of the transcendental, we are told, to say that "the Lord is perpetually born anew in the hearts of believers," or that the mystery of the incarnation in-

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volves "the entrance of a new principle of light and life into humanity." Very well. Let us now look a little into the matter.

The first expression, says the critic, sounds strangely in our ears. The *image* of Christ is created in the hearts of believers, but not the Lord himself, according to the Bible. The image of Christ, then, as formed in believers, is something quite distinct, in the mind of the critic, from the living substance of Christ himself. It bears merely an outward resemblance to him, under a wholly independent form of being; it is the picture morally of his holy mind and character, but carries in it no participation whatever in his very nature. It is related to him, not as the branch to the vine, but only as a mechanical transcript or copy to the original object it is employed to represent. Christ stands in the world solitary and alone. He has made it possible, however, for men to obtain forgiveness with God, and then to be formed by the Holy Ghost and their own endeavors into a new religious life, the type of which is set before them in his person as an outward model. This process involves a new creation; for it is wrought in part, at least, by the creative *fiat* of God's Spirit; but in the end, it is a new creation that belongs in an immediate and exclusive way, to each single believer for himself. It is no reproduction in him of the new creation already at hand in Christ; the Spirit calls into being within him, not the force of what is in Christ himself fontally for the salvation of the world, but the image or picture of this, simply under another form. This, we say, seems to be the meaning which underlies the criticism here in view. The opposite idea, which makes the new life in believers to hold in organic continuity with Christ's life, is set down as transcendentalism. To make it an abstraction, a thing of sheer thought, an abruptly miraculous *image*, is counted to be common sense; and the Bible, we are gravely assured, teaches no other view.

Thus it is that the school here represented, is ever ready to run away with the Bible, in a wholesale way, as though it must of necessity be all on their side, just because with their *preconceived system of thought* it carries to themselves such sense and no other. Multitudes, in all ages, have read the sense of the Bible differently; but that weighs nothing with this school; no judgment is allowed to be of any force, in the case, against its own. "This is not the teaching of the Bible," cries the infallible critic; as though *his* dictum in such style must end the matter; and there it is made to stop. We should have been glad to see something more, in this line of argument, a true appeal to the sacred oracles themselves. The subject is certainly deserving of such attention. It goes to the very foundation of Christianity. Is it

a doctrine only or a fact? Is it a new creation in Christ, or is it a divinely wrought image of that only *out of Christ*? The question is worthy of something more than a magisterial wave of the hand, after the summary fashion of the criticism here in view.

The Bible as we read it, and as it has been read by millions of God's saints from the beginning, and we will add too, according to the most profoundly scientific exegesis of the present time, *does* teach broadly and clearly the very mystery which this critic proclaims to be transcendentalism, sounding strangely to his ears. The charge of disregarding it falls of right on himself and his widely influential school, and not on Professor Schaff. Has he never read the Gospel of St. John, in which, according to the judgment of the universal Church, the inmost and deepest sense of Christianity is revealed, and by which, accordingly, all the other Gospels are to be explained and made complete? Could it well be more explicitly affirmed, than it is here affirmed in fact, in the very beginning of this Gospel, that it is the *Life* of the Word which is the source of light and salvation to men, and that the Word became flesh to make room for its actual entrance into our fallen nature, as the fountain of a new creation? "Of his *fullness* have all we received" (John i. 16). We become sons of God, by union with him in a supernatural way. Let Christ be apprehended as the central bearer of the new creation, whose universal *fullness* is made to reach over in the form of grace and truth, (not law but life,) into the souls of his people, and the sublime representation of St. John is simple and clear. Resolve the Christian salvation into an outward image only of Christ, wrought either with or without God's help, and the representation is blind as chaos. The beginning of the Gospel, too, is only in harmony with the idea that fills it throughout. It is not only a text or two, here and there, that admits the sense now urged, by violent and doubtful construction. Such men as Ols hausen and Tholuck, find this sense in every chapter; and it is only by the most forced and unnatural exegesis, that commentators of the Rationalistic school have been able at all to keep it out of sight. Everywhere Christ speaks of himself, or is regarded by the sacred writer, as the living fountain of the salvation he reveals. He is the resurrection and the life. To have the Son, is to have life. The sixth chapter is as strong as words can make it, in asserting the real participation of believers in the life of Christ. Except we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, we have no life; this involves eternal life, and a resurrection at the last day; it is to dwell in Christ, and have him dwell in us; to live by him, as he lives by or from the Father (John vi. 53-58.).

Is this simply to have his *image* formed in us, as something in no organic connection with his person? And what shall we say of his own beautiful emblem of the vine and its branches, employed John xv. 1-8, to represent this mystical union? Is the life of the vine not also the life of its branch? Is the last only like the first, a picture of it under a wholly separate form? Could any representation more forcibly show, that "the Lord is perpetually born anew in the hearts of believers," that his life is reproduced in their life, that their formation into his image involves an inward adoration also into the very substance of his mediatorial person? We might refer also to the startling language employed on this subject in his last prayer, John xvii. 21-23; but we forbear.

Nor is this view of the new life confined to St. John. It comes before us also in the more dialectical thinking of St. Paul. No idea is more familiar with him, than that by which Christ and his people are regarded as being joined together in the power of a common life; which, as such, of course, starts from him as its source, and is carried over to them by real organic derivation. He is the head, and they are the members, of the same mystical body. This image is ever at hand in his mind, to express their union. Can it possibly mean less than an actual participation of one side, in the living substance of the other? In this character of Christ's body, the Church is declared to be "the fullness of him that filleth all in all" (Eph. i. 23); which plainly signifies something far more than an outward merely moral relationship, however strict and close. Everywhere again, and under all varieties of expression, believers are spoken of as being *in Christ*. One or two instances of such language might bear, possibly, to be resolved into a strong figure of speech; although we should feel it a strange hyperbole, indeed, to speak even twice or once of the patriots of the American Revolution, as being *in General Washington*. But in the case before us, the instances are not one or two only; we meet them on every page; the very frequency and familiarity of their occurrence, serves to blind us to the true and proper force of the phraseology. The foundation of the phraseology with St. Paul, and the sacred writers generally, is beyond all doubt the sense of such a union between Christ and his people, as actually inserts them spiritually into the substance of his life. They are a new creation (*καὶ νέη κτίσις*, II. Cor. v. 17,) in Christ Jesus; not a new creation out of him and beyond him, by the fiat of omnipotence, bearing some resemblance to him in a wholly different sphere; but a new creation, whose original seat and fountain is Christ's own person, and which conveys over to them, accordingly, with true reproductive force, the vitality which belongs to it in this form. This does not imply that the believer can be all that Christ is; much less

that he can be thus complete in any separate view. Christ is the central person, in whom is the fullness of life for the whole world; his people are made complete only by being comprehended relatively in this fullness; as all the other points of a circle are made what they are, by real dependence on the centre of it, and not by bringing the centre, as such, over into themselves. The union here, is indeed spiritual; it is wrought by the Holy Ghost; but the realness and inwardness of it are, on this account, only the more sure. It is the spiritual being of the believer, his personality, his intelligence and will, (which in the end, however, must determine the quality of the entire man,) that are poised on Christ as a perpetual living centre. "Christ liveth in me," says Paul, "and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. ii. 20). "In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and ye are *complete in him*" Col. ii. 9, 10; your life, in other words, is made perfect, finds its true end and sense, in union with him, as the universal centre of the vast spiritual organism of Christianity. It is, in truth, Christ's *image*, that is formed in the souls of his people; but not a dead image; not an outward image; not such an image as is cut off in full from the object it represents, and comes before us as a quite different thing. It is "Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col. i. 27); Christ, who is our life" (Col. iii. 4); Christ that dwells in our hearts by faith (Eph. iii. 17); Christ formed with birth travail into our persons, (ἀπεισοῦ μορφωσῆ, Χριστὸς ἐν μέσῳ, Gal. iv. 19); the very thought which the critic of the New York Observer pronounces transcendentalism sounding strangely to his ears. The image of Christ thus born into his people, is like that of the vine in its branches, the power of his own life continuing itself over organically into their persons. He is the beginning of the new creation, the first-born from the dead; not as the outward cause of it simply, or its outward model; but as its principle and fonsal spring; the whole flows forth really from his person (Cor. i. 15-18). Thus it is, that his life repeats itself in believers; their salvation is carried forward by a mystical reproduction in them of the grand facts of his history; he is born in them, suffers in them, dies in them, rises in them from the dead, and ascends in them to the right hand of God in heaven. This bold thought, as we all know, abounds in all Paul's writings. Our baptism buries us into Christ's death; our old man is crucified with him; we are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God who hath raised him from the dead (Rom. vi. 4-6; Col. ii. 12, 13). The sufferings of believers are the sufferings of Christ; they fill up that which is behind

of these last, carry onward the sense and value of them in the world, for the sake of his body, the Church (2 Cor. i. 5; iv. 10, 11; Phil. iii. 10; Col. i. 24). In virtue of the living bond, which unites the members with the head, even that which is still future in their case, is at times spoken of as past ; they are not only called and justified, but are glorified also in Christ, as potentially secure of all that is comprised in his resurrection (Rom. viii. 29, 30). They are quickened, raised up, and made to sit together with him in heavenly places (Eph. ii. 5, 6). Their citizenship is in heaven ; their life hid with Christ in God, and destined by its full relation hereafter, to change even their present vile bodies into the glorious image of his own (Phil. iii. 20, 21; Col. iii. 3, 4). His spirit dwelling in them now, shall in due time quicken even their mortal bodies into immortality (Rom. viii. 11). His resurrection is the guaranty and pledge of theirs, works itself out to its last result only in their recovery from the grave (Rom. viii. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 20-23, 45-49; 1 Thess. iv. 14).

But why should we go on to multiply proofs in this way, for what no unsophisticated reader of the New Testament surely will pretend to deny ? What can the New Testament be said to teach at all, if it do not teach the fact of the mystical union, the true and actual formation of Christ's life into the souls of his people ? Men may get rid of this teaching, if they choose, by wilfully turning the whole of it into barren metaphor and figure. But it is with a very bad grace they then turn round and say : *We go by the Bible.* The same system of interpretation, with less than half the same trouble, might set aside every text that is usually quoted in favor of the Trinity. The question of election, the question of the perseverance of the saints, and many other questions made to be of primary account in one orthodox system or another, are of far less clear representation in the Bible, than this view of the Christian salvation, as involving "Christ in us the hope of glory." Nor is it, by any means, of new acknowledgment in the Church, however strange and transcendental it may now sound to *some* "evangelical" ears. It runs through the universal theology of the old Christian Fathers. It forms the key-note to the deepest piety of the Middle Ages. It animates the faith of all the Reformers. Luther and Calvin both proclaim it, in terms that should put to shame the rationalism of later times, pretending to follow them, and yet casting the mystery to the winds.

We pass on to the second point, presented in this criticism. The incarnation, we are told, is plain enough ; but the critic is at a loss to make anything out of the "new principle of light and life," which it is supposed to introduce into humanity ; and

asks, what new principle has been in it since the incarnation, which was not in it before.

His own idea of the incarnation is, plainly, that it did not enter into the organization of the world at all, as a fact of permanent force. Probably he has no sense whatever of this organization, as a vast whole completing itself in man, and thus reaching forward as a single historical process from the beginning of the world to its end. This too, he would take to "savor of the transcendental." The world is for him neither organism nor history, but a vast sand-heap, in which men are thrown together outwardly, to be formed for eternity as so many separate units, each perfect and complete by itself. The incarnation, of course, in such view, becomes one of these naked units only, the man Jesus mysteriously made God for himself alone, an abstraction that comes into no real connection with our general humanity beyond the limits of his person. He stands in the world a mere theophany; not of a few hours only, as in the days of Abraham, but of thirty-three years; a sublime avatar, fantastically paraded thus long before men's eyes, only to be translated afterwards to heaven, and continued there, (for the imagination,) in no real union with the world's life whatever. This, thus left behind by the transient apparition, pursues precisely its old course, including in its living stream nothing more than has belonged to it from the beginning. The incarnation, under such Gnostic view, is taken to be "plain enough;" while to conceive of it as a new principle of light and life for the world, seems a flight clear over the horizon of common sense.

But now; in the full face again of all this abstract thinking, we affirm that it finds no countenance or support whatever in the Bible. According to the first chapter of Genesis, the world is an organic whole, which completes itself in man; and humanity is regarded throughout as a single grand fact, which is brought to pass, not at once, but in the way of history, unfolding always more and more its true interior sense, and reaching onward towards its final consummation. The Jewish dispensation had respect to the wants of the universal world, and was intended from the beginning, to make room for the coming of Christ; which took place, accordingly, at last, when the "fullness of the time was come," (Gal. iv. 4,) "in the wisdom of God," (1 Cor. i. 21,) and "according to the riches of his grace, wherein he hath abounded, toward us in all wisdom and prudence" (Eph. i. 7-10). The incarnation, in this view, was no passing theophany or avatar. It was the form, in which the sense of all previous history came finally to its magnificent outlet. This outlet, however, when it did come, involved a great deal more than was comprehended

in the actual constitution of the world, the living human world, as it stood before; for it was brought to pass by the real union of the everlasting Word with our fallen life. The mystery of the incarnation had been coming through four thousand years; still the *coming* was not the presence of the fact itself; as little as the aurora which gilds the eastern heavens may be taken for the full orb'd splendors of the risen sun. Christ is the sense of all previous history, the grand terminus towards which it was urged from the beginning; while in this very character, at the same time, he brings into union with it a new divine force, which was not in it before, though required from the first to make it complete. He is the true basis thus of the period going before, as well as of the period that follows. Two conceptions, in this way, enter jointly into the idea of the incarnation, as it challenges our faith throughout the New Testament. First, it is a fact which unites itself really with the living constitution, the actual concrete and organic history, of the world, as it existed previously; it was no phantasm, no spectrum, no abstract symbol only played off to the eyes of men supernaturally for the space of thirty-three years. Secondly, however, it is in this form a new creation; not the continuation simply of the old, but the introduction into this of a higher life, (the Word made flesh,) which all its powers, as they stood previously, were inadequate to reach. Can there be any doubt, in regard to the scriptural authority of *both* these conceptions? They form the poles of the universal christian consciousness, as it starts in the Apostles' Creed. They rule the whole process of theology in the Church, from the beginning, in opposition to Gnostic supernaturalism on the one hand, and Ebionitic naturalism on the other. Both are presented to us from every page of the New Testament. Christianity, shorn of either, falls at once to the ground. To make Christ an intrinsic result simply, or an extrinsic accident only, for the old creation, is to go full in the face of the whole Bible. He *must* be all or nothing here; the deepest and most central fact of the world, or no fact at all; the alpha and omega of humanity, or no part of humanity whatever.

To say that no "new principle of light and life" was introduced into the world by the incarnation, that the world carried in its constitution, before Christ came, all that is carried in it since, is virtually to deny the incarnation altogether; for it overthrows the historical centrality of the fact, and, indeed, thrusts it quite out of the process of history. The fact, in this view, ceases to be *immanent* to the economy of our universal human life, lies on the outside of it, comes to no real union with it in any way. Surely this is not Christianity. The Word, eternally with the Father, says John, became flesh in Christ, and so joined itself

through him with our fallen nature. This he holds to be plainly the Fact of all facts, the *cardo* of the world's life, the pillar that upholds at last the entire sense of the moral universe. "The law came by Moses; but grace and truth by Jesus Christ." I baptize you, cries the Baptist, (himself greater than all the Old Testament prophets, and yet less than the least in the kingdom of heaven, Math. xi. 11,) with water only; he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire. So Christ himself everywhere claims to be, not the oracle simply of truth and life in force before, but the *principle* of truth and life made real for the world wholly and only by himself. The Spirit fell upon him, at his baptism, in full measure, to find way through him and from him subsequently to the whole family of the redeemed (Math. iii. 16; John vii. 39; Acts i. 4, 5; ii. 1-4). He is the organ of living communication between earth and heaven, the central point where they are first fairly united into one (John i. 51). He is the real presence in the world, of what had been proclaimed before in the way of shadow only and word (John i. 18; Math. v. 17, 18; Heb. ix. 8-12, &c., &c.). He is no moon merely to reflect, like the prophets before him, a simply borrowed light, but according to his own word, the very sun of the spiritual world, (John viii. 12,) and so, of course, a fountain and principle of light for it in his own person. He is the well of salvation, (John iv. 14; vii. 37, 38,) the manna of immortality, (John vi. 49-51,) the victory itself in which is swallowed up all the power of the grave (John v. 21-25; xi. 25, 26). He is the principle thus of *life*, as well as of light; the one indeed involving the other. He hath life *in himself*, faintly, (John v. 26,) for the use of the world. His life is the light of men (John i. 4). A new order of things is proclaimed, as coming into force especially with his resurrection and glorification. Cast into the ground, he becomes the seed of a vast harvest (John, xii. 24). Lifted up from the earth, he is the nucleus of a new humanity (John xii. 32). His entrance into glory opens the windows of heaven and allows free egress for the powers of his own higher life to go forth into the general stream of human history, by the Church, as never in all ages before (John vii. 39; Mark xvi. 15-18; John xiv. 16-20, &c., &c.).

Need we say, that Paul again abounds everywhere with the same thought, in his own way? Beyond all question, he saw in Christ a new principle of light and life for the human race. In no other view, is his language at all intelligible. Christ is for him the "second Adam," more intimately related to the race, as its base and centre, than the first (Rom. v. 12-15; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22, 45-49). He is in this character a "quickenning spirit (πνεῦ-

με ζωονοῦντα); second in order of time, but first in the depth and inwardness of his representative life. He is the great mystery of humanity, hid from ages and from generations, but at last made manifest to his saints (Col. i. 26, 27); "that in the dispensation of the fullness of times, God might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth" (Eph. i. 9, 10); "to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known, by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God" (Eph. iii. 9, 10). He is our peace; the medium of our reconciliation with God; the source thus of a new order of consciousness, in which all previous antagonisms are brought to an end (Eph. ii. 14-22). He is the universal solvent, through whose force the elements of the ethical world are subdued and constituted into new form (Gal. iii. 26-28; 1 Cor. iii. 21-23). Christianity in this view is a new creation, greater and more glorious than the first (Col. i. 16-18). All moral relations come, *in Christ*, to new significance and force. He is such a real fountain of freedom and power, as never was in the world before. What the law could not do, being weak through the flesh, (Rom. viii. 3, 4,) is accomplished by the mystery of the incarnation; the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, sets men free from the law of sin and death. He is himself, our righteousness and life, (1 Cor. i. 30,) *in whom* we have redemption through his blood, (Eph. i. 7,) and *by whom* we have received the atonement (Rom. v. 11). He has abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light (2 Tim. i. 10). He is the foundation of the Church; it starts in his person; its whole magnificent structure serves only to reveal the full force of the mystery of godliness here brought into view, (1 Tim. iii. 15, 16,) the riches of the glory of God's inheritance in the saints, and the exceeding greatness of his power towards them that believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him on his own right hand in the heavenly places (Eph. i. 18-20).

Again, however, we forbear. The difficulty is not to find proofs in the New Testament for the position here called in question, but to make room for them and set them in order. They crowd into view from every side. The idea of a new creation flowing from Christ, and actually lodging in the constitution of the world the force and power of a divine life which was not in it before, may be said to underlie, as a tacit assumption at least, every portion of the evangelical record. To our ears it sounds strangely, we confess, to hear this view of Christianity called in question by any who pretend to follow the Bible as their rule and guide. If the incarnation wrought no change in the spirit-

ual posture of the world, but left it in its relations, capacities and powers, just what it was from the beginning, we may well ask with trembling anxiety: In what then did it consist, and what force has it for our salvation? Could the mystery be real, if it brought no real difference into our life? Can we rationally admit at all the entrance of the Eternal Word into the organism of humanity, if the fact be so taken as to involve no modification still of its previous state, no entrance into it at the same time of a new principle of light and life? The question is not, of course, whether the human world out of Christ remains what it was before; but whether that part of it which is comprehended in Christ, and which forms thus the true central stream of its history, has not come to be filled with new substance and sense. The new creation holds in the bosom of the Church and not beyond it; but it holds there, at the same time, as the inmost substantial sense of humanity itself, the form in which it is required to become universally complete. Christianity, so far as it prevails, is the actual elevation of our general life into a higher sphere of existence. History is made to possess contents by it, which had no place in it before. The possibility of a real and full solution of the problem of man's life, hangs on the actual coming of Christ in the flesh (1 John v. 4, 5, 11, 12, 20). By this, humanity is made complete. He brings into it light, life and immortality, is himself the principle, and fountain, and immediate ground of all this, in the constitution it receives through his person. Just here is the broad chasm, which separates between all rationalism and the true christian faith. The Unitarian sees in Christ only an outward teacher, who accomplishes our salvation by his excellent doctrine and holy example. Does it, however, alter the case materially, to allow the mystery of the incarnation, and yet turn it into an outward *occasion* only in the service of the same end? If Christ be no *principle* of life for humanity, if he be not in truth the power of a new creation in its constitution, it follows necessarily that it needs nothing of this sort for its redemption. This is at once Pelagianism.

Let us not be told then, that it savors of the transcendental, and contradicts the Bible, to say that "the Lord is perpetually born anew in the hearts of believers," and that Christ is the "principle of a new creation" for the human race. It savors sadly of the *rationalistic*, to have any other view; and we may well be amazed, to find such skepticism placidly arrogating to itself the title *evangelical*, as its own special distinction, and boldly underpinning its want of faith with the pretended wholesale authority of the Bible. Unitarianism plants itself too on the "teaching of the Bible," with quite as much reason, and full as good a grace.

J. W. N.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY—THE INDIANS.

Preliminary Remarks.

We now leave China and pass over to the history of India. But it is necessary to premise that our attention will be exclusively occupied with its western division, or as it is now called, Hindostan. Chin-India, or Farther India, and the Indian islands, have never been the theatre of any eminent historical exploits. As their inhabitants never contributed to the growth of society, or the advance of civilization, we pass them by without any further notice. Those nations alone have a valid claim on our consideration which had a character peculiar to themselves, or exerted a controlling influence on the world in a political, scientific, artistic and religious way.

Geographical Outline.

The mighty peninsula of India, like Italy, in Europe, stretches its immense surface southward towards the Indian Ocean. Its southern portion, known in history by the name of Decan, and forming the peninsula proper, is surrounded by water, and occupies a naturally isolated position. Its northern portion, which is traversed by two large rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, extends to the base of the Sclyma and Himmaleh mountains. Its natural qualities and geographical features are distinguished by their grandeur and by their variety. Its scenery is sublime and enchanting. Surrounded by the Arabian sea and the Indian ocean, irrigated by two noble streams which pour their fertilizing inundations over a vast extent of territory, embracing within its bounds the declivities of three mountain ranges, and well-watered plains of unvaried riches and unbounded luxuriance, wild, ferocious animals, it possesses an unexampled power of vegetation, tall, majestic forests, stately palms, aromatic shrubs, and every variety of natural productions in rich abundance. In this country so admirably adapted for the cultivation of a civilization peculiarly its own, have flourished from the earliest periods on record, a remarkable race, whose history is well worthy of our notice. Hindostan extends somewhat above twenty-four hundred miles from north to south, in breadth about fifteen hundred miles from east to west.

Influence of these Geographical Relations.

In India as well as in China, the physical configuration of the country has left its impress clearly printed upon the character of its inhabitants. The surface of China presents a uniform aspect; its social, political, intellectual and religious spirit is marked by a tedious sameness, never strives to surmount the culture it has already attained. Not so with India. An endless diversity is the main feature of its geography. Nature seems to have been determined to favor Hindostan with all the innumerable forms of her beautiful life. Here the most opposite extremes that can possibly exist on the surface of our planet, meet and extend to each other the hand of friendship. Her face wears a continually changing aspect. India is split into several distinct divisions, differing in formation and appearance. In the north and in Decan, the rivers run in totally different directions; chains of lofty mountains, large, extended tablelands, deep fruitful valleys, uninhabited deserts and unhealthy marshes, are scattered over the country. Its surface never presents an even, harmonious appearance, but is broken into numerous sections, each marked by particular features. The Indians likewise have not the same character throughout, but seem to correspond to the special locality they severally inhabit. An intense individuality approaching to egotism, which spurns intercourse with foreigners, marks their character.

History of the Indians.

The history of Hindostan divides itself naturally into three principal periods. As for many centuries past it has made no real advancement in civilization, we will pursue the same course we took with China, and delineate its history from its beginning down to the present day, confining ourselves to the most important facts.

The First Period.

1600 B. C.—327 B. C.

Of the character and civilization of the people who are said to have inhabited India previous to the year 1600, as well as of the chronological tables used by Indian historians, we possess no satis-

factory accounts. It is a fact, however, authenticated by indubitable evidence, that about this time a powerful race descended from the Northern mountains and subjugated the country. Of the fabulous accounts which obscure the records of these early times, we will only mention the supposed invasion of Semiramis, the celebrated queen of Assyria and Bactria, during the reign of the Indian monarch Stabrobates (in Sancrit, *Stha vara pati*, lord of the world). It was recorded by Ctesias, a Grecian author, who imagined that it occurred in the year 2000 B. C. The account of the victorious march of Sesostris, who is said to have overrun entire India, rests throughout on no historical probability whatever. The annals both of India and Egypt, contain no notice of these expeditions; nor have modern researches thrown any light upon the subject.

Beside other weighty considerations, which seem to prove that India came into contact with the western world at any early period, the Scriptural account of the commerce carried on by the Phœnicians and Jews, in the time of Solomon, with Ophir, and a few expressions to be found in the writings of Homer, point most clearly to an acquaintance with the Sancrit language and India.* It may be affirmed with considerable certainty, that the Indians, though they never travelled beyond the bounds of their native land, carried on, nevertheless, a considerable commerce with the Phœnicians, 1000 B. C., whose enterprising spirit led them forth from their homes to explore distant countries.

On account of the scarcity of authentic sources of information, our knowledge of the first period of Indian history, which extends to the year 327 B. C., when Alexander the Great invaded the country, is exceedingly limited. Every truly important historical occurrence proceeded from the activity of the Arier or Sancrit people, who had abandoned their abodes in the northern mountains and conquered India. During this period, the division of the inhabitants into four orders, or castes, took its rise. The manner of its origin is

* REMARK.—The word *xaσσιτερος*, for example, in Homer, is closely allied to the Sancrit *Kastiza*. Besides, the length of the voyage to and from Phœnicia, as described in the Bible, favors the supposition that Ophir was situated in India. On the western coast of India was situated a city similar in sound to the name Ophir. In addition to all this, it must be borne in mind, that in the Coptic dialect, India is always called Sophir.

involved in darkness. About the year 540 B. C., died Gauthama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism.

In the present state of historical knowledge, it is impossible to determine the peculiar character of this religious system. It sprung up in opposition to the hierachial tendencies and doctrines of Brahminism ; its object was, to reform the existing religious condition of the country. It reached the height of its prosperity and glory about the year 240 B. C. The Persian kings, Cyrus and Darius, undertook the conquest of India, but without any decided success. Their dominion extended over a very small portion of the country. No important results were occasioned by their efforts to subjugate it. Their invasions may be regarded as so many preparations for the victorious career of Alexander the Great.

Second Period.

327 B. C.—1000 A. D.

The invasion of India by Alexander the Great, constitutes a remarkable epoch in its history. His own ambitious spirit, which aimed at the conquest of the then known world, urged him to attempt the subjugation of a country that had baffled the energies of his predecessors. At the solicitation of the Indian king, Taxiles, or Tacshailas, who was at enmity with his neighbors, he commenced his march. As Western India was torn by violent dissensions and its power weakened, Alexander found no difficulty in penetrating beyond the Indus to the river Hyphasis, now called Sutledge. On the banks of the Hydaspes, he was vigorously assailed by Porus, or Phoor, who had collected an army of the bravest men India could furnish. His soldiers terrified by the extensive desert which it was necessary to pass in order to reach the Ganges, mutinied. Alexander was compelled to return. He sent his fleet down the Indus, and returned himself to the West by a long and laborious march through immense deserts.

After his death, his successors unfortunately dismembered his extensive empire. The Indian possessions—the precise number of which we cannot tell—which his bravery had acquired, were neglected. Internal distractions gradually consumed the political strength of the nation. A state of disorder ensued. Ambitious individuals, whose only interest was self-aggrandizement, watched the opportunity for seizing the reins of government. One of them, by name

Chandragupta, more bold than the rest—whose history, however, is so intermingled by fabulous accounts, and so variously represented by Brahminical and Buddhist writers, who mutually contradict each other, that nothing certain about his life is known beyond the date of his reign, 300 B. C.—usurped the throne. He is said to have commenced his march at Penjab, to have traversed the whole of India, and provoked Seleucus, king of Syria, to undertake an expedition against himself, which resulted in no important consequences. Recently discovered coins prove beyond doubt, that several smaller kingdoms, founded originally by Grecian immigrants, continued to flourish in the middle of the second century before the Christian era. But now the power of the Indian nation was effectually broken. Its shattered condition occasioned irruptions, (2 B. C.) which it could not withstand, by nomadic tribes from the north and north-east, and by the Sakas, a Scythian nation, who succeeded in establishing a new and extensive kingdom in North India. But though externally harrassed by barbarous enemies, India, under the moulding influences of Grecian thought, revived its true spirit by a vigorous and successful cultivation of science. During this period, Sancrit literature attained to an unusual height of prosperity and glory. Great praise must be awarded to Greece, so insignificant in political magnitude, but infinitely superior to all other nations in the achievements of Science and Art. Her influence at this time did not only arouse to fresh activity the dormant energies of the Orient, but was engaged in obtaining a complete mental victory over the Romans who had destroyed her political independence.

The kingdom of the Sakas was of short duration. Internal feuds hurried it to ruin. It was subverted by Vicramaditya, 56 B. C. His reign had been made immortal by the most brilliant achievements of India art and science. Indian literature burst forth in its richest bloom. The circumstances of the age were extremely favorable to the growth of thought. Brahminism, which had for some years past lost its influence, was resuscitated, and again became the predominant religion of the country. But the intellectual bloom of this period soon withered. Fresh hordes who extended their dominion to Benares on the Ganges, broke in from the north, and interrupted the progress of the country. A time of gradual internal dissolution follows; a host of petty dynasties spring up in the lesser kingdoms. Here the thread of our narrative is broken. Various contradictory

statements concerning the condition of this period, render a true account of it almost impossible. Pliny, the celebrated Roman historian, gives an account of an important commercial intercourse between Rome and India, 50 A. D. In the year 80 A. D., Salivahana succeeded to the throne. During his reign, India carried on some trade with China. The character of this king is so beclouded with fabulous myths, that it is absolutely impossible to perceive the truth they may contain. A long period now ensues of which we have no satisfactory account. But it is certain that in the north an extensive Cashmere empire was established, while the rest of India was divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms. Bardesanus, of Babylon, who set out on a travelling expedition from Rome, in the year 220 A. D., gives us some valuable information respecting them. After the supremacy of the Scythians in India had been abolished, the new Persian empire of the Sassanide took forcible possession of a portion of Indian territory. From this time onward, through a long series of years, we are not able to trace with exact precision the course of Indian history. With the rise of Mohammedanism, which in the seventh century spread from Arabia over the Eastern world, a new epoch begins. At this juncture, when a crisis in the condition of India had arrived, no person could be found strong enough to hold the reins of government with a firm and steady hand. The distractions which now agitated the nation from one extremity to the other, prepared the way for the victory of Mohammedanism.

Third Period.

711 A. D.—the present day.

During this period, India fell into the hands of foreign powers. The Mohamedans, in particular, committed extensive depredations, plundered province after province, and planted the Crescent so firmly, that succeeding ages acknowledged its claims. Amid these vicissitudes of fortune, the peculiarities of Indian character remained unchanged.

It would lead us too far beyond our prescribed limits, to describe in detail the conflicts which terminated at last in the complete supremacy of Mohammedanism. It stretched its dominion from Golconda to the East Indian sea, and curtailed the power of the kings to such an extent, that very few sovereigns in the sixteenth century

exercised an independent sway. The Portuguese, on the other hand, began to extend their domains by the settlement of colonies along the coasts of India, but were not able to retain the possessions they had usurped. Their expulsion was hastened by the pernicious operation of the iniquitous government they had introduced. What a deficiency of moral power could not effect, they tried to accomplish by the tortures of the Inquisition. In the year 1600, the English, and in 1602, the Hollandish East India companies were instituted. The English taking advantage of the weakness of India, occasioned by internal feuds, which were conducted by the warlike Mahrattas against the great Mogul, gradually established a complete system of government, regulated by prudent laws and supported by an efficient military power. In opposition to the French, who for some time endeavored to check their victorious march, but without success, and the sagacious Hyder Ali, king of Mysore, who proved to be a more powerful opponent, the English steadily advanced to the consummation of their designs. A treaty having been ratified in the year 1792, with Tippoo Sultan, the son of Hyder Ali, which secured to them many advantages, and he himself having been slain in battle, (1799,) the English obtained unlimited sway and partitioned his kingdom. Every philanthropist will return a hearty response to the wish that the supremacy of a Christian nation may in the end renovate the national character of India, and communicate a spirit which will promote the interests of its immense population.

The Character and Social Condition of the Indians.

Whilst it is almost impossible, on account of the uncommon magnitude both of their history and their country, to reduce to general principles their moral character and social habits, we will be assisted in forming some conception of them by keeping in mind this single fact, that, notwithstanding all external influences which tended to repress their national spirit, the old Sancrit life, though revealed in a thousand individual forms, survived every change, and constitutes to this day the predominant feature of Hindoo character.

According to old occidental accounts, the inhabitants of India were a prudent, virtuous, courageous people, with minds capable of

discerning and appreciating foreign modes of thought. One peculiar feature in their character is, a lawless and uncommonly extravagant imagination combined, in an unusual way, with a clear, penetrating understanding. In manly energy they are deficient. Their patience in enduring calamities exceeds their activity in combatting them. Though not distinguished for genuine manliness, they are very affectionate, fond of meditation, and inclined to the mystical and profound in science. In form, color, and contour of face, they present extreme diversity. Their faces are generally of an oval shape; eyes and hair black; look, placid and gentle. The females of the higher classes are often possessed of bewitching beauty; their limbs smoothly rounded, features mild, and skin fair and tender. In their dress the Indians are passionately fond of gaudy ornaments; they often color their beards, their nails, and even their hair. Of games and plays they are devoted lovers. They are said to have invented the game of chess about 200 B. C.

In the different provinces, the common customs of social life vary. In this respect India occupies a higher position than China, where a universal sameness reigns. The Brahmins expend great care in the education of their children, particularly of the male portion. Indeed, the Indians generally have excellent talents for the study of foreign languages, and for the pursuits of science.

The proper idea of marriage and the true dignity of woman, have never been realized in India. Polygamy is very generally practised, and not unfrequently polyandry. For the female sex the marriageable age is the eighth, for the males, the fifteenth. Though the female is not debarred from a participation in the active duties of life, she is nevertheless regarded as the slave of the husband. In earlier times, it seems, woman was clothed with more dignity and commanded more respect. The dead are either burnt or buried, or drowned, or exposed. The Holy Books of India justify suicide on the part of the aged who may be weary of life. Slaves, who never existed in the earliest history of India, are either free or bound; they generally receive kind treatment.

Their Government.

The Holy Books of India recognize as the only proper form of government an hereditary monarch, regulated by the laws of priests.

geniture. But its history furnishes a number of deviations from this established rule. During the reign of Alexander, there flourished several free states, whose very independence attracted the rage and reproach of their neighbors. Kings did not enjoy the exercise of unlimited power, but were restrained by the system of castes, by religious relations, and by family connections.

It is difficult to determine with precise accuracy whether, as some Indian writers affirm, only one king reigned in India. The education of the royal family was entrusted to the Brahmins, who were exempted on this account from pecuniary exactions. But the entire nation was subjected to a system of taxation, under the control of the king, who was regarded as the administrator of justice and the representative of the Divine will.

In their judicial proceedings, the Indians frequently resorted to appeals to the decisions of heaven. They seldom made use of the oath. In the earliest times, the visitations of fortune were regarded as clear manifestations of retributive justice.

The army was originally composed of a particular caste, set apart for the defence of the country, called Cshatriyas. When Buddhism obtained the supremacy, the soldiers were selected from all the castes. The present Anglo-indian army numbers about two hundred thousand men, most of whom are natives, the remainder Europeans.

The division of the people into *castes*, is the most striking feature in the political organization of India; an institution that has effectually retarded the progress of civilization, by sanctioning the existence of different orders of society which never come into contact with each other, and the transmission of dignities from father to son in fixed hereditary succession. The Buddhists, who never could furnish or substantiate any claims to pure descent from a regular caste family, endeavored to crush this great hierarchical fabric, but without permanent success. To this day, its power, though somewhat limited by the influence of the English, continues to be immense. According to the representations of the Brahmins, who boast of their pure extraction, the only genuine castes now extant, are their own, the Sudras, the remains of the Cshatriyas, and some mixed families.

According to the primitive division, the Brahmins compose the first, or sacerdotal caste. Their proper employment consists in stu-

dying and expounding the Sacred Books, some of which are said to have been originally a portion of the essence of Brahma himself, in offering and instituting sacrifices, in distributing and receiving alms. Though regarded as the representatives of the Divine being and as his priests on earth, they are permitted to engage in no war, in trade, in commerce, and other practical pursuits, such as collecting taxes, defending the frontiers whenever threatened with attack, teaching, writing and the study of the heavens. The Cshatriyas,* or military class, from which the kings are generally chosen, are second in dignity. Their chief occupation is war. Only in cases of extreme necessity, are they allowed to cultivate the arts of peace. The Vaiyas rank third. They are composed of farmers and merchants. Agriculture was held in such high esteem, that in time of war the members of this caste are allowed to till their lands in perfect security. Lowest in the scale of castes stand the Sudras, who occupy a very degraded position. They were compelled to perform the most menial offices for the Brahmins, who in turn were bound to provide for their temporal support. Every attempt on their part to accumulate property was prohibited by their tyrannical masters.

They dare not venture even to open a page of the Sacred Books without incurring the danger of the severest anathemas. In the course of time, however, the condition of this caste was materially improved. At the present day, the Sudras compose the majority of the population, carry on trade and commerce, receive homage from several guilds, and exercise a kind of jurisdiction. The Pariabs, who are regarded as devoid of caste and consequently entitled to no respect, compose the lowest class of Hindoo society. These unfortunate beings, though forming the forty-first portion of the entire population, live in a state of utter degradation. According to the social system of India, they are looked upon as being constitutionally unclean; their touch is pollution. The haughty Brahmins particularly, in whose presence they dare not stand a single moment without the forfeit of their lives as the penalty, treat them with the most scornful contempt. And yet classes may be found in India which are compelled to submit to still more dishonorable treatment than even the Pariabs receive. It is very evident to the

* From the Sancrit root Kschi; in the Greek language, e.g., ἀρχιτός, (αρχή,) ἀρχομαι, ruler, possessor.

most superficial observer, that such a code of morality as these practices prove to have been in operation, must have exerted a very pernicious influence on the moral character of society in general, and prevented the expansion of mind.

We have now given a very brief description of government as it exists in India. What decision shall be passed upon it? Has it in the main advanced or retarded the march of civilization? Its system of caste split society into innumerable divisions and subdivisions which kept the various interests of life in an immutable subordination. Had not its different departments thus sundered been compacted by a superstitious religion, complete disorganization would have been the inevitable result. But what are the necessary conditions for a healthful state of society? As was remarked in the history of the Chinese, the general social life which underlies every individual activity, must never remain stationary, but advance from inferior to higher stages of culture. On the other hand, freedom and liberal encouragement must be granted unto the members of every government for the cultivation of personal character and for the expansion of personal thought. If any one of these forces gains the ascendancy, the equilibrium of society is destroyed, and its progress checked. In India, the improvement of the individual beyond a certain point was impossible. The caste system confined him to a particular sphere, in which he was compelled forever to move. As the prospect for elevation into a higher class was shut out, his efforts at self-improvement were weak and trifling. But whilst this system so prejudicial in its operation, repressed the aspirations of individual minds, it stamped upon the whole nation the character of *individuality*. Under its action, the life of the nation was subdivided into a thousand individual forms, distinguished by striking features of difference. Thus, in the end, the individual principle of society gained the preponderance, and its general interests suffered neglect. In this respect, Indian civilization differs very materially from that of China. The one is characterized by the tyranny of despotism over personal liberty, the other, by the predominance of individual activity over that of society at large. In China, every department presents a dry, monotonous appearance; its culture is stationary; all is at a stand-still. In India, the surface of society is diversified by innumerable phases of private individual activity; but its culture is likewise stationary. Thus these two extreme systems of social

life, proceeding from different positions, find a point of unity in this, that both preclude the possibility of a solid and progressive civilization. Under their influence, a permanent advance towards true spiritual freedom is impossible.

As the Mohammedan, Persian, and Christian portions of Indian population took no prominent part in Indian history, so far as government is concerned, we will postpone their consideration to a more convenient season.

Indian Art.

Upon the artistic productions of the Indians, are impressed the prominent features of their character, tenderness of feeling and liveliness of imagination. An overflowing fullness of fancy must reveal its contents in outward forms; it cannot remain locked up within the narrow confines of individual minds, but struggles to come to clear, full expression. The Indians, who passed almost their entire existence in the land of fancy, stimulated by what may be called an irrepressible poetic instinct, involuntarily clothed their profound thoughts either in the garb of imagery, or stamped them upon the materials of nature. Here again the culture of India surpasses that of China. The Chinese move forever in the treadmill of the finite Understanding; they see only with the eye of sense; the supersensible is beyond their apprehension. The true artist cannot bear to be tantalized with the question, *Cui bono?*; but the Chinese can see no sense in anything but profit and loss calculations. Art is the *organic* representation of ideas; but the Chinese have "wooden heads filled with clock-work."

The remains of art are scattered over India in rich profusion; but the period of their execution cannot be accurately determined. The temples employed for religious service, seem to have been of the most costly and magnificent description. Those found at Salsetse and Elephanta, are the most remarkable. They all bear the same general character, having been excavated in the sides of mountains, with pillars, images, and openings at the top. The cave-temples of the Brahmins have flat roofs and columns, often tastefully decorated; the walls are ornamented with paintings. The Holy place, in which stand the images of their gods, are sometimes left open above. The Buddhist temple has a different character. Its

largest area embraces a semicircle; an arch spans the holiest place; underneath it stands the symbolical Dagob, in the form of a water bubble; tanks, galleries, siderooms, and the other usual departments fill up the interior.

The Pagodas, which seem to be of modern origin, dating in all probability from the Middle Ages, represent an essentially distinct order of architecture. They are stone buildings, fashioned after the form of a pyramid, having voluted figures and crowded with ornaments. The impression they convey to the eye of the beholder is rather indistinct and confused.

In the decoration of their religious temples, the plastic arts did efficient service. The antiquarian, in his investigations into the remains of Indian art, will often discover reliefs and free figures which bear evident marks of an early origin. But in this respect our limited knowledge will not justify us in passing any decisive sentence on the value of Indian labor. Their statues evince some nobleness of feeling; presenting a harmonious appearance with symmetrical proportions, with features correctly taken, and emotions delicately shaded. But some of their productions, though symbolical in their design, have a fantastic character, at variance with æsthetical beauty. None of them, however, are childish, or without meaning. As the Indian seldom descends from the region of poetic dreams to the solid land of reality, his plastic representations partake of a mystical rather than a true historical character. His constitutionally unhistoric disposition has stamped a fabulous impress upon the products of his imagination.

Of the period when Indian painting reached the height of its prosperity, we have not sufficient knowledge to enable us to form a just judgment. Isolated specimens have been discovered which have elicited much praise. Their more recent performances in this department, possess large attractions, and are executed with a peculiar grace and finish.

As the Indian language contains many mythological elements, it is reasonable to suppose, (what facts fully prove,) that they possess considerable talent for music. The seven tones of the scale have been long familiar with them. They make use of the lyre, the drum, and other instruments not necessary to mention. Of dancing they are immoderately fond; in pantomimic feats, they give expression to their excited feelings.

The religion and poetry of India are so intimately connected, that they mutually explain and illustrate each other. The most ancient and holiest books, called the Vedas, contain their earliest poetical productions. But Indian poetry attained its perfection in the great epic narratives of the Mahabara and its episodes. Its elevated theosophic speculations sometimes approach the region of poetical intuition. When Buddhism gained the ascendant, a collection of old works was made, which resulted in the discovery of rich materials, comprising such productions as the heroic poem Ramayona and the Harivansa. Epic poetry flourished down to the twelfth century of the Christian era. At a very early period religious lyric poetry received a very considerable share of attention. In connection with music and dancing, it occasioned the rise of dramas. The best specimen of dramatic poetry is the Sacondala, or the Fatal Ring. Nor was the cultivation of didactic poetry overlooked. The best productions in this department, are ascribed to Calidas, who is also supposed to have been the author of two very beautiful elegies still extant. He lived in the year 56 B. C. In amatory poetry the glowing imagination of the Indians produced much that breathes the genuine feeling of nature. Its moral tendency, however, may be questioned. In the writing of satires and the invention of fables, they evinced considerable talent.

The literature of India never acquired a permanent influence over the minds of the people, owing, no doubt, to the operation of the caste system. The highest caste alone, that of the Brahmins, were devoted to the cultivation of the sciences; the inferior orders were never allowed to participate in the achievements of intellect.

Indian Science.

As we intend to describe the philosophy of India in connection with its religion, we will make a few brief remarks upon its scientific character generally. Recent investigations, conducted by men of extensive erudition, whose love of learning stimulated them to unlock the treasures of Indian literature, which had been kept so long concealed by the Brahmins, concur in proving that the Hindoos have made an astonishing advance in the cultivation of science. In mathematics, particularly, they are noted for skill and ingenuity.

One of their treatises on geometry contains the celebrated proposition, that the square on the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle, is equal to the square of the two other sides. The problem, to find the area of a triangle, its three sides being known, of which the old Greek geometers were ignorant, was solved by them. The numeral ciphers in use with the Arabians, and introduced by them into Europe, were borrowed from the Indians. In algebra, they were able to solve equations of more than one unknown quantity. Their attention was also occupied with the study of arithmetic and trigonometry. As regards other departments of natural science, they paid particular attention to medicine.

In the study of geography, the Hindoos never allow themselves to enter into minute descriptions of countries and seas, of climate and natural productions, and of other items necessary to a complete knowledge of our planet; but indulge in fanciful speculations on the construction of the earth. In history, they cannot be trusted as faithful guides. Their historical annals convey no distinct knowledge of the manners of an age, nor do they contain a trustworthy account of facts; but are filled with fabulous representations of deities and heroes, who perhaps never had an existence. Equally extravagant is their system of chronology. The arbitrary practice of connecting immense periods, exceeding at times two millions of years, in which they delighted to indulge, seems to prove that, in the investigation of historical facts, they were not guided by any definite principles of analysis, but by the vagaries of an exuberant imagination, which overleaped the bounds of probability.

Indian Religion.

The most valuable sources of information concerning this particularly interesting portion of history, are old Indian works, reaching back far beyond the period of the Egyptian hierarchy and the most ancient civilization of Greece. On account of their immense antiquity, which necessarily precludes the possibility of obtaining an accurate knowledge of the age when they were composed, our judgment concerning their merits must be rather unsatisfactory. It is settled by the unanimous consent of all acquainted with the subject, that the Vedas (from the Sancrit *vidya*, law) or the Holy Books,

comprise the oldest productions of Hindoo literature.* Next in age and dignity, come the Puranas, composed, according to most recent researches, 1600 B. C., which contain mythological theogonies and cosmogonies. The third rank is assigned to the two great epic poems, the Mahabarat and Ramayana, supposed to have been written 1200 B. C. Lastly, the collection of the Laws of Menu, completes the sources of information on this subject. Besides these, we may mention as worthy of some notice, the fragmentary poetical and philosophical writings of India.

Upon the earliest manifestations of the religious life of India, are clearly impressed the artless and unprejudiced feelings of childhood, the boundless and unbridled imagination of youth. In accounting for its origin, Hindoo mythology points to the mighty hill Meru, "a most exalted mass of glory, reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid surface of its gilded horns. It is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and resounds with the delightful songs of various birds." Suddenly on its summit appears the mysterious Brahm, who had hitherto been concealed in a divine slumber, but now comes forth to reveal his heavenly essence. From his bosom emanate, by the power of his creative energies, Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver of life, Siva, the destroyer of life. In these three divine appearances, is revealed the nature of the Supreme Mind. With the time when this remarkable revelation occurred, the religious life of India begins to unfold itself. Temples sprung up in every portion of the country, and the smoke of innumerable sacrifices ascended in honor of Siva. By the powet of Brahm, men, women, genii, and all other individual existences which are scattered over the earth, were brought into being. Having fulfilled their mission, they return again to the great soul of the universe, are swallowed up in Brahm, the original unity, like snow-flakes in rivers, like rivers in oceans.

What is the significance of this poetic representation? A profound thought undoubtedly lies here hid; the recognition of one supreme Ruler of the universe, denominated Para-brahm, who reveals himself in a three-fold character, as Creator, (Brahma,) as Preserver, (Vishnu,) as Destroyer, (Siva). These distinct divine exist-

* The student is referred to the *Asiatic Researches*, vol 81. p. 377, by Colebrooke, who has investigated the subject with commendable diligence.

ences, represented symbolically by the three natural elements, earth, fire and water, compose the Hindoo Trimurti, or Trinity.* This incomprehensible mystery, which cannot be imaged forth so as to be fully understood, but may be veiled under symbols, is expressed by the enigmatical symbol O'M. Brahma is the one absolute, eternal being, the only real existence; the world with its innumerable forms of life is a dream, a phantom, an illusion, destined to hurry back into the bosom whence it sprang. In him things visible and things invisible become identical. Without form himself, he is the source of all forms; smaller than the atom which floats in the air, he is larger than the universe. Without hand or foot he runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; without eyes he sees, without ears he hears all; he knows whatever can be known; but there is none who knows him."

Various hypotheses have been advanced to explain the manner in which the Hindoo Trinity took its rise. If we run through the records of history, we will discover that the religious systems of most nations contain some representation, in a distorted form, of a three-fold principle which manifests its presence in the world. It would seem as if the Divine author of our being had engraven upon the tablet of the soul this mysterious truth.

Such was the first and simplest character of the religion of India. It is evident that the whole system rests upon a Pantheistic conception of the world, which pervades all the theological speculations of the Hindoos. It obliterates the distinction between the Creator and the creature, between the Infinite and finite, animates the world itself with a portion of the divine essence, and terminates its career by virtually divesting God of an independent personality, by degrading his nature to the idea of a universal soul, which underlies like an immense substratum all forms of life. In the course of time, attempts were made to represent the divine essence by a description of particular attributes. But they resulted in the corruption of the

* The difference between the Indian Trinity and that of the Christian Church, is broad and marked:

1. Metaphysical; in the Christian Trinity there is no absorption either of any of its persons or of any individuals its creative power has called into existence.

2. Moral; according to Christian conceptions, the Trinity reveals its presence for the purpose of effecting the moral renovation and perfection of man.

ancient faith, by ascribing an independent character to the attributes themselves, and by the introduction of a host of innumerable gods; in the dissolution of the religious ideas originally embodied in the mythical representations of Brahm, and in the ascendancy finally, of Feticism.

Hindoo cosmogonies teach that, after Brahm awoke from the slumbers in which he had been originally sunk, he entered into a state of self-contemplation, and created the world. In the moment of creation, there emanated from his bosom men and the other occupants of the earth, who thus became participants of his essence. According to the accounts recorded in the sacred books, the different castes sprung from some particular member of his body; the Brahmins from his mouth, the Cshatryas from his arm, the Vaisyas from his thigh, the Sudras from his foot.

Closely connected with the doctrine of Creation, stands the Indian of Avatars, or the divine Incarnations. Before the destruction of the world, mankind must pass through four immense periods of time, comprising 4,320,000 years. When these years shall have completed their course, the world will be absorbed by Brahm, its great Author. Meanwhile Vishnu descends to the earth, and assumes various visible forms whenever danger threatens the human family. In the performance of his work, he has already experienced successive transformations in the form of a fish, of a boar, of a half-man and half-lion, in the characters of Parasu Rama, Rama, and Bala Rama. The Hindoos anxiously await the last avatar of Vishnu, when he will appear on a white horse, armed with a sword, to destroy the sin that contaminates the world. Many legends are extant concerning his avatar into Krishna, which bring to mind the fabulous accounts of Osiris of Egypt, and Hercules of Greece.

So far as the moral life of the Indians is concerned, their theory of regeneration exerted the greatest influence. Pride is regarded as the cause of sin. Even the Divine being himself became tainted with its impurity, and must submit to a process of purification. The fundamental conception of the theory is, *that matter as such, is substantially evil.* Salvation, therefore, from the power of sin, can only be obtained by striving to effect the annihilation of the natural life, by imposing upon the physical man such burdens as will eventually crush the activity of the body. A person who wishes to be delivered from the bonds of nature, must recognize, by a process

of abstract, oft repeated meditation, in the powers of nature and the members of his own body, nothing but illusions. Complete absorption in Brahm, forms the completion of his salvation. Penances and self-torture of the most excruciating character have been practised by the Hindoos from time immemorial, in the firm conviction that they are absolutely essential to the attainment of holiness.

Another prominent feature in Hindoo religion is, the doctrine of transmigration, as taught in all the philosophic schools of India. According to this belief, the souls of men after death do not depart to their final resting place, but they assume some other body, generally that of an animal. After having gone through successive metamorphoses, from the stone to the plant, from the plant to the animal, and having discharged the penalty of their sins, they attain to their most perfect state, that is, complete absorption in the great soul, Atma, so as to destroy altogether the idea of personality and individual self-consciousness.

The radical error of Brahminism, consists in a defective conception of the two constituent parts of human life, and of the relation they sustain to each other. Of the Unity of body and soul, it had not the smallest notion, but regarded them as occupying a position of mutual repugnance. According to their view, the body seems to have been an unnecessary and burdensome appendage—the prison house in which the soul was confined and restrained from the enjoyment of its spiritual faculties—the net which encircled the man and prevented him from ascending into the bosom of Brahm. In opposition to this false conception, true religion proposes for its object the gradual purification of the body—not its annihilation—by means of spiritual influences. The whole person as composed of body and soul, must be subjected to a process of sanctification which will result in the salvation of both.

Against the despotic tendencies of Brahminism which as the exclusively religious caste, was disposed to stretch its authority beyond proper bounds, there arose the system of Buddhism. In the accomplishment of their object. viz : the destruction of the barriers that confined religion to a single caste, the disciples of Gautava introduced preaching into the public service, rejected the use of the obsolete Sancrit, substituted the language of the people, recognized and respected their rights in religious concerns. Though Buddhism aroused for a season to fresh activity the spiritual energies of the

nation, it lacked the moral elements necessary to accomplish a reformation, and never succeeded in obtaining a permanent supremacy in the country.* The character of these two conflicting systems and their final tendencies will enable us to form a very correct opinion concerning the prominent features of the Hindoo mind. The history of India warrants the assertion that, in the construction of its society, the principle of individuality—a reflection, as it were—of its geographical diversity—which confined for ever to a particular sphere certain classes of men, gained the preponderance. Buddhism was the application of this principle to religious concernments; inasmuch as it defended the right of private judgment, and affirmed that the relation existing between man and his Maker could not be determined by any body of men who owned no sympathy with his spiritual necessities, but sought rather to oppress him with the tyranny of ecclesiastical bondage. A wildly luxuriant imagination was the ruling faculty of Indian mind. Brahminism, as may easily be gathered from a slight consideration of its ceremonies, and its extravagant myths, did not suppress its activity, but stimulated its exercise by imparting to it a religious character. But the critical, analysing faculty, also, the understanding, asserted its presence in the system of Gantana Boodh, whose better judgment was not easily overpowered by the seductive charms of a distempered fancy. Thus, Brahminism and Buddhism may be regarded as complements of each other, and as the best exponents of Hindoo character.

Concluding Remarks.

We have had occasion to point out the broad and decided difference between the respective rationalities of India and China. The undoubted facts of history compel us to the conclusion that, in originality and depth of thought, in vigor and beauty of imagination, the Indians far surpassed the Chinese. But why did not a people so richly endowed by nature, attain to a matured development of their spiritual faculties, and advance to a superior state of culture? After having reached a certain point, their civilization remained

* It is very evident that an interesting parallel might be drawn between Brahminism and Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and Buddhism and Protestantism on the other.

stationary. Some of the causes which induced this stagnation have been mentioned in a preceding paragraph (§29). But the chief reason remains to be told. In the evolution of its resources, a nation must ever have reference to some *ultimate* object which they are to serve. Whilst its government, its science, its art, each in their own sphere, produce their legitimate results, they must enlist their united energies in one common service; otherwise the benefits they severally entailed upon society, standing in no living connection with each other and not directed towards the attainment of some *universal* end, will terminate with the particular government, science and art which gave them birth. Nor, the activities of a nation in all the departments of human life, must combine themselves in an effort to subordinate the inferior powers of its subjects, which, if allowed to progress unchecked, will draw around it an atmosphere of spiritual darkness, to the dominion of the ennobling faculties of the soul. But in India the order of true culture was reversed; the *flesh* domineered over the *spirit*. It is true indeed that its religious system insisted upon a deliverance from the thraldom of the animal propensities; but in the unnatural struggle to destroy that which was created for immortality, they fell more hopelessly and deplorably, under the power of the bodily instincts. In reading their theosophic speculations which abound in grand and noble ideas, and in beholding their self-inflicted tortures, we admire their longing aspirations after deliverance from the bonds of sense, but cannot approve of the method by which they sought to obtain it. From the bosom of Hindoo society, the *man* could not spring who was to redeem humanity by sanctifying it, and lift it to its appointed moral position by elevating it into union with his own divine nature. "The fullness of the time" had not yet come.

J. S. E.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW.

We are not among those who consider O. A. Brownson, Esq., a mere weathercock in religion, whose numerous changes of faith are sufficient of themselves to convict his last position of falsehood and folly. We can see easily enough in all his variations, a principle of steady motion in the same general direction. He started on one extreme, only to be carried over by regular gradation finally to another. Unitarianism and Romanism are the contrary poles of Christianity, freedom and authority, the liberty of the individual subject and the binding force of the universal object, carried out each, by violent disjunction from the other, into nerveless pantomime and sham. Thus seemingly far apart, however, they are in reality always closely related; just as all extremes, by the force of their own falsehood, have an innate tendency to react, pendulum-wise, into the very opposite from which they seem to fly. Hence, the familiar observation, that Romanism in many cases leads to rationalism and infidelity. In bursting the bonds of mere blind authority, a Ronge has no power to stop in true Protestantism, but swings clear over into the dark void of full unbelief. So it is not unnatural, on the other side, that Rationalism should lead the way occasionally to popery and superstition. This transition we see exemplified in the case of Mr. Brownson. He himself, indeed, speaks of his conversion at times, as if it had come upon him by a sort of miracle, without any such preparation in his previous life. But it is easy enough to see that such was not the case. Forced to feel the hollowness of the ground on which he first stood, his mind had been for years before seeking some better settlement, by a succession of experiments, which, though not, of course, to his own consciousness, yet in truth and in fact, looked all along towards the full spiritual somerset, in which they came at length to an end. That they reached this end finally, instead of stopping in some intermediate position, was owing in his case, not to the levity and inconstancy of his mind, but to its earnestness rather and logical severity. We should be very sorry to consider him here the counterpart simply of the infamous Ronge. As a general thing, we may say, it requires far more earnestness to pass from rationalism to popery, than it does to make a like transition from popery to rationalism; and it must ever argue a most vitiated state of religious feeling, where the second case is regarded with more toleration and respect than the first; where the conversion of a Ronge,

for instance, is glorified as the triumph of reason and truth, while the conversion of a Brownson is resolved into sheer dishonesty and caprice. Had the last seen proper to bring his wanderings to an end in Orthodox Congregationalism, in Presbyterianism, in old Lutheranism, or in Protestant Episcopacy, his mutability in either case, *thus far*, would have seemed consistent and rational enough, at least within the bosom of his chosen communion. And yet it was simply because he was more consistent and rational than multitudes in these several positions, that he could *not* thus pause in his movement, but found it necessary to leave them all behind, and to seek shelter for his wearied spirit in the bosom of Rome. We mean not by this, that others may not occupy in good faith such intermediate ground, without having been brought to surmount in their own minds the inward difficulty which made this impossible for Mr. Brownson. They may do so, just because they have never come to be sensible at all of the antagonistic powers out of which the difficulty springs. Let the true nature of this antagonism come to be felt, and their position will be found at the same time to involve a contradiction, out of which, with their reigning principle of religion, they can make no rational escape. So it was in the mind of Mr. Brownson. The very principle which led him to renounce Unitarianism, made it impossible for him to stop short of Romanism. With less light in his understanding, or less firmness in his will, he might have forced it to come to a halt somewhere between. But this would have been for him error only and not truth. The case demanded, for its right solution, a new religious principle and theory altogether. Without this, he felt himself shut up to the alternative already mentioned. He could not be a Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, or Episcopalian. He must be either a Rationalist or a Romanist. Had it been possible, he might have liked to be at once both; but as the case could not allow this, he made up his mind finally to bow as he best could to the authority of the Pope. In all this, as we have said, we find no occasion for disparagement or contempt. Our condemnation, rather, is mingled with respect. We reverence earnestness and moral courage, wherever they may come in our way; and we know not that they are more entitled to such homage in the form of perpetual stability and sameness, than they are in the form of necessary revolution and change. Calvin and Melancthon are both great, the one in the uniformity, the other in the fluctuations, of his faith. It is neither by moving, nor by standing still, that men prove the worth of their religion. A faith which has never found occasion to stir an inch from its first moorings, *may be* of far less

value than that which has been carried by wind and wave to a wholly different shore. Nay, even a bad faith, in this view, may be entitled to greater regard, than a faith which is in form more sound; on the well known principle, that a living dog is better than a dead lion.

We are not among those again, who look upon Mr. Brownson's championship of Romanism as either weak or of small account. It is vain to affect, as some do, a supercilious contempt for it, in this view. His mind is naturally of a very acute and strong character; and long, earnest and vigorous exercise has served to clothe it with a measure of dialectical agility and power, such as we rarely meet with on the field at least of our American theology. His reading evidently is extensive and varied; though he is not free from the infirmity, we think, of passing it off frequently, in an indirect way, for something more than its actual worth. He allows himself, for instance, to refer at times, to the German philosophers and theologians, as if he were perfectly at home in their speculations; whereas we have never met with any evidence of his having any more thorough acquaintance with them after all, than that second-hand information which is to be had through the medium of a foreign literature, particularly that of modern France. On the contrary it is sufficiently clear, that he has *not* by any means mastered the best and most profound results of the later German thought; he makes no proper account of the history through which it has passed; affects, indeed, to make light of all history, as applied to the progress of philosophy; and shows himself at fault especially, where the discipline of this thought precisely should come to his help, or, at all events, be intelligently refused, if found wanting, and not merely waved with magisterial hand to the one side. After every necessary drawback, however, in this way, there can be no question of Mr. Brownson's actual knowledge, as going in the walks of philosophy and history, quite beyond the measure of our reigning American education. He is well fitted thus for taking the lead in this country, as a defender of the Roman faith; not because of his having been trained to the science of it in the usual way; for he acknowledges himself that no such study went before his conversion; but in virtue of his general Protestant training, his familiarity with American life, and the dexterity with which, as a practised athlete, he is able to throw his whole strength now into the direction of this new creed. There is a freshness and force in this way in his polemics, which they could not so well possess, perhaps, under any different form. However superior the drilled generalship of a Möhler may be for the theological atmosphere

of Germany, or that of a Wiseman for the ecclesiastical relations of England, it may be doubted whether either of them is as well prepared as Mr. Brownson for carrying the war home to the special habit of thought that prevails with Protestantism on this side of the Atlantic. He is a born Puritan, steeped by education in the element of New England life; the first, probably, who, with anything like the same amount of intellectual culture, has made the transition to Romanism from this most uncatholic coast. He is intimately familiar thus with Puritan modes of thought and forms of life, and is able to take direct account of them continually in the management of his own cause. He deals with Protestantism mainly, as he finds it living and working, at the present time, in these United States, though not without an eye always to its condition and character also in other countries. His Review altogether, for one who is prepared to take any real interest in theology and the Church, must be felt to carry with it more than common weight and force; with all its scholastic subtleties and offensive dogmatism, is possessed of much vivacity and point; and is far more readable, it must be confessed, than a large proportion of our current controversy on the opposite side.

It is just one of the miseries of our fashionable pseudo-protestantism, that it legitimates and accepts so readily every sort of polemical assault upon Rome, without proof or examination; as though it were the easiest thing in the world, to fight this battle to purpose; in consequence of which, we are flooded here with more insipid trash, in the name of religious argument, than is to be met with probably in any other quarter. It is with a most wretched grace, that such easy literature, whether figuring in the newspaper, catch-penny book, rostrum, or pulpit, allows itself to overlook and despise the vigorous pen of such a man as Brownson, as though it were a flourish of mere empty words and nothing more. There is nothing gained in the end, but much lost, rather, by such imbecile self-conceit. Over against its blind though proud pretensions, it is no wonder that true learning on the other side should be excited at times to indignant scorn. Mr. Brownson has full right to retort on this spirit, as he often does with withering sarcasm, its own commonplace charges against Romanism. It will not reason; it sets all logic at defiance; it shrieks from the light; it goes blindly and dumbly by its own tradition; it substitutes cant for argument and thought; it turns the Bible into a nose of wax, to suit its own taste; it plays pope as fully as though it were itself the bearer of the triple crown, and held all the thunders of the vatican in its hand. As compared with a very large amount of our popular literature against

Popery in this form, we are constrained to admit, however humiliating the confession may be, that the Review before us bears away the palm completely, as regards both dignity and strength.

It is not unnatural, that Mr. Brownson himself, with such sense as he must have necessarily of his own superiority to the false Protestantism now noticed, (which he of course is very ready to accept also, as the only proper representative of Protestantism in its true form,) should feel his championship of the Roman faith to be of more than ordinary account. He takes pains; it is true, to speak very modestly and humbly of his own deserts; as though he felt himself to be a learner only in this school, and had no right to open his lips in any other capacity. But it is still plain enough, through all this show, that he secretly considers himself notwithstanding, to be something of a giant in the Protestant controversy, and has good hopes of making himself appear so also to others. His tone is bold, confident, overbearing and harsh. He moves throughout with the air of a man, who takes himself to be thoroughly master both of his own cause, and of that of all his opponents besides.¹ He deals his blows like a conscious Hercules, sent forth on divine errand to reform the world. And what is of still more account in the case, his mission in this view seems to receive, not doubtfully, the approbation and sanction of the Church of which he has now become so zealous and dutiful a son. His conversion is counted an important gain, with that of Hurter and Newman, we may well suppose, throughout the Roman world. At all events, it is felt to form a sort of epoch for Romanism in America. Already he has succeeded in gaining fully, as it would appear, the confidence of his ecclesiastical superiors in this country; and neophyte and layman though he be,

¹ Mr. B. is fond of appealing to his own past history and experience, in a way that shows he has not lost the sense of his personal importance towards the world, however much of a child he may feel himself in the arms of the Church. He takes it for granted always, that he has made the whole circle of Protestant knowledge, and has no need to go beyond himself to understand any question here thrown in his way. "Think you that we," he exclaims, "who, according to your own story, have tried every form of Protestantism, and disputed every inch of Protestant ground, would ever have left the ranks of Protestantism in which we were born, and under whose banner we had fought so long and suffered so much, if there had been any other alternative for us?"—*July, 1846, p. 386.* Prof Park, Emerson, Neander, Newman, Schaff, Bushnell, &c., in their most profound attempts to get at the intrinsic reason of things, simply go over ground which was familiar long since to his feet, but which a logic still deeper than theirs compelled him afterwards again to abandon.—*Oct. 1845, p. 511, p. 546.*—*Jan. 1847, p. 84.*—*April, 1847, p. 276.*—*Oct. 1849, p. 497.*

is counted worthy to take a foremost place among the expounders and defenders of the Roman faith. At the close of the late Council in Baltimore, through the suggestion of Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, a brief note was addressed to Mr. Brownson, signed by both the archbishops and twenty-three bishops, for the purpose of seconding and encouraging his literary labors in defence of his newly adopted creed, of which he is acknowledged to have proved himself an able and intrepid advocate. This, it must be confessed, is no ordinary recommendation. Coming from such a quarter, and under such a form, it carries with it peculiar significance and force. No wonder that Mr. Brownson should be pleased with it, and thank the prelates "again and again for their act of unexpected and spontaneous kindness." It is, in truth, a solemn *imprimatur* affixed to his Review, by the universal Roman Catholic Church in America; which, of course, in such view, well deserves the attention also of those who stand on the outside of this Church and seek only its destruction. "No higher testimonial could be asked," says the happy editor, "and no higher, out of Rome, could be given; and to say we are grateful, is to say nothing. We thank the eminent prelate who drew up the letter, and each and all of the illustrious Archbishops and Bishops who generously signed it, and gave us their approbation and a pledge of their support. It was more than we deserved, more than we can deserve, more than any editor can deserve; but we will do our best not to make them regret their generous act. We should be oppressed with their approbation, did we not know that whatever merits this journal may have, as a Catholic journal, they are due not to us, but principally to the distinguished Bishop of this diocese, and his learned and venerable clergy, who have always been ready to instruct our ignorance, and to advise and direct us in the course proper for such a journal to pursue, and in the proper views to be taken of the several important theological questions we have discussed. To them pertain the merits of the Review; to us alone its faults and imperfections, which we hope will diminish with time and experience."—*July, 1849, p. 412.*

This extract goes to illustrate both sides of the relation, which it brings ostentatiously into view. The favor of the reigning priesthood is conditioned and reciprocated, by the unlimited obedience that is found basking in its sunshine. Mr. Brownson makes a point of being, in this respect, a Roman of the Romans, with whom no half-way measures can go down. His theory, from the start, is a sort of violent protestation against Protestantism, the absolute negative of all that this affirms, by which he

holds himself bound to part with his own independence altogether in matters of religion, and place his faith submissively in the hands of the Church, as an outward authority ordained of God for such purpose. The alternative with him is, law from within or law from without; one or the other, and one always so as to exclude the other; and having satisfied himself that the first, in such abstract view, runs out inevitably into rationalism and nibility, he considers himself shut up to the necessity of accepting the opposite rule, as the only form in which it is possible to have part at all in a really supernatural religion. To this necessity, thus apprehended as a law of logic merely, Mr. Brownson, wearied and worn out with his own long attempt to find bottom in the miserable bog of a churchless independency, holds himself now bound, it would seem, as a rational man, to bring all his powers into subjection, cost what it may in any other view. Such an outward authority of the Church being granted to hold in any form as the necessary medium of faith, it follows plainly enough that the best claim to it lies with the Church of Rome. He is the best Christian, then, who most resolutely brings both his reason and will into captivity to the authority of this Church, as it is found embodied from age to age in the voice of its hierarchy. Having reached this conclusion, Mr. Brownson seems resolved to follow it to the death. He feels rightly enough, that if it be good for anything at all, it must be good for everything; as a well built arch is only made more firm and strong, by piling new weight upon its shoulders; and he is determined, accordingly, to let the world see that he has confidence in his own logic, and power also to bend his New England nature to its iron requisitions. As he tells us himself somewhere, his soul recoils from the mortal sin of being inconsequent, or holding premises which he is not prepared to follow out to their natural and necessary end. Has it become thus a maxim of reason with him, to obey with unquestioning faith the Roman Church? He will be *rational* then in such style, to the full end of the chapter. He will allow no sort of compromise with any rule besides. He will play the very *Yankee* himself in this new game; he will be a Puritan Romanist; making a king still of his own mind, and wilfully forcing his very will itself, to fall in with the new theory of faith he is thus brought to embrace. He will abjure philosophy in religion, and take all in the way simply of authority. It shall be his reason here to silence reasoning, and his will to have no freedom whatever. Thus firmly set in his own mind to follow out his new principle at all hazards, Mr. Brownson has had no trouble apparently in complying with even its

most extreme demands. He is at once a very ultramontanist, a downright Italian, in the plenitude of his obedience and faith, who can swallow even a camel, if need be, in the way of edifying example to less vigorous believers. Not content to affirm the infallibility of the Roman Church, he is willing to lodge this divine attribute, without farther ado, in the person of the ruling Pope.¹ He pays his devotions to the Virgin Mary, as though he had been born and bred to it in the natural way. He makes himself quite at home in the region of Roman Saints, legends, relics and miracles, as if he had been used to it all his life. At all times, and in all things, he carries himself most dutifully towards the priesthood, who form to his eyes the medium of all truth and authority in the Church, and from whose lips in such view the common layman is required to accept both without doubt or contradiction. His tone towards these spiritual superiors, as contrasted especially with the confidence and self-reliance he is accustomed to exhibit in other directions, is to affectation humble, we might almost say at times sycophantic and servile. "It would be presumptuous in us," he says in relation to Bishop Kenrick's work on the Primacy of the Apostolic See, "to speak of the doctrines set forth in this book, either to commend or to censure. The layman, because an editor or reviewer, is not relieved from his obligation to submit to his spiritual superiors, or to learn his faith from those the Holy Ghost has set in the Church to teach and to rule the flock. Yet on matters of private opinion, each man, whether layman or not, may entertain and express, reverently, his own opinions."—April, 1845, p. 263. So throughout. He is not simply a learner, but a passive receiver of theological knowledge, professedly, at the feet of the bishops and priests. He is careful to let us know, that in the conduct of his Review, he is to be considered, theologically, the echo simply of the proper masters of his faith, the bishop of Boston and his learned clergy. "The Catholic Church, faith and worship, as

¹ "The Papacy is the Church, the Pope the Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ on earth, and if you war against the Pope, it is either because you would war against God, or because you believe God can lie. If you believe God has commissioned the Pope, and that God will keep his promise, you must believe his authority is that of God, and can be no more dangerous than would be the authority of our Lord, were he present to exercise it in person."—Jan. 1847, p. 130.—We copy below the *Encyclical Letter* of our Holy Father, Pope Pius IX. We have no room for comments, and should not offer any if we had. In it God speaks to us by his Vicegerent on earth, and it is ours to listen, believe, and obey."—April, 1847, p. 249. "Certainly, when the Pope decides, we submit, for we recognize his right to decide, and we believe his decisions are infallible."—Jan. 1846, p. 100.

they are, always have been, and always will be till the end of time, is what we have embraced, what we love, what we seek to defend, not relying on our own private judgment, but receiving the truth in humility from those Almighty God has commissioned to teach us, and whom he has commanded us to obey." —Jan. 1846. p. 136. This is Romanism in full force; such as may be held to be fairly entitled to its reward, in the smiling approbation with which so many bishops and archbishops have seen fit to honor it before the world.

Mr. Brownson having thus violently given himself away to a theory of the Church which puts an end to all private thinking in religion, makes a merit apparently of the most violent consistency, in following it out to its most difficult consequences on all sides. The Christian salvation is for him a process that goes like clock-work. To his New England mind, the operation of the *machine* is all settled, as clearly as two and two make four, by the fixed nature of its pulleys and wheels. The maxim, *Out of the Church no salvation*, he applies at once to the Roman communion exclusively, and takes pains to shut out as much as possible every sort of hope in favor even of the best men beyond. Out of this Roman Church indeed, as his theory requires, he holds that there can be no act of true faith. Protestantism then, in its best shape, is a sham, that leans always towards open infidelity; and its virtues are to be counted hollow and deceitful, even where they may seem to carry the most pious and heavenly show. The Reformation was wholly without reason or necessity, and had its rise in worldly motives far more than in any true zeal for the glory of God. Luther and Calvin were bad men, and tools besides of men worse than themselves. The Church, as it stood before, was steadily moving in the right direction; while this revolution, so far as it prevailed, served only to hinder and embarrass the march of true christian improvement, causing the sun mark to go back on the dial plate of the world's civilization, God only knows how far. Protestantism rolls forward from the very start, by its own weight, to infidelity and nihilism. Its *life* is to be sought always on the side nearest this result, and not in its more respectable forms; for these are always more or less ossified and dead. Its only fair representation at this time accordingly, is found in transcendentalism, pantheistic atheism, and communism. Not only is the history of the Roman Church before the Reformation full of testimony to her divine character, as the patron and prop of all good in the world, whether in the form of religion, science, politics or social life; but her history *since* also, as compared with that of Protestantism, is powerfully suited to in-

culcate the same lesson. The advantage often claimed in favor of Protestant nations, is more specious than solid.¹ Puritanism especially, here in America, is little more than a bag of wind.² Professor Park only raves, when he tell us that "Rome has trained a smaller number of original thinkers, for the last three hundred years, than have arisen from even half the number of Protestant churches." If the assertion mean, not soap bubble blowers, but men of solid learning, and clear as well as profound thought, Mr. Brownson denies it, and pledges himself, "after making all proper allowance for the excess of Catholic population over the Protestant, to produce ten Catholics to every one Protestant the Professor will bring forward."—1845, p. 495. "The Catholic cantons of Switzerland are more truly enlightened than the Protestant." Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, bear comparison favorably with Holland, Denmark, and Scotland.³ The laboring

¹ "We deny, positively deny, that in moral and intellectual science, properly so called, Protestants have made the least progress, or that their philosophers have ascertained a single fact or a single principle not known and recognized by the Schoolmen.—You talk of "the Dark Ages"—dark forsooth, as Coleridge, one of your own number, tells you, because you have not light enough to read them. We know something of your Protestant philosophers, and there are absolutely only four Protestant names, that it is not discreditable to one's own knowledge to call a philosopher, and it is doubtful if any one of these was really a Protestant. We mean Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel and Hobbes.—In theology you are as badly off as you are in philosophy. You have no more respectable theological work than Calvin's *Institutes*, which none of you now accept,—unless with a qualification.—Saving some branches of physical science, in which the progress effected is far less than is imagined, Protestants have really contributed nothing of any real importance to the progress of the human mind. We know the Protestant boasts, and we know what Protestants have done. Not one of the great inventions or discoveries, which have so changed the face of the modern world, with the exception, perhaps, of the mule and jenny, and a few other inventions in labor saving machinery, all of which we look upon as a curse, are due to them. Every thing degenerates, except material industry, in their hands; and yet, they have the singular impudence to accuse the Catholic Church of injuring the mind."—Oct. 1845, p. 492-494.

² "The literature of our country, such as it is, and it is nothing at best to boast of, we owe to authors not of the Puritan or Calvinistic school. The profoundest works of the Puritan school in this country are Edwards' *on the Will*, and *on the Affections*, Hopkins' *System of Divinity*, and Dwight's *Theology*. The school does little else than republish from England and Scotland, translate from the German, or compile from foreign scholars. And yet our Puritan Professor, (Park,) with the tail of a Dutch goose in his cap for plume, steps boldly forward, and accuses Catholicity of being hostile to the mind, and seriously charges the Catholic Church with being deficient in great philosophers and eminent preachers."—Oct. 1845, p. 494.

³ "Not to Catholicity, but to the policy of England and the Church by law established, must we look for Ireland's degradation. We would willingly let the question itself turn on the instance of Ireland. We want no better evidence to prove the superiority of Catholicity over Protestantism."—1845, p. 495.

classes are much more degraded in England, than they are in Austria, in Italy, or in Spain. The Austrian clergy are not inferior to the Prussian, nor the Bavarian to the Saxon; and "to represent the present body of the French clergy, whether of the first or of the second order, as inferior to the English, betrays an ignorance or a recklessness that we were not prepared for even in our Andover Professor."—1845, p. 495-497. So everywhere. Mr. Brownson forces himself to see only evil in Protestantism, and in Romanism only goodness, beauty and grace. However black this last may seem to other eyes, it is still comely to his as the tents of Kedar or the curtains of Solomon. Out to Ireland and Mexico even, he is ready to say of it: Thou art all fair, my love, there is no spot in thee."

Now to our mind, all this wholesale sweeping style is adapted to beget distrust, rather than to inspire confidence. It seems to involve a desperate determination to carry out a given theory, at all costs. Mr. Brownson's new orthodoxy sits on him with an air of stiff unnatural mannerism and constraint. It is too much a thing of logic and outward rule. It is so bent on being straight, that the very effort causes it to lean over from its own perpendicular. Its want of full inward security is betrayed, by the perpetual tendency it shows to assert itself in an extreme way.

The man draws enormously on our faith, who requires us to take the vast fact of the Reformation, with all its consequences down to the present time, as either a mere zero, or as something far worse than zero, in the history of the world and the Church. It comes before us, not as a side current simply in the stream of life, but as a force belonging plainly to its central channel. It had its ground and necessity in what went before. Whole ages looked towards it previously as their proper end. It is not more clear that the civilization of the modern world grew up in Europe, than it is that its growth and progress produced the Reformation. The fact carries in itself a universal significance, a force that reaches into politics, literature, and philosophy, as well as religion, and is capable thus of scientific exposition, as a necessary crisis in the course of Christianity. That it was in truth of such universal sense and force, is made evident by the vast agitations and changes that grew out of it in the sixteenth century, and the consequences, broad, mighty, and deep, that have continued to proceed from it down to the present time. Whatever our estimate may be of the worth of these, in themselves considered, it seems not possible for any sober mind to call in question their historical significance and moment. Protestantism, plainly, has not been an interlude simply, during the past three hundred years, in the

drama of the world's life. It belongs to the *history* of the period, in the fullest sense of the term. So far as the world can be said to have had a universal historical life at all, since the time of Luther, it must be acknowledged to have had its stream mainly in the line of Protestantism. Whether for weal or for woe, Protestant nations have taken the lead in the onward movement of humanity; and Protestant principles and interests have controlled, to a great extent, all its more prominent developments and positions. Unless, then, we choose to give up all faith in history, as a revelation of God's mind and will, we must bow before this great fact of three hundred years with earnest reverence, and admit that it has a meaning in it for the kingdom of God, in some way worthy of its vast proportions. Suppose the worst even in its case, that Protestantism, namely, is destined to prove a failure altogether, still it would be in the highest degree unphilosophical and irrational to deny its significance at least in this view, as the medium of transition for the Church to a better and brighter state, that could not have been reached without such a period of inward contradiction going before. The honor of God, the credit of religion, require that a movement which has so covered the field of history for so long a time, should in *some* form be acknowledged to carry with it a truly historical force, and to enter into the universal mission and plan of Christianity for the salvation of the world. If the space filled by Protestantism may be violently set aside as a blank in history, it would be hard to name any other period of equal duration which we might not as easily set aside in the same way. We ought to have no patience with men, who turn the first three centuries of Christianity into a sheer waste of sand, to suit their own miserable prejudices; and just as little too with those, who see only a long night of unmeaning desolation in the centuries that follow the downfall of the old Roman civilization; regardless, in the first case, of the world triumph by which Christianity was steadily conducted to the throne of the Cæsars, and in the second case, making no account of the no less magnificent new world triumph, which was accomplished in its mastery of the wild elements from which Europe draws its present life. Our faith in God, above all our reliance on Christ's special promise *not* to forsake his Church to the end of the world, will not allow us to acquiesce in the thought of any such vast hiatus or inorganic chaos in the history of Christianity. But why, we ask, should we have any more patience with this style of thinking, when we find it applied to the period since the Reformation, than we have for it as applied to the period before? Is it less arbitrary and pedantic, less frivolous and profane, to treat

the great fact of Protestantism, clearly belonging for three hundred years past to the central history of the world, as a nullity, a dream, the oversight of a sleeping Christ, than it is to look upon a like term of centuries a thousand years since, in the same dishonorable light? The fact is too wide, too deep, too overwhelmingly significant, to be set aside in that way. Make Protestantism to be as bad as you please, still springing as it has done from the inmost depths of modern civilization, and filling as it does the middle channel of modern history, we are bound by all faith in God and in Christ, to hold it of necessary sense and value in some way, for the final triumph of Christianity under its true and right form. History here, as well as elsewhere, must be allowed to be *rational*, worthy of the Mind by which it is actuated, and not the sport simply of wild winds and waves. Christ, Head over all things to the Church, has not been asleep, nor out of the way, in the rise and progress thus far, of a movement so vast in its consequences. It is something monstrous, on the part of Mr. Brownson, then, that he affects to make such small account of Protestantism, and will not allow it to be of any historical significance whatever, for the last end of Christianity. Such an assumption is a great deal too violent; and for one who has come to have any sense at all of the divine character of history, overthrows itself, while it destroys at the same time the credit of the source from which it proceeds. Romanists must learn to find some sense, and not mere Devil's play, in the Reformation, if they expect to be heard respectfully in the scientific world in opposition to its claims. If Mr. Brownson should set himself to denounce and ridicule the Allegheny mountains or the Mississippi river, as useless or absurd accidents in nature, we do not see why it would be more reproachful to his philosophy and religion, than it is for him to put scorn in like style on the vast creations of history, that come before us during the past three hundred years in the form of Protestantism; for sure we are, that a continent, shorn of its highest mountains and mightiest streams, would not miss its own universal sense more, than the tract of the world's general life must do, if the events of the last three hundred years were swept from the face of it as a mere impertinence or blank nothing.

Mr. Brownson however, is consistent with himself, and true also to the genius of his Church, in this violence offered to history. He abjures the true idea of history, and will not allow it to be of force for the period before the Reformation, any more than for the period following. History, in its very conception, implies progress; not fixed sameness, but unity in the form of

movement and change; the counterpart in time of what the manifold is in space, for an organic whole, as distinguished from mere number without unity. The sense of this is what we mean by historical feeling, and faith in history as the immanent force of a divine, and so of course supremely rational thought. But all such sense Mr. Brownson appears entirely to lack, or else resolutely to resist. History for him is no continuous living creation, that actualizes always more and more its own interior sense, and never falls away from a steady urgency towards its own last end; but a system rather of outward combinations and changes, over which God presides in a mechanical way, much at best as a chess player, whose business it is to keep the game in his own hands, through every new phase of the checkered board on which it is carried forward. The celebrated English convert, Mr. Newman, made an attempt to enlist the idea of *development*, which it is becoming so hard, in the face of modern science, for any truly scientific mind to withstand, in the service of the Roman Catholic Church. Against this pretension, however, it will be remembered, Mr. Brownson, a mere novice himself still in Romanism, but under the safe guidance of course of the powers above him, came out with the most determined contradiction and opposition. He saw and felt, correctly enough, that Romanism could not stand successfully on that ground; and he is to be acknowledged here, accordingly, a true and faithful expounder of its proper spirit and sense. Romanism is, by its very constitution, unhistorical. It lays claim indeed to history and tradition as wholly on its side, over against the abstract thinking that pretends to fetch all faith plump from the Bible; but the claim is overthrown by the fact, that it withdraws from history the idea of inward moving life, without which it has no title to its own name, and turns it thus into an existence, which is just as abstract on its own side, as the abstraction it pretends to fly from on the other. Romanism takes the truth of Christianity for an outward fact, entrusted for safe-keeping to its own hands, out of which it is to be dispensed of course in an outward way for the use of men in all ages. In this form, it must be taken to be perpetually the same, not simply as a living law in the life of the world itself, but as a formal deposit, also, and tradition in such outward style. Its history in such view, is that of a mountain, always the same through all changes of sun and storm that may play upon it from age to age. Only so, can the conception of its line-and-plummet infallibility be fairly carried through. Immense difficulties, it is true, lie in the way of this view, when we try to make it square with facts. Romanism, as it now stands, seems

to be anything but a facsimile of primitive Christianity, and the evidences of change may be said to meet us from almost every page of Church history. No two centuries appear to be alike. Still the theory requires it to be otherwise, and to this all facts must be made to bend, by violent hypothesis at least, if in no other way. Mr. Brownson has his fixed *idea* here, like every other good Romanist, and shows himself a perfect Hegelian in requiring it to underlie and rule the construction of history from first to last. The Church has been monotonously one and the same, if we are to take his word for it, from the beginning. Only error and heresy change; truth stands like a rock, against the face of which their rolling waves beat, age after age, without impression or effect. All Christian doctrines came forth from God full and complete in the beginning, and have been handed down by the Church, as an outward deposit, to the present time. The law of history is allowed to hold in other spheres of life. There is growth in nature. Humanity too, in its natural form, subsists by evolution and progress. Religion moreover meets us as a moving fact in the Old Testament. But all such growth contradicts, we are told, the proper conception of Christianity. Only sects here have any development; and then it is always away from the truth and against it.¹ Mr. Newman's theory is applicable to the sects, but not at all to the Church. "He forgets that she sprung into existence full grown, and armed at all points, as Minerva from the brain of Jupiter; and that she is withdrawn from the ordinary law of human systems and institutions by her supernatural origin, nature, character, and protection. If he had left out the Church, and entitled his book, *An Essay on the development of Christian Doctrine, when withdrawn from the Authority and supervision of the Church*, he would have written, with slight modifications, a great, and valuable book. It would then have been a sort of natural history of sectarianism, and been substantially true. But applying his theory to the Church,

¹"Catholicity is immovable and inflexible, one and the same always and everywhere; for the truth never varies. He who knows it in one age or country, knows it in all. But with the sects it is far otherwise. They must needs obey the natural laws of development, strengthened and intensified by demoniacal influence. Their spirit and tendency, indeed, are always and everywhere the same, but their forms change under the very eye of the spectator, and are rarely the same for any two successive moments. Strike where Protestantism is, and it is not there. It is in perpetual motion, and exemplifies, so far as itself is concerned, the old heathen doctrine, that all things are in a perpetual flux. You can never count on its remaining stationary long enough for you to bring your piece to a rest and take deliberate aim. You must shoot it on the wing."—Oct. 1947, p. 417.

and thus subjecting her to the law which presides over all human systems and institutions, he has, unintentionally, struck at her divine and supernatural character. The Church has no natural history, for she is not in the order of nature, but of grace."—*July, 1846, p. 366.* This is sufficiently clear. Christianity has no history, and enters not into the law of time, as this holds of all human existence besides. It owes nothing to history, but in truth stands wholly on the outside of it, as an unvarying supernatural fact, preserved by mechanical tradition from the start exactly as it is now held and taught in the Roman Church. With such a theory, it is easy to set aside Protestantism as a nullity; just as false Protestantism on the other hand, finds it easy to set aside all that crosses its humor in the ancient Church; in the same way precisely, in both cases, that the facts of geology are shorn of all their force, for those who have no sense of what belongs to the organic constitution of nature, and think it enough simply to resolve all phenomena into the abstract fiat of Jehovah.

Here, however, Mr. Brownson stands on common ground, for the most part, with those who have entered the lists with him in this controversy; and it must be admitted that the advantage, in such view, falls altogether to his side. He will have it that it is only sectarism, or dissent from Rome, that moves in the way of history. But our Protestant sects generally deny this. Rome has moved, they tell us, by apostacy and corruption; *they* represent the primitive faith, as we find it in the Bible. History, in the true sense, they reject and disown. Christianity must be accepted as "a full grown Minerva;" only not from the living Church, but from the written word; or as the Episcopilians take it, from the word and ancient tradition combined. It becomes necessary, accordingly, to assert and defend Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, or whatever else it may be, as the identical form of primitive Christianity, rightly of force for all ages, and to treat all intervening variations in Church history, as corruptions and aberrations from the truth. It is easy to see, however, that no form of modern Protestantism can successfully affirm its identity with primitive Christianity; if such identity be taken to stand in the same forms of Church thought and Church life. And if this be laid down as the necessary condition of ecclesiastical legitimacy, we see not truly how any effectual stand can be made, by any of these bodies, against the pretensions of Rome. Both sides claim divine right, in the same unhistorical way, in defiance of all historical difficulties, on the ground simply of abstract supernatural revelation. It needs of a truth a supernatural commission, to legitimate such a claim under such

circumstances. This Romanism pretends at least to show in favor of itself; while the opposite interest requires us to take in lieu of it, simply what is by confession its own merely human judgment and word. If Christianity be thus unhistorical, it is easier on the whole to accept it under the Roman form, than it is to be satisfied with it under any other. The theory still remains unreasonable and violent in its own nature; but it wins at least a relative apology, by being made to appear the necessary alternative of a scheme still more at war with reason than itself.

The false position thus taken by such unhistorical Protestantism, serves to entangle it in other wrong views, which it is not hard to turn to the advantage of the opposite side. In this way, candor constrains us to acknowledge, Mr. Brownson too often triumphs in argument over his opponents, not so much because he is himself absolutely right, as because they unhappily place themselves in the wrong.

In this warfare he wields a most active pen; not confining himself by any means, as some of his opposers might wish, to the business of parrying and warding off thrusts from the contrary side; but seeking rather to carry the main brunt of battle into the very heart of the enemy's country; fiercely assailing Protestantism in its own strongholds, and defying it to mortal combat where it is accustomed to look upon itself as most secure and strong. His attacks in this way have been renewed and repeated in various forms, particularly during the first two years after his conversion, according to the different aspects under which the war was to be met; for Protestantism, though a common interest in one view as opposed to Romanism, is still a divided interest within itself, that is not to be approached from all sides exactly in the same way.. Mr. Brownson seemed to lay himself out systematically, from the start, for the demolition of its several divisions and sections in detail. We have him at one time, accordingly, directing his artillery against the pretensions of the High Church Episcopalian; then in an article on the British Reformers, against Bishop Hopkins, routing the theory of Low Church Episcopalian; then, against the Unitarian Examiner, exposing the vanity of the No-church theory, which admits the Church in name, but denies it in fact—a theory not confined by any means to Unitarians. Again we find him doing battle with Methodism, then with Presbyterianism, then with Congregationalism, then with Transcendentalism and Socialism, which form in his view the natural and proper end of the whole Protestant movement. In the midst however of all this variety of warfare, conducted in all these different directions with so much versatility

and spirit, the fundamental argument of Mr. Brownson against Protestantism remains always the same, and is capable of being reduced to comparatively narrow dimensions. He may be said thus to have exhausted the whole force of it in his first onset, or series of assaults, so that his later polemical articles involve necessarily, in this respect, a considerable amount of self-repetition, which for the intelligent reader can hardly fail to detract somewhat at times from their interest.

The course of reasoning, which thus underlies Mr. Brownson's whole faith in Romanism,¹ and to which we are continually referred as the ultimate argument in his manifold debates with Protestantism, may be reduced briefly to the following statement:

I. Christianity is a revelation made to men by God through his Son, Jesus Christ, in other words, "the truth which Jesus Christ taught or revealed." As such, it belongs, at least in part, to the *supernatural* order, transcends nature, comes from beyond the limits of human knowledge. It is something superadded to nature. "Grace, though having the same origin, is above the order of creation, is not included in it, nor promised by it. It is, so to speak, an excess of the Divine Fulness not exhausted in creation, but reserved to be superadded to it according to the Divine will and pleasure." In this form, it is indispensably necessary for our salvation, but can be apprehended only by faith, whose vocation and prerogative it is, as distinguished from science, thus to make us sure of what transcends sense and reason. The object of faith here must be the very truth itself of this supernatural revelation, and not something else in its stead. The problem of our salvation requires, that the supernatural, as revealed by Christ and transcending our knowledge, should be appropriated to our minds notwithstanding in the way of faith or sure belief, so as to act upon us with the reality which belongs to it in its own sphere.—II. "Faith, as distinguished from knowledge and science, rests on authority extrinsic both to the believer and to the matter believed. Knowledge is intuitive, finds its motives of assent in the subject or person knowing. Science is discur-

¹ "We had already convinced ourselves of the insufficiency of Naturalism, Rationalism, and Transcendentalism; we had also convinced ourselves of the necessity of Divine revelation and of the fact that the Christian revelation was such a revelation. From this, by a process of reasoning which may be seen in the first article of this number, we arrived infallibly at the Catholic Church. The process is simple and easy. It requires no metaphysical subtlety, no long train of metaphysical reasoning. All it needs is good common sense, a reverent spirit, and a disposition to believe on sufficient evidence."—*April, 1845, p. 262.*

sive, finds its motives of assent in the object or thing known. "But in belief I must go out of myself, and also out of the object, for my motives of assent." It rests on *testimony*. All turns then of course on the authority or credibility of the witness, extrinsically considered. The supernatural cannot be attested or made sure in this way by any merely natural witness; but only by supernatural authority, that is, by God himself. Nothing less than Divine testimony can be a sufficient ground for faith in what transcends nature. This however, we may rationally trust in such case, if we have it; "because enough is clearly seen of God from the creation of the world, and understood by the things that are made, to establish on a scientific basis the fact that he can neither deceive nor be deceived; for we can *demonstrate scientifically*, from principles furnished by the light of natural reason, that God is infinitely wise and good, and no being infinitely wise and good can deceive or be deceived." But now to place our faith in contact truly with the authority of God, in the case of a Divine revelation, the fact of the revelation must be authenticated to us by a competent witness, and also the true sense of it made certain in intelligible propositions; for if it be a question whether the revelation is really from God, or if it be taken in a wrong or doubtful sense, there can be no apprehension of God's testimony as it is, in the case, and so no apprehension through this of the supernatural to which it bears witness, "Faith in the supernatural requires, then, in addition to the witness that vouches for the fact that God has made the revelation, an interpreter competent to declare the true meaning of the revelation." And as faith is required in all times and places, these necessary conditions of its exercise must be no less universal, at hand for all nations and through all ages, and of unmistakable authority for the poor and illiterate as well as for the high and learned. The witness and interpreter, moreover, must be *infallible*. Faith is a theological virtue, which consists in believing, without doubting, what God has revealed, on the veracity of God alone. "He who has for his faith only the testimony of a fallible witness, who may both deceive and be deceived, has always a reasonable ground for doubt, and therefore no solid ground for faith. Therefore, since, with a fallible witness, or fallible interpreter, we can never be sure that we are not mistaken, it follows, if we are to have faith at all, we must have a witness and interpreter that cannot err, therefore infallible."—III. As God requires faith in his word, in order to salvation, and this can have no place without the conditions now mentioned, we are bound to believe that these conditions *sine qua non* are by him provided for this

end. Where then is the infallible witness and interpreter of God's word, thus indispensable to the exercise of faith in what it reveals, to be sought and found. It is not *reason*, whether as intuitive or discursive. It is not the *Bible*; because this itself needs to be authenticated and interpreted by some infallible authority beyond itself. It is not *private illumination*; for that at best would give only a private faith, while what we are required to have is a public faith, such as can be sustained by public evidence, by arguments which are open to all and common to all. "No witness, then, remains to be introduced but the Apostolic ministry, or *Ecclesia docens*." Either this, or we have no witness.—IV. This conclusion is abundantly supported and made good also, in the way of historical fact. "The ministry is the organ through which Jesus Christ *supernaturally* bears witness to his own revelation." It is infallible, not in virtue of what it is naturally, but by his supernatural presence. Such supernatural qualification or competency might seem to be a fact itself requiring again supernatural witness; but it is not so; the credibility of the witness may be "supernaturally established to natural reason by means of miracles." A miracle connects the natural and supernatural, "so that natural reason can pass from the one to the other. Natural reason can determine whether a fact be or be not a miracle; and if it be so, can conclude from it legitimately to the supernatural cause, and to the Divine commission or authority of him by whom it is wrought. The miracle is God's own assurance to natural reason, that he speaks in and by the person who performs it; in which case we have the veracity of God for the truth of what the miracle-worker declares, and therefore infallible certainty; for God can neither deceive nor be deceived. So then the process of proof for the fact before us, namely the infallible authority of the *Ecclesia docens*, is simple and easy." The miracles of Christ, historically certified or made sure for natural reason, are sufficient to accredit his Divine commission," and authorize the conclusion that whatever he said or promised was infallible truth; for whether you say Jesus was himself truly God as well as truly man, or that he was only divinely commissioned, you have in either case the veracity of God as the ground of faith in what he said or promised. Suppose then the fact that Jesus Christ appointed a body of teachers, and promised to be always with them to make them infallible, and suppose also this fact made infallibly certain to natural reason, by proper historical evidence; have we not, in such case, infallible certainty that Jesus Christ does speak in and through this body, and that it is absolutely secure thus from error in all

it believes and teaches? Here we have recourse to the New Testament, which as a simple historical document may be infallibly clear for private reason alone, in *some* of its contents, though not in the whole. In Matth. xxviii. 18, 19, 20, Mark xvi. 15, Eph. iv. 11, we have the well known apostolical commission; which is declared to reach to the end of the world, and to have regard to all nations. In such view, it requires and implies a corporation or body, always identical with itself. This is the *Ecclesia docens*, which with such constitution must be considered corporately infallible, and whose voice all men consequently are bound to obey as the voice of God.—V. Where now is this corporate ministry to be found, at the present time. It cannot be in the Greek communion; still less in the Protestant. It is then the Roman Catholic ministry; because it can be found nowhere else, and because also its regular succession can be clearly identified here from the beginning. “Then we sum up by repeating, that Jesus Christ has instituted and commissioned an infallible and indefectible body of teachers, and this body is the congregation of the Roman Catholic pastors in communion with their chief. The Catholic Church then is the witness to the fact of revelation. What its pastors declare to be the word of God, is the word of God; what they enjoin as the faith, is the faith without which it is impossible to please God, and without which we are condemned and the wrath of God abideth on us. What they teach is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; for God himself has commissioned them, and will not suffer them to fall into error in what concerns the things they have been commissioned to teach.” Out of this Church, of course, no act of faith can take place; for faith is a theological virtue, which can be elicited only in obedience to God’s authority, propounding truth in a supernatural and also public way; which we have only in the body of pastors, and teachers belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. See the article particularly entitled, *The Church against No-Church*.—April, 1845; also *The British Reformation* in the same volume; *Faith not Possible without the Church*.—Jan., 1846; *The Two Brothers, or why are you a Protestant*.—July, 1847; &c., &c.

The main force of this reasoning lies in this, that the view maintained is made to appear the only and necessary alternative to another view, starting from the same premises, which is found to be irrational and untenable. In both cases, Christianity is taken to be a revelation of supernatural truth, which men are to receive by faith, as something wholly out of themselves, that is brought near to them for their use in a purely outward way.

As it has its source and seat beyond their proper nature altogether, so it cannot be allowed to find in this any rule or measure whatever for its apprehension. It must be taken as a matter of mere authority. The relation between the receptivity of faith on the one side, and the propounded truth on the other, the subject natural and the object supernatural, is held to be in no sense inward and living, but mechanical only and juxtapositional, the one remaining always on the outside of the other. How now is the necessary connection between the two to be mediated, so as to secure for faith a real possession of the heteronomic supernatural? We take it only on God's testimony; God is true, and we may rationally trust his word, if we have it, in so great a case. Very good; agreed so far on all sides. Now comes however another question. How are we to be sure that God has spoken in the first place, and then, in the next place that we have his very mind or sense in what he has spoken? It is not enough here to send us to the Bible; the question still returns, How do we know that the Bible is his word, and how are we to ascertain the mind of the Spirit in what it teaches? Inspiration is itself something supernatural, of which, faith needs to be infallibly assured, in order that it may be infallibly sure of what it reveals. Here however a certain system of thought, which claims to be Protestantism, although it is not Protestantism in its true and genuine sense but a corruption of it rather on the side towards Rationalism, is ready at once to respond: "We need no infallible witness to assure us of the revelation, other than the inspired Bible itself; the proofs of its divinity lie open to reason, and every man may there get the mind of God out of it for himself." But with the theory of revelation before noticed, by which it is taken to be wholly outward and transcendent, and which, resolves faith into an assent to grounds which are extrinsic both to the object and the subject, and to be found only in an authority that lies between, it is plain that this short method of settling the matter must land us at last in something very like infidelity itself. It is in truth to subordinate the supernatural to the natural, and to make the private reason of every man the seat and certification of God's oracles, sounded forth from a world which has this same reason wholly on its outside. To say "Man needs no revelation, but only the full development of his nature;" and to say: "He may by his nature assure himself infallibly that he has a revelation on the outside of him, and also make out what it means in the same outward view;" are declarations that come to very much the same result in the end. In either case we have substantial rationalism, or a faith that has to do immediately and really, not

with the supernatural at all in its own kind, but only with the natural shoved in as a supposed intermediate witness in its name and stead. Faith becomes a conclusion of logic, and not the substantiation of things invisible, immediately and directly, as they are in their own nature. The case labors under a twofold difficulty. First, the merely individual judgment is made to be the measure of truth, without regard to the claims of mind in its general character; which is in contradiction to the idea of humanity itself, as it comes before us on all other sides. Private judgment, like private will, has no force of reason ever *as private*, but becomes rational only by ceasing to be private and showing itself to be truly general. Then again, if it could be regarded as sufficient and complete, it must still be held of no power to bridge over effectually, in a real way, the impassable gulph by which it is here taken to be sundered from the object, of which faith needs to be infallibly certified and assured. The theory of the *Bible and Private Judgment* then, under this abstract form, cannot possibly bear examination. It is not only false, but pernicious to the very life of faith. It runs at last into mere naturalism and rationalism. Over against it, the argument for the idea of the Church, the claims of Christianity in its universal or catholic and historical character, and the necessity of a truly Divine certification or witness of supernatural truth for faith, is overwhelmingly conclusive. Without all this, Christianity has no power to save its proper divine credit. The alternative is, faith in this form or infidelity.¹ Romanism thus far is fully in the right; and if it can cause it to appear that its own theory, as exhibited by Mr. Brownson, is the only way of escape from what is thus opposed, we must feel ourselves bound certainly, as we fear God and value his salvation, to throw ourselves into its arms.

At present, however, we do not see this theory to be such a necessary way of escape from the ruinous system it so justly condemns on the opposite side. On the contrary, it seems to us intrinsically defective in its own constitution, as being nothing less in truth than the reverse side of that same bad system itself; which as such is found, on close inspection, to labor under substantially the same difficulty and contradiction. Here, as there, the difficulty is again of a double sort. The general is made to

¹ We propose to take up this subject again, some time hereafter, in the way of a review of two interesting and profound tracts by the justly celebrated Dr. Owen, on the *Reason of Faith* and the *Causes, Ways and Means of understanding the mind of God as revealed in his word*.

exclude the individual, as there the reverse; in contradiction to the idea of humanity, as we find it in the natural world. And then, as before, no real bridge is made to span the gulph that divides the visible from the invisible. Both views are alike in this, that they make faith to rest on a conclusion of mere natural reason, and will not allow the supernatural, as such, to come by means of it into any real union with the natural. We will try to make our meaning clear, as regards Romanism, by the following general observations, in the way of criticism on Mr. Brownson's argument in its defence.

I. The theory involves a general wrong against our human constitution, naturally considered, inasmuch as it will not allow its ordinary law of freedom to have force in the sphere of religion, which is that precisely in which it is required to make itself complete. The general law of our nature is that mind must fulfil its mission, not by following blindly a mere outward force of any sort, but by the activity of its own intelligence and will, both as general and individual. It must move in the light that springs from itself, and by the power it generates continually from within. This moral constitution includes complex relations, laws, organic interdependence, action and reaction, as in the world of nature, on a vast and magnificent scale. Still to the idea of it as a whole the conception of freedom appertains, in the form now stated, as a necessary universal distinction. The theory of Mr. Brownson however, if we rightly understand it, requires us to assume that in the highest form of religion, that which is reached in Christianity, the human mind ceases to be directly active in the accomplishment of what is brought to pass in its favor, and is a passive recipient simply of foreign action brought to bear on it in an outward way. It does not help the matter, that it is taken to be active with regard to Christianity in a different sphere; the difficulty is that no activity is allowed to it in the realization of Christianity itself, as the highest fact of the world. Christianity claims to be the perfection of man's life; this, in its ordinary constitution, unfolds itself by its own self-movement, in the way of thought and will; but just here all this is superseded by another law altogether; the supernatural comes in as the outward complement of the natural, in such sort as to make the force of this last null and void in all that pertains to its higher sphere.

II. This wrong against human nature becomes most immediately plain, in the violence which the individual mind is made to suffer, by the theory, in favor of what is taken to be general. The existence of truth is objective, and in such view of course

universal and independent of all private thought or will ; but as thus objective it must be at the same time subjective, must enter into particular thought and will, in order to be real. As object merely, without subject, it becomes a pure abstraction. Mere single mind can never be, in and by itself, the measure of either truth or right ; it must be ruled, and so bound, by the objective or the authority of the general. On the other hand, however, the general as such, mere law or object, is no such measure either, in and by itself; to be so, it must take concrete form in the life of the world, which resolves itself at last into the thinking and willing of single minds. But now, in the case before us, Romanism sets aside the authority of this order, which is found to be of such universal force for the constitution of our nature in every other view. Christianity is taken to be of force for the world under a simply abstract form ; an outwardly supernatural revelation, transcending the whole order of our common life, and not needing nor allowing the activity of man himself, as an intelligent and free subject, to be the medium in any way of its presence and power. Authority is made to be all, and freedom nothing. The authority too is cut off and sundered from the proper life of the subject, and in this way comes to no real union with his intelligence and will. It comes from abroad, stands over him in an outward way, and requires him to submit to it as a foreign force. Authority thus is not mediated at all by man's actual life; is in no sense living and concrete, but altogether mechanical, rigid, and fixed. It is from the start a given quantity, just so much, and nothing either more or less. It excludes private thought and will, according to Mr. Brownson. "The two authorities," that of private thought and that of the Church, "may indeed co-exist," we are told, "but not in regard to the same matters; for one is the negation of the other." The right of private judgment is taken to be of force only where the authority of the Church ceases ; as though each had its own territory separate from that of the other, without the possibility ever of any truly common jurisdiction. "To assume the authority of both private judgment and the Church on the same matters, is absurd. One authority necessarily excludes the other. If it is private judgment, then not the Church ; if the Church, then not private judgment." The office of reason ends, where authority begins. "We accept private judgment, as well as the Bishop (Hopkins), and give full scope to the individual reason, but only within its legitimate province. We reconcile reason and authority by ascertaining the province of reason, and confining it within its legitimate province. Questions of reason are to be decided

by reason, but questions of faith are to be decided by authority ; for all faith rests on authority, and would not be faith if it did not." See article on the *British Reformation*.—*Jan.* 1845. Authority may override private reason, and make it null. Its teachings and commands, in the case of the Church, "constitute the rule of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, good and evil. It is no matter what you prove she teaches and commands; for if it be clear that she teaches and commands it, we will maintain that it is true, right, and good, against all gainsayers, even to the dungeon, exile, or the stake, if need be." Articles of faith are first principles, or axioms in religion, over which "reason has no natural rights, never had any, never can have any ; because they lie out of her province, and belong to the supernatural, where her authority does not extend." So again : "The articles of faith are not taken from the dominions of reason, but they are certain grants made gratuitously to her, extending, instead of abridging, her authority, and therefore serve instead of injuring her."—*Oct.* 1845, p. 448-451. This, and a great deal more to the same purpose, shows clearly enough the relation in which Mr. Brownson makes faith stand to reason ; and so the view he takes of authority, or the claims of the general, as related to the rights of the individual mind. He sees rightly enough that a purely unbound freedom, liberty without law, is the very conception of slavery itself; but does not stop to take into view the other side of the truth, this namely, that a purely bound authority, law without liberty, is slavery also. "Liberty to hold and teach," he tells us, "what the Sovereign Pontiff says we may, is all the liberty we ask;" for this is liberty to obey God's law, the only liberty he allows to any man. "Law is the basis of liberty, and where there is no sovereign authority there is no law. Liberty is not in being free of all law, but in being held only to the law. We believe the Church, and the Pope as visible head of the Church, is the organ through which Almighty God promulgates the law. Consequently, in our own estimation at least, in submitting to the Pope, we find, instead of losing our liberty."—*Jan.* 1846, p. 101. Good. No law, no liberty. But still, the planet is not free in being true simply to the law that carries it round the sun ; and the animal is not free, that follows the law of its own instincts. Law here is not enough. It must be met by the spontaneity of a free subject, which with the power to go aside from its orbit, makes the law notwithstanding the very form of its own action, producing its authority purely and truly from within. Certainly, the theory before us is ready to say, the law must be obeyed freely, by the option and choice of the obeying

subject ; but this requires no autonomy of the subject, in the constitution of the law, no voice in its legislation ; all the case demands or allows, is that on grounds extrinsic wholly to its constitution the subject be rationally persuaded that obedience is wise and right. Is this however, more at last, we ask, than mere prudence, or a skilful calculation of profit and loss ? Is the man free who obeys the law, *Thou shalt not kill*, to avoid the gallows ? Is it liberty to say white is black or black white, though it should be said never so pleasantly and glibly, because we are required to do so by an authority which we feel it unsafe to resist ? Am I free when I renounce my own intelligence and will, and accept in their place another measure of truth altogether *in no union whatever with my personal reason*, whether from the hand of an earthly prince to buy political distinction, or from the hand of a pope to buy a place in heaven ? Freedom is more, a great deal, than any such outward consent to the authority of law. It is life *in* the law, union with it, the very form in which it comes to its revelation in the moral world. Place the law as an objective force on the outside wholly of the intelligence and will of those who are to be its subjects, and at once you convert it into an abstract nothing. This is the natural extreme of Romanism. Against it, the Reformation formed a legitimate and absolutely necessary reaction and protest. It is quite in the order of history, that this protest should itself lead again to extreme results on the opposite side, making the subjective everything and the supernatural objective next to nothing. But the cure for this is not just the old error ; and however much of force there may be in Mr. Brownson's polemics, as directed against Parkerism, Socialism, and Pseudo-protestantism universally, (a force which we have no wish certainly to deny or oppose.) it does not follow by any means that Protestantism, as simply opening the way for such abuse, is to be considered unsound and false from the start ; just as little as the abuses of Popery show the Catholic truths to be false, from which they can be shown to have taken their rise. It is still as true now, as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the *actualization* of truth in the world, is something which can be accomplished only through the medium of intelligence and will on the part of the world itself ; that liberty, in its genuine sense, is not simply the outward echo of authority, but the very element of its life, and the co-efficient of its power, in that which it brings to pass ; that man is no passive machine merely in the business of his own salvation ; that the free activity of the individual subject in the world of mind, never can be paralyzed or overwhelmed by the sense of law, as a

nature foreign and transcendent wholly to its own nature, without such bondage as involves in the end the overthrow of reason altogether.

The force of this position does not depend on the kind of authority, that is to be obeyed. Whether it be divine or human is all the same thing, if it is taken to be something wholly on the outside of the subject, in no way congenerous with his natural constitution, a law beyond his own reason altogether and foreign from his life. It is not in such view, that God exercises authority. His will is never arbitrary, and so never abstract. Where it touches men, it forms in truth the inmost and deepest reason always of their own being; and in such view, though it may not be fully comprehensible, and though it could never have been dreamed of without supernatural revelation, still it must be allowed, even to the mystery of the Blessed Trinity itself, to carry in itself such an organic agreement with the world's life as otherwise known, and such a felt suitableness to the demands of reason, as may serve to evidence its rationality at least afar off, and create thus a presumption in its favor from the start. It will not do to say, that reason is absolutely passive in the reception of what is propounded by Divine authority; in such way, for instance, that it would be as easy to allow five persons in the Godhead as it is to allow three, or that a Hindoo avatar might be believed as fully as the Christian Incarnation, on the strength simply of God's outward word. It may be said indeed, and with truth also, that to be sure of God's word in the case is to be sure of the intrinsic rationality of what it is thus supposed to proclaim; but this just shows, that we *cannot* be sure of his word without some regard to the intrinsic reasonableness of what it propounds, and that this itself accordingly is ever to be taken as part of the evidence for the other fact. In other words, the authority of the revelation is not abstract and foreign wholly from the nature of the life, for which it is made. Our difficulty here with Mr. Brownson, then, is not just that he arms the Pope with divine authority, whereas he might seem to be only a common man; but that such authority, in the hands of the Pope or anywhere else, should be taken to supersede and nullify so completely the true idea of human freedom. The theory rests on a wrong conception of what authority is in the world of mind, and so on a wrong conception of the true nature of the Church, as the divinely constituted organ and bearer of Christ's will among men, (as we too take it to be,) to the end of time.

III. For as already intimated in some measure, the necessary result of such a separation of liberty and law, the rights of the

subjective and the claims of the objective, is vast wrong in the end to the second of these interests as well as to the first. The true idea of authority in the moral world, requires that it should come to its revelation, under a concrete form, through the medium of the general life and in the way of history. With the theory of Mr. Brownson, however, all this fails. The Church is taken to be the infallible witness of God's mind in the Christian revelation; but not in virtue of her living wholeness as the Body of him that filleth all in all, her life serving in such universal form, as the natural medium for unfolding the full sense of its own contents; all this is precluded by the conception of an abstract ministry, or *ecclesia docens*, on which the gift of infallibility is conferred in a purely outward supernatural way. This gift is not mediated at all, in any way, by the life of the Church as a whole. The *ecclesia docens* is no organic product and outbirth of the new creation generally, which it is appointed to serve. Its prophetical, priestly and kingly functions, are not the activity of Christ's mystical body working-itself forth collectively in such form, by appropriate organs created for the purpose. The ministry rather is independent of the Church; it has a life of its own; it is a separate organization, through which the higher powers of Christianity are carried forward, by a wholly distinct channel, for the use of the world from age to age. These higher powers too belong to it in a mechanical, magical way, and not according to the ordinary law of truth and power among men. It is objected to Mr. Newman, that he makes the general mind of the Church the medium of christian knowledge. "This view, if followed out," we are told, "would suppress entirely the proper teaching authority of the Church, competent at any moment to declare infallibly what is the precise truth revealed; or at least would raise the *ecclesia credens* above the *ecclesia docens*, and reduce the office of the Church teaching to that of defining, from time to time, the dogmatic truth which the Church believing has gradually and slowly worked out from her implicit feelings. The secret supernatural assistance would then attach to the Church believing, and superintend the elaboration, rather than to the Church teaching; and if to the Church teaching at all, only so far as to enable it faithfully to collect and truly define what the Church believing elaborates."—*July*, 1846, p. 354. There is no room with this view, of course, for the conception of anything like a progressive actualization of the life of the Church, in the form of authority. As the infallibility which belongs to her is independent of her natural constitution, abstract and not concrete, so it lies also wholly, on the outside of her proper be-

man presence in the world. To be out of history, is to be out of humanity. All this is encumbered with difficulty. We find no clear account of it in the New Testament. What is said there of the Church and its ministry, leads of itself to no such conception. The two forms of existence are exhibited rather as one; the second proceeding organically from the first; the entire constitution holding moreover under the character of life, real human life, in unity with itself throughout. It is not easy again, to withstand the universal analogy of the actual world in favor of the same view. Humanity, in all other cases, accomplishes its destiny by organic co-operation, carried forward in the form of history. Truth is brought to pass for it, through the medium of its own activity, the whole working towards its appointed end by the joint ministry of the parts, in such a way however, as to be something more always than these separately taken. So it is in the sphere of science; so in the sphere of art; so in the sphere of politics and social life. In each case, we have association, organization, historical movement; intercommunity of powers and functions; in one direction activity to guide and rule, in another direction activity to obey and follow; but this distinction conditioned by the life of the corporation itself in its whole character, and so always more or less free and flowing, not fixed by arbitrary ordination from abroad. The same law is allowed to have place in the sphere of religion too, beyond the precincts of Christianity. Even Judaism, we are told, was not exempt from its operation. But in the sphere of the Church, as it stands since Christ, we are required to take all differently. As a supernatural constitution, it must not conform to the order of nature. It must be neither organic, nor historical, nor human, in its higher life; but one long monotony rather of mere outward law and authority, superseding the natural order of the world, and contradicting it, age after age, to the end of time. The Roman system carries in itself thus a constant tendency to resolve the force of Christianity into magic, and to fall into the snare of the mere *opus operatum* in its bad sense. It must be confessed, at all events, that the theory, right or wrong, labors here under a difficulty, which it is by no means easy for a truly thoughtful mind to surmount.

IV. This brings us to notice more particularly, in the next place, the general relation in which the supernatural is taken by this system to stand to the natural, and its corresponding view of divine revelation. The two worlds are held to be wholly disjoined and separate the one from the other, so that any connection which is formed between them is regarded as outward only and not in

the way of common life. The truth with which faith has to do belongs to the "supernatural order," which transcends altogether, we are told, the order of nature; holds out of it, above it and beyond it; and cannot come to any organic union with it, under its own form. The two worlds are sundered by an impassable gulph, as regards inward constitution and being; only by the word of God, as an outward report, it is possible for faith, in the sphere of nature, to be infallibly assured of what lies beyond in a higher sphere.¹ This abstract conception of the supernatural, as something that refuses utterly to flow into one life in any way with the natural, may be said to underlie the whole theory of Romanism, as we find it set forth by Mr. Brownson; and it is of so much the more force to lend it plausibility, as it is for substance very generally accepted as correct, only with a less broad application, by those who are most forward to oppose the pretensions of this system as vain and false. Much of our Protestant orthodoxy, it must be confessed, rests on precisely the same abstract supernaturalism, in the view it takes of the Bible as the medium of divine revelation; without seeing that from such premises we are shut up at last, without help or escape, to the Romanist conclusion; since if the matter of revelation be wholly without self-evidencing power for faith, and such that it can be received on the ground of outward divine authority or testimony only, it follows plainly that we need also an infallible outward witness in the Church, to assure us in like mechanical style

¹ We have a strong assertion of such *transcendence* in the article, "*Natural and Supernatural*."—Jan. 1847, p. 110, 111, in reply to the allegation of an opponent that man's capacity of knowing God, as far as it goes, can be only through kindred powers. "Why could not Newton's dog know Newton? Because he had not the kindred powers." Mr. Brownson accepts the case as in point, and turns it to his own use. The dog did know his master within the range of a dog's nature; but not in the order in which Newton transcended this; "no one can know naturally above the order of his nature," and so no one can know naturally the supernatural. But will the objector deny, asks Mr. B., "that Almighty God, if he had chosen, could, by a special act of his power, have so elevated the dog's powers as to have enabled him to know his master in the full sense in which one man may know another?" And so the mind of man may be supernaturalized, by the gift of faith, into a capacity for apprehending the supernatural; while all this implies no fitness in his nature previously for any such apprehension. But is not this now, we ask, to set the higher sphere wholly on the outside of the lower, and to make the translation from the second to the first a simple miracle? The dog, to ascend into the order of man's life, must be *essentially* changed, created over again altogether; and if the supernatural entering man's life be a like process, it must be virtually his demolition and the construction of a new being, by Divine fiat, in his place.

where this authority is really and truly at hand. The reasonableness of faith turns not at all, according to this school, on any correspondence in which it stands directly with its own contents, but purely and exclusively on its relation to the extrinsic authority on which they are accepted as true. The principle, that we must judge the speaker by the word, however sound within the sphere of nature, is taken to involve infidelity, or at least a strong leaning to it, when adopted in the sphere of religion; "for it cannot be adopted in the sphere of religion without first denying, that in religion there is anything to be believed which transcends natural reason; therefore it cannot be adopted without denying supernatural revelation; and to deny supernatural revelation is what is meant by infidelity."—Oct. 1845, p. 510.

It might seem enough to convict this theory of error, so far as the Bible is concerned, that this bears on the face of it throughout clear proof of a real union of the supernatural with the natural, in the persons of the sacred writers. The truth it reveals is conditioned in the form of its manifestation always, by the mind and education of the men who give it utterance, and through them by the living human relations in the midst of which they stood. No two prophets think alike or speak alike. Their inspiration then is no abstraction, no divine mechanism, but something that truly descends, with all its divinity, into the order of nature. And what shall we say of Him, in whom all prophecy and inspiration became at last complete? Was it his office simply to stand between the two worlds that met in his person, and report *mysteries* over from one to the other, for the use of faith, in a purely outward way? What is meant then by the declaration: The *Word* became *Flesh*, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. Surely if the gospel means anything, we have here at least the supernatural order linked in real organic union with the natural, and showing thus the capacity of this last, as well as its need, to receive into itself such higher life as its own proper complement and end. It will not do, in the face of such a fact as the *Incarnation*, to say that the realities with which faith has to do in distinction from reason are wholly without light or evidence for this last in their own nature, and as such to be taken on the mere authority of God ascertained in some other way; in such sense that a man might be supposed to be infallibly sure first that he has this authority to go upon, and so be prepared to accept any and every proposition as true, on the strength of it, with equal readiness and ease. What is revelation, if it be not the actual entrance of the supernatural in some way over into the sphere of the natural? That which remains wholly beyond the orb of man's life, naturally considered, and in no living contact with it at any point, cannot be said surely to be revealed at all for his

apprehension and use. All revelation, as distinguished from magic, implies the self-exhibition of God, in a real way, through the medium of the world in its natural form. To a certain extent, we have such a revelation in the material universe. The outward creation is the symbol, mirror, shrine and sacrament, of God's presence and glory, as a supernatural fact, in the most actual way. The word of prophecy and inspiration is the gradual coming forth of eternal truth into time, in a like real way, through the medium of human thought and speech ; a process, which completes itself finally in the full domiciliation, we may say, of the Infinite Word itself in the life of the world by Jesus Christ. It is an utterly unevangelical conception of this fact, to think of Christ only as an outward teacher or reporter of secrets, belonging to another order of existence wholly from that in which he appeared among men. Such a conception involves in fact the old Gnostic imagination, by which the supernatural side of his existence was never allowed to come to any really inward and organic union with its natural or simply human side ; in consequence of which this last became always a phantom, and the first at the same time an extra-mundane abstraction. In Christ, most literally and truly, the supernatural order came to a living and perpetual marriage with the order of nature ; which it could not have done, if the constitution of the one had not been of like sort with that of the other, (man made in the image truly of God,) so as to admit and require such union as the last and only perfect expression of the world's life. It lies then in the nature of the case, that Christ can be no abstraction, no solitary portent, in the midst of the world. If his incarnation involved a real entrance into its life at all, (and not simply an avatar, whether for an hour or for ten thousand years,) it must stand in living inward relation, and this fundamental too and central, with its entire organization and history under every other view. The lines of truth must fall in upon it as their necessary centre, from all sides, out to the farthest periphery of nature. It must be found to carry in it the inmost and deepest sense of the universal sphere to which it belongs. It is a fact therefore which must come harbingered and heralded by voices from the deep, and long shadows thrown before, signs, prophecies, and types, from every quarter ; all made clear at last indeed only by the event itself ; whilst with equal necessity, the powers of history may be expected to throw themselves subsequently, always more and more, into its train, the world before and the world behind joining thus in one and the same loud acclamation : " Hosannah to the Son of David ! Blessed is he that cometh in the name

of the Lord!" But now, if this be the relation of the supernatural in Christ himself to the sphere of nature, it is not easy certainly to acquiesce in any theory of the Church, by which this is taken to be the medium of divine revelation in a wholly different style. An abstract Church, is as much at war with the true mystery of Christianity, as an abstract Christ. The Church, according to Mr. Brownson, is the infallible witness of God's word, not in the way of any really human mediation in the case, but in a wholly outward and unearthly way, by a special fiat of grace investing it with such infallibility, as a fixed mechanical fact, in no union whatever with the laws of our life under its ordinary form.¹ This we find it by no means easy to admit. The view works back unfavorably on the whole idea of revelation; and especially wrongs, in the end, the character of Jesus Christ. We are very far from believing, that the divinity of a revelation turns on its having no common life with humanity; on the contrary it seems to us to become complete, in proportion precisely as the supernatural, by means of it, is brought to enter most fully and truly into the conditions of the natural.

V. The theory carries with it finally, as it seems to us, a wrong conception of the true nature and power of faith, involving in the end the very consequence it seeks professedly to shun, namely the subordination of faith to reason or its resolution into mere logic. It goes on the assumption that the supernatural, with which faith has to do, is so sundered from the natural, as to admit no direct approach or apprehension from that side; that truth in such form is inevident for the mind wholly in its own nature, and without force of reason intrinsically to engage its assent; that the mind is moved to such assent in its case accordingly, not by any motives either in itself or in the object set before it, but by something extrinsic to both, the weight of an

¹ Mr. Brownson sees the Church always as an order extrinsical to the life of nature, or to humanity in its own proper form. Human institutions, he admits, allow a mixture of good and bad; but the Church, he will have it, is no *human* institution. "If Christian, she is divine—for Christ is God; and then she is not a human institution, unless God and man are identical;" and so she must be taken as only and wholly true, right, and good.—*July, 1849, p. 310.* But Christianity in the individual believer is divine too; does it then make *him* to be also free from all error and sin? Even an apostle, it seems, might do wrong. And is the Church in fact so good, as to be literally *sinless* as well as infallible? Her divine side of course is both one and the other; but she has also her human side, her divinity shines through humanity; she is not only the heavenly leaven of Christ's life in the world, but the true and proper life of the world itself also in the progress of being leavened. The progress here is not at once the end.

intermediate authority which is felt to be fully valid as a ground of certainty, without regard to the nature of what is thus taken on trust one way or another. "In belief," says Mr. Brownson, "I must go out of myself, and also out of the object, for my motives of assent." Subjective and objective come to no union or contact whatever. The gulph between them is sprung only by means of outward *testimony*. The case requires indeed Divine testimony; but still it is this always as something *between* the subject and object, in a purely separate and external way. As such, the testimony itself needs of course to be authenticated, before it can be rested upon as sure and certain; and this authentication must be again infallible. Such a witness of God's veracity we have in the Church, whose voice accordingly is to be taken as the true sense always of his word. The Divine authority of the Church, it is supposed, may be established for natural reason in its own sphere; although this of itself is not enough to produce faith. For that we need what is termed the *donum fidei*, a supernatural benefit conferred by the ministry of the Church itself through the holy sacrament of Baptism.

We object to the way in which faith is here opposed to reason. Its opposition is properly to sense, and to nature as known through sense; to reason, only so far as this is taken for the understanding in its relation to such knowledge. Faith is the capacity of perceiving the invisible and supernatural, the substantiation of things hoped for, the certification of things not seen (Heb. xi. 1); which, as such, does not hold on the outside of reason, any more than this can be said of sense, but opens to view rather a higher form of what may be called its own proper life, in which it is required to become complete, and without which it must always remain comparatively helpless, blind, and dark. It requires of a truth, in our present circumstances, a supernatural influence to call faith into exercise; no force of logic, and no simply natural motives, can bring it to pass; there must be for the purpose a new life by the Spirit of Christ. But still all this forms at last but the proper education, or drawing out, of the true sense of man's life as it stood before. Faith does not serve simply to furnish new *data* for thought in an outward way, but includes in itself also, potentially at least, the force of reason and knowledge in regard to its own objects. It stands in rational correspondence with its contents, and involves such an apprehension of them as makes the mind to be in some measure actually in their sphere. Faith touches its object as truly as sense. This requires indeed the medium of God's veracity; we can perceive the supernatural, only as we feel and know that

God exists; faith thus sees all things in God. But the veracity of God here is no abstraction; it reaches us in and by the things it verifies and affirms. So in the world of nature. Mr. Brownson will not allow the revelation of God in nature to be for faith at all; we have it, he says, by mere reason; "regarded solely as the author, upholder, and governor of nature, he is natural, and hence the knowledge of him as such is always termed *natural theology*." In this character, "he is naturally cognoscible, according to what St. Paul tells us, Rom. i. 20."—*April*, 1845, p. 146. But surely mere logic can never conclude from the world of sense to the world of spirit, from the finite to the infinite. To perceive God in nature requires far more than any syllogism. We see him there, only when he authenticates himself to us by his works, as the immediate felt symbol of his presence; and then our perception is faith. So St. Paul, Heb. xi. 3: "*Through faith* we understand that the worlds mere framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." Through the world of sense, faith looks continually, not the logical understanding, to the vast and glorious Reality that lies beyond, and of which it is only the outward type or shadow. Nature in this view is a divine word, (as in the 19th psalm,) always showing forth the supernatural; having its seal or witness too in the veracity of God, that is, in his being, as a fact underlying the phenomenal creation; while however, at the same time, this fact makes itself immediately certain, not from beyond, but in and by the very document, which it thus seals and certifies for faith. And why should it be different in the case of revelation, under its higher view? God speaks in the Bible; and he must himself authenticate his own voice. This implies however no merely outward certification, apart from the word itself. He reveals himself for faith, in and by the word, as the very medium of his own presence. This becomes most clear in the person of Jesus Christ, the Word Incarnate, by whom all previous revelation is made at last complete. How is *He* authenticated for faith? By Divine testimony. In what form? Miracles, according to Mr. Brownson. "From the miracle the reason concludes legitimately to the supernatural cause, and to the Divine commission or authority of him by whom it is wrought." Jesus Christ performed miracles, and stands accredited by them as a Divine teacher. But could a miracle legitimate the pretensions of the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith? Certainly not. The miracle itself needs to be authenticated, by the living person and word of him whose commission it is appointed to seal. This is plain from Deut. xiii. 1-3; which is of itself

sufficient to show that reason is concerned, in faith, not simply with the seal of God's word outwardly considered, but with the intrinsic reasonableness also of the word itself. A miracle in favor of a lie proves nothing. Is the word itself then enough, without the miracle? By no means. Only they are not to be sundered one from the other. They are wedded together as body and soul. The body authenticates the presence of the soul; but it is only as the soul, at the same time, authenticates the life of the body. Christ's miracles then are indeed a divine attestation of his character and mission; but their true force for this end holds at last in their relation to his person. *That* underlies all truth in the world besides; and how then could it be proved or made sure by any other form of truth, taken as something separate from itself? Christ thus authenticates himself, and all else that is true. Not abstractly again however, but concretely, in and by the living relations of his presence in the world. The supernatural in his life, including his miracles, forms but the natural and proper expression of what his life was in its own power. The force of all falls back finally on his person itself; and it is with this accordingly that faith has to do primarily, in accepting his Divine mission. The voice of God for it, attesting the revelation comes not from abroad, but in and through the revelation itself. Thou art the Christ, it says with Peter, and to whom else shall we go; thou hast the words of eternal life. "He that believeth on the Son of God," says St. John, "hath the witness in himself; he that believeth not God—in and by this revelation—hath made him a liar" (1 John v. 10). Not to own and obey Christ, is the greatest possible wrong to truth which any man can commit. It is such a blow at God's veracity as can be aimed at it in no other way; for the Truth of truth itself is Christ, the alpha and omega of life, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Faith here is not indifferent to the word and work of Christ; but still it sees these in the light of his person, and does not so much conclude to this as from it, in the view it takes of their significance. It is not by establishing his miraculous conception, or the fact of his resurrection, in an abstract separate view, that we prove him to be the Son of God; but we must feel him in the first place to be the Son of God, with Peter, before we can truly believe, on any evidence, either the first of these facts or the last. *He* is the last proof of both. So in the Creed. Christ authenticates himself for faith, not by mere outward warrant and seal of any sort, but by direct communication, in some way, with the rational nature of men, as being himself indeed the life of reason and the only true light

of the world. Faith here, as in all other cases, is led by motives of assent in its object, and not simply by motives drawn from some other quarter; or in other words, the authority of God moving it is not on the outside of the object, but comes to view in and by the object bearing its proper seals, these last having no conclusive force save in union and connection with the first.

Mr. Brownson himself is forced to allow something like this in the end, though as it seems to us not without contradiction to his own general theory. Reason may conclude in its own sphere, he says, from the natural to the supernatural by the miracle; but not so as to generate faith; this comes in another way as a free donation from God. It is not given to us in the fact that we are human beings, but supernaturally, so as to lift us from the order of nature to the order of grace. Supernaturalized in this way, "the creditive subject is placed on the plane of the supernatural credible object, and they are thus *correlatively* creditive and credible; and if no obstacle intervene, the act of faith is not only elicitable, but elicited, *without other motive than is contained in the subject and object*, as is the case with every act of faith, whether human or divine." Faith then is not blind and regardless of its object. "The *donum fidei* is not a general *vis creditiva*, but simply *vis creditiva* in relation to its special correlative, the supernatural credible object." What it believes is the authority of God, but this authority in identification always with the object it commands to faith; just as light, in the natural world, bears witness to the objects of sense, shows them as they are for the eye, by making them at the same time the medium of its own revelation. Such is the view given of the subject in the article, *Liberalism and Catholicity*.—*July*, 1846; which however, as we have just said, seems not to agree fully with what is said, when we are told, *April*, 1845, "that faith or belief, as distinguished from knowledge and science, rests on authority extrinsic both to the believer and the matter believed." If this be meant simply to exclude the notion that reason is the mother of faith, the so-called *Vulgar Rationalism*, it is all very well. But in the hands of Mr. Brownson, it is made to mean much more. It seizes faith out of the sphere of reason altogether, and reduces it to the character of a mere blind assent to outward authority; contrary to what we find him saying again of the *donum fidei*, as an actual bringing of the subject into inward correlation with the object believed. Where the authority for faith is thus taken to be extrinsic to the supernatural object, as with the system generally, we are thrown at last on the very rationalism, which it is sought in this way to avoid. So our

common abstract supernaturalism, on the Protestant side, is in the habit of concluding *logically*, from miracles and other evidence in the sphere of nature, to the supernatural authority of the Bible, and then pretends to make this, in such outward view, a complete succedaneum subsequently for all reason besides—as though reason and revelation were only contiguous spheres, the one ending where the other begins; not considering, that the whole authority of the Bible itself thus can be no better at last than the strength of the logic, on which as an arch it is made in this way fundamentally to rest. To make the Church however a succedaneum for reason, in like outward style, comes precisely to the same thing. Allow the *donum fidei*, as an elevation of the mind to the plane of the supernatural, and the case is changed; but then also it is no longer easy to see, why faith should be bound so mechanically to the voice of the Church, as an authority extrinsical to the truth itself. The Church we hold too to be the medium of the Christian revelation, the organ by which Christ makes himself known in the world, and which is to be reverenced on this account, through all ages, as his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all. But it is all this, not in a mechanical quasi-magical way, as a witness set forward to propound the truth in outward style only, a supernatural automaton with the Pope at Rome for its mouth piece. The Church is the body of Christ, only as it serves to reveal Christ, under a truly living and historical form, in the history of the world; in which view all the power it has to propound Christ as an object of faith, is found in the fact of its being itself an object of faith through Christ and from him, the form in which his life completes itself among men. Faith starts then in Christ. *Because* we believe in him, we believe also the Holy Catholic Church; and not in the reverse order. The Church is still necessary as an indefectible witness to the truth; but her indefectibility is a moral fact, not a physical necessity, made good through the activity of the general Christian life itself, the life of Christ in his people, working out its own problem in a truly human way. Why should not the supernatural in this form be quite as accessible for the *donum fidei*, as when exhibited or propounded in a purely outward and abstract style? Nature, we know, is not grace. This pertains to a higher order. But why may not the higher order reveal itself through the very life and constitution of the lower, supernaturalizing it for its own ends, as well as in an abrupt outside way; in such sort as to be for faith still all the authority that is needed, to place it in the infallible possession of Christ's word?

It may be made a question, whether the Roman system itself, rightly understood, actually claims in its own favor any such purely outward and mechanical infallibility, as we find attributed to it by Mr. Brownson and others of like wholesale zeal. At least, there is much in its order and history to conflict with the supposition, and to show that it is not the true original sense of what the Church is required to be for our faith in this view. A somewhat curious exemplification is furnished here by a late work entitled, *Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome*; in which, among other discussions, there occurs a friendly disputation with two learned professors of the Roman University on this very topic, the infallibility of the Church. The ground is taken on the Protestant side, that the Church of Rome does not formally claim to be infallible, that there is no decree of any general council, no bull of any pope, no canon or article of an authoritative nature, asserting any such attribute in her favor. This was at first treated with derision by the Jesuit professors; but on being seriously challenged to prefer proof to the contrary, they showed themselves completely puzzled and perplexed, and in the end were compelled fairly to give up the point. With all their learning, no such decree, bull, or canon, could be quoted.¹ It is one thing to affirm that the Church is indefectible, as the

¹ *Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome. Being Notes of conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion in the City of Rome. By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M. A.—p. 138-144.* The work has some things that read strangely. So far as we know, however, it is allowed to pass as authentic. Since the date of these conversations, we have a pretty explicit claim to infallibility, in the form required, on the part of the present Pope, if his Encyclical Epistle, Nov. 9, 1846, is to be taken as of any canonical force. "Hinc plane appetit," he says, "in quanto errore illi etiam versentur, qui ratione abutentes, ac Dei eloquia tamquam humanum opus existimantes, proprio arbitrio illa explicare, interpretari temere audent, cum Deus ipse jam constituerit auctoritatem, quæ verum legitimumque cœlestis suæ revelationis sensum diceret, constabiliret, omnesque controversias in rebus fidei et morum infallibili judicio dirimeret, ne fideles circumferantur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitia hominum ad circumventionem erroris. Quæ quidem viva et infallibilis auctoritas in ea tantum viget Ecclesia, quæ a Christo Domino supra Petrum ædificata, suos legitimos semper habet Pontifices sine intermissione ab ipso Petro ducentes originem, in ejus Cathedra collacatos, et ejusdem etiam doctrinæ, dignitatis, honoris ac potestatis hæredes et vindices. Et quoniam ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia, ac Petrus per Romanum Pontificem loquitur, et semper, in suis successoribus vivit, et judicium exercet, ac p̄gestat quærentibus fidei veritatem, iecirco divina eloquia eo plane sensu sunt accipienda, quem tenuit ac tenet hæc Romana Beatissimi Petri Cathedra, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum mater et magistra fidem a Christo Domino traditam integrum inviolatamque semper servavit."—This is sufficiently bold and strong, it must be confessed.

pillar and ground of the truth, and another thing quite to predicate infallibility of all her judgments and decisions in an abstract magical way. The Church is constitutionally holy, called to holiness and formed for holiness; yet never in such form as to be absolutely free, here on earth, from corruption and sin. So too she is constitutionally true, and the truth can never fail from her communion, as it can have no place also beyond it; yet all this in the midst of present error, confusion and contradiction. The truth is in her life, considered as a whole, and is to be sought in such form by the individual believer, with child-like though still free and independent docility and obedience. Even the Church of Rome is compelled to allow this to some extent, in her own way. If the case required only an outward oracle on the one side, and implicit passive obedience on the other, how has it happened that the authority after all is not offered, in every case, in the most direct and universally accessible form, for all to read or hear at any moment without the possibility of mistake? This, we all know, is not the case. The infallibility attaches, not to the ministers of the Church separately, but to the ministry as a whole; and so it is only in certain circumstances, and under certain conditions, that the Pope himself, the head of the corporation, is to be taken as its true voice. Seven requisites must be at hand, we are told, to show a decision of the pope infallible; 1st. communication with the bishops of the universal Church, asking the assistance of their prayers; 2nd. the possession of all available information on the point in hand; 3d. a formal assertion of authority; 4th. universal promulgation; 5th. universal reception by the Church as infallible authority; 6th. limitation to proper sphere, having for its matter a question of faith or morals; 7th. freedom, on the part of the pope, from all outward compulsion or constraint. This is something wide away from a mere mechanical infallibility. There is no safety in the mind of the pope, any farther than it is found to hold in *living communion* with the mind of the universal Church; and of this no assurance can be had by the common christian, without active, waking, and earnest attention on his own part. Plainly the infallibility here claimed is not inspiration. Mr. Brownson himself makes it to be different. If however it were wholly above the ordinary law of knowledge, by which truth is apprehended through the activity of mind in its general living character, it must be fully equivalent to inspiration or else mere magic. The very fact then that this is disclaimed, goes to show that the infallibility in question is conditioned after all by the working of the universal mind of the Church, that it is a result

of the concrete life of the Church, and that it belongs thus to the process of history and must bear also a truly historical form. If it were not so, why should the pope ever hesitate or pause, when any new decision is to be made, instead of fetching forth at once from the promptuary of his infallible stewardship the precise answer required. Just now, it seems, he is travailing in pain with the article of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and has called on the bishops of the universal Church to assist him by their prayers, in the business of bringing it, if possible, to a satisfactory official decision.¹ But if there be no *history* for christian doctrine, no development, no growth or progress; if on the contrary all is to be regarded as a full grown Minerva from the beginning; why, we may well ask, the suspense of centuries on this great article heretofore, in the midst of interminable strife and war; and why this difficulty in bringing the infallibility of the pope to bear upon it forthwith, for its final settlement at the present time. It shows two things; first, that Christianity, for Rome itself, is *not* full grown from the start, and one always in the form of its faith; secondly, that the pope, to have authority even for Rome, must be more than a divine automaton, must be incorporated actively with the life of the Church, must be the organ of truth for it through the mediation

¹ See his late *Encyclical*, dated Gaeta, Feb. 2, 1849; where he represents the subject as weighing heavily on his mind, announces that he has appointed a special commission of eminent theologians and cardinals to investigate its claims, and calls upon the bishops to have prayers solemnly offered in all the churches for his illumination and guidance in so great a concern, as well as to report to him the mind and feeling of the faithful in regard to it throughout the Catholic world. This surely is something more than simply affirming an old truth, clearly possessed from the beginning, in the face of a new error. "If there be anything in which Catholic theologians are agreed," says Mr. Brownson, "it is in these two points; that the revelation in the beginning was perfect, and that nothing can be proposed by the Church to be believed, *fide divina*, not revealed from the beginning."—1847, p. 66. "If there be anything uniformly taught by our theologians, it is that the faith of the Fathers was perfect, that the revelation committed to the Church was complete and entire, and that the Church has, from the first, faithfully, infallibly, taught or proposed it. If this be true, as it would at least be temerity to question, there can be, there can have been, no latent or merely virtual doctrine, waiting for heresy and controversy to call it forth, and to render it formal and actual. There is implicit belief,—for individuals may be ignorant, some on one point, and some on another; but there is, save in a very restricted sense indeed, no implicit teaching."—p. 77. Has the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin been part of this formal teaching from the time of the Apostles? If so, why all this hesitation and care on the part of the Pope, about erecting it into an article of faith in the year 1849?

of this life itself, reaching him at last in a perfectly human and historical way. With any such view as this, however, the theory of infallibility against which we have been arguing, and which seems to us to be held by Mr. Brownson, at once falls to the ground.

We have a striking, and as it appears to us very significant, illustration of Mr. Brownson's wrong view of history, in an article on *The Church in the Dark Ages*, published July, 1849. While he shows off with just severity the stupidity of the slang, which is often employed against this period, by men who show themselves profoundly ignorant of the whole glorious mission accomplished by the Church after the downfall of the Roman empire,¹ he has no mind at the same time to fall in with the undue glorification of mediæval history into which some have been carried latterly, by a sort of reaction against that other extreme. Digby's *Mores Catholici, or Ages of Faith*, he considers not sufficiently guarded on this side. With all that was good in the Chnrch, as such, those ages were full of abominations under a different view. She had by no means a clear field and her own way, for a thousand years, as her enemies now say, but stood in constant battle with hostile forces that sought to bring her down to the dust. It is well enough, Mr. Brownson thinks, for Protestants, of the Romantic and Puseyite Schools, to seek a rehabilitation of this old, long misunderstood and abused, mediæval life; their own Church is a mere corpse, and they may be pardoned for seeking to deck her off in the robes of the dead past, instead of those that belong to the present; but with Catholics (Roman) it is different. "They seek their Lord not

¹"Never indeed did she give more unequivocal proofs of her supernatural origin and support, than in those ages of ignorance, violence and blood; never did she struggle with more manifest supernatural constancy and force, or with more glorious trophies to her celestial prowess." Those ages open with the destruction of the Western Roman Empire, and the permanent settlement of the Northern Barbarians on its ruins. Society was reduced almost to chaos, a new civilization was to be created out of the most wild and rude material. The church, after having subdued the world as it stood before had her own work to do over again. "Far more disheartening were her prospects than when she concealed herself, in the catacombs, or bled under Nero, Decius, Maximian, and Diocletian; and far more laborious was the task now before her, than that which she had accomplished in passing from that upper room in Jerusalem to the throne of the Cæsars." Alas, how much of the argument for the divine power of Christianity as found in the form of church history, is obscured or altogether lost for those who yield themselves to the prejudice, (blind as Erebus, though wiser in its own conceit than seven men who can render a reason,) that the darkness of the Middle Ages sprang from the Catholic Church.

in the dead past, but in the living present, in the Church that is, and is to be until the consummation of the world, unvaried and invariable." The distinctive human side of the Middle Ages, the new element which then came into society, Mr. Brownson seems anxious rather to disown, as something outward and foreign altogether to the proper Christian life. As far as the Church was active in the phenomena of the time, we accept them and glory in them, he tells us, but as it regards all lying beyond, we feel comparatively indifferent. "Under the point of view of humanity, it matters little to us, as Catholics, how dark, how superstitious, how turbulent, violent, or barbarous" these ages were. Strange to say, we find the advocate of Romanism here joining hands, to some extent, with Pseudo-protestantism, in the view that the proper sense of the world was interrupted and stopped by the overthrow of the old Roman civilization; that there is no meaning in the chaos that follows, farther than it gave room to labor for the recovery of what had been lost; and that the great task and problem for a whole millennium of years following, was simply to fill up its own blank by the reconstruction of the Christian life once more in its first form. How does this happen? Pseudo-protestantism sees in the Middle Ages only the growing power of Rome, and gives them up accordingly as a "grand apostacy" from first to last, (the Devil's millenium, Christ asleep and the gates of hell triumphant,) for the purpose of making short and easy its own argument against the Pope. Mr. Brownson, on the other side, with much better perspicacity, begins to see in these same Middle Ages, Dark Ages, or as they are sometimes called Ages of Faith, the embryonic life of Protestantism itself, ripening in the womb of Catholicism, by a pregnancy of centuries instead of months, under the forms of the Roman faith and worship, for the mighty birth that followed by due course of time in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Such undoubtedly is the true view of this great fact. Protestants, who insist on sundering the Reformation from the Church life of the previous period, do as much as they well can to ruin their own cause. Unless it be the product of all earlier church history, it can deserve no faith. Let it appear on the other hand, that the causes which led to it, under God, were in full force for centuries before; that they were seated in the life of the modern world as a part of its intrinsic nature and constitution; that their operation is to be traced back even to the world-historical epoch, which laid the foundations of modern society amid the crumbling ruins of that which went before; and it becomes at once to the same extent

difficult to resist the conviction, that it belongs to the true sense of Christianity, and that it came to pass by the finger of God. Such in truth is the actual state of the case. The new form of humanity brought in by the Northern Barbarians did not merely furnish material for re-civilizing Europe in its old form, but offered elements which were not previously at hand for the creation also of another order of civilization; by which in the end Christianity was to become more complete, than it could ever have become under the first order. Out of this new order of the Christian life, made possible only through the Germanic nature as distinguished from the old Roman, sprang with inward necessity at last the *Protest* of the Reformation. Mr. Brownson, as we have said, sees this; more quick of vision here than many Protestants; and sets himself to forestall, as he best can, the weight it carries against his own cause. "We frankly confess," he says, "we are Græco-Roman, and to us all tribes and nations are barbarian, just in proportion as they recede from the Græco Roman standard." This is the climax of culture, humanly considered. "Nowhere else does history show us man receiving, under all the aspects of his nature, so high, so thorough, so symmetrical, and so masculine a cultivation, as under this wonderful civilization." Add Christianity to it, "and you have a civilization beyond which there is nothing to seek." Tried by this standard, the Middle Ages cannot stand the test. The Church labored to re-civilize them, as well as she could, according to the old norm, with which she has a native affinity; but this could be done only so far as the nations were brought to exchange the Barbaric nature for the Roman. "Wherever the barbaric element has remained predominant in the national life, as in Russia, Scandinavia, Prussia, Saxony, Northern Germany, or where, through exterior or interior causes, it has regained the preponderance, as in England and the once Christianized Oriental nations, the nation has relapsed into heathenism, or fallen off into heresy or schism. In several of the nations which have fallen off from the Church, the old barbaric institutions, traditions, customs, and hereditary hatred of Græco-Roman civilization, always survived in the heart of the people, and nourished a schism between its national life and its Christian faith." In all this there is much truth. The Romanic nations remain Papal; while the Germanic nations, in virtue of a new element peculiar to themselves, could never make over their will in the same way to mere outward rule, and so in the end have become Protestant. It is perfectly clear that *nationality* has exercised a determining influence on this great issue, from the beginning.

Protestantism is the child of the modern civilization, the Teutonic life, and not of the Graeco-Roman.¹

But what now is the true significance of this fact? The old Graeco Roman civilization, says Mr. Brownson, must be held normal for all ages; your Teutonic life consequently is at fault, just in the measure of its variation from this rule; and so Protestantism is found to be simply part and parcel of the same general abnormality, the final upshot, we may say, of the war carried on with the authority of the church by the refractory spirit of these Northern Barbarians from the beginning. A convenient theory truly. But how violent, at the same time, and arbitrary. Only see what it involves. The normal order of the world naturally considered, its best possible form and true ultimate sense, just as it was ready to go fully into the arms of Christianity, suddenly dashed to the ground and turned into universal wreck by the inundation of an entirely new life, uncivilized, unlettered, absolutely wild and rude: Europe planted with elementary nations, requiring the growth of centuries to bring them to any mature and settled political form: The work of a thousand years laid upon the church, only to regain in some measure the loss created by this sad catastrophe: A new civilization in time, which refuses however to fall fully into the true Christian order; carries in it more or less a semi-barbarous, heathenish character; and issues finally in an open rebellion against the

¹ American life might seem to be, in this view, the very efflorescence of the Protestant spirit, and as such the worst possible for the admission of Catholic influences. Mr. Brownson, however, judges differently. "Our civilization," he tells us, "is founded on a right basis, is Roman and Christian in its ground work; and there never has been a State constituted throughout more in harmony with Catholic principles than the American." True, our American fathers had unhappily turned their backs upon the Church; but they had been nursed, notwithstanding, in the bosom of her civilization. "That civilization they brought with them to this New World, purged of the barbaric leaven which was still in some measure retained in the Mother country, and against which the Popes and the whole spiritual society had protested for ten centuries. Whoever will examine the respective civil institutions of England and this country, will hardly fail to perceive, that what of England we have rejected is what she owes to her barbarous ancestors, and what we have added, which she has not, has been borrowed from Roman and Catholic civilization. Indeed, just in proportion, under a civil and political point of view, as we have receded from England, we have approached Rome and Catholicity."—*Civil and Religious Toleration*.—July, 1849, p. 307. Here is a discovery worth looking at certainly. The precious spark of liberty, to which we owe our Constitution, is after all not from Geneva but from Rome! The Pilgrim Fathers stand in the same line, politically, with the Popes! Puritanism belongs of right to Popery. The body is here already prepared; "it is moulded from fine, rich, red earth, in a form of majestic proportions, and of surpassing beauty, wanting nothing but the Divine Breath to be breathed into its nostrils in order to become a living soul."

Church, which at the same time bears away with it palpably the central powers and activities of the world's natural life, with a momentum which centuries have no power to check or restrain. It needs surely no small gift of faith seriously and steadily to give credit to all this. Was the wreck of Graeco Roman culture an *accident*? Did the Northern Barbarians come on the stage of Europe, without God's will and plan? Was there no end to be answered for Christianity and the world, by the taking down of the former civilization, the bringing in of new material, the open field created for the building up of another life, and the work of so many centuries employed in the accomplishment of this great object? These questions, it seems to us, carry in them their own answers. The true use to be made of the whole case, then, is just the reverse of Mr. Brownson's view. God moves in history. It must therefore have meaning. It must especially minister to Christ and his Church; for is not *he* head over the whole of it, for this very end? If a sparrow fall not without his eye, how could the *Völkerrwanderung* take place by chance? The fact that he should so remove the old, and make room for the new, and call in the historical process of a thousand years to come to his object, is itself enough to show, not only that the new civilization thus sought was to be different from that which was rejected in its favor, but also that it was to be of a superior order, of more vigorous constitution, better suited to the wants of humanity and more answerable to the interior demands of Christianity. This superiority of the modern civilization, then, turns on the new element which has been brought into it by the Germanic or Barbarian life, in distinction from the old Roman. It amounts to nothing that Mr. Brownson stigmatizes this as heathen; for the old Roman life was originally heathen too; and it is purely gratuitous to assume that Christianity might not appropriate and assimilate to itself the peculiarities of a Barbarian nationality as fully and completely as those of the Graeco-Roman. Its province is not to stand on the outside of nature in the way of foreign help, but to enter into it, to clarify it, and to fill it with divinity after its own form and type. The new civilization thus brought to pass carried in itself, from the beginning, the principle of *freedom*, which gave birth finally, as Christ had all along designed, to the fact of Protestantism. Its distinctive power, of course, fell in with this fact. The Romanic nations were left behind; not without some great ulterior purpose, we presume; while the Germanic nations, obedient to the law of their life, are carrying the sense of history in the Protestant direction. It does not follow at once, we know, that Protestantism is all that the world needs for its salvation, because it now carries all temporal interests in its stream. Outward activity and

strength are not of themselves the guaranty of grace. The Protestant movement *may* prove morally unequal to its own problem. Still this cannot change the significance of the fact as now stated. It belongs to the reigning power of the world's civilization. It has its seat in the spirit of the nations that go with it, and their spirit now rules the course of humanity, as something plainly in advance of the spirit that meets us in nations still bound to the authority of Rome. In this view, if we believe in Christ, we are bound to acknowledge in it, if nothing more, yet surely the necessary medium of transition at least for the Church of God into a higher and better state. Not to do so, turns the past into a riddle and shrouds the future in despair. Protestantism, as the world now stands at all events, has the floor of history, carries the word of the age; and the last sense of Christianity, the grand scope of Christ's Mediatorial reign, is to be reached *through* it, by its help and intervention in some way, and not by its being hurled aside as an impudent accident, or mere nullity, in the course of this all conquering dispensation.

It is high time for us, however, to bring this long article to a conclusion. It will be perceived that our object has been, to convict the general Roman principle of falsehood, by showing it to run into untenable consequences and to be at war with the true conception of our life. This is not with us, of course, an argument for the mere negation or denial of the same principle, as the true meaning and force of Protestantism. We have before tried to expose the rock on that side; and our object now in setting forth the dangers of the whirlpool, is not certainly to recommend the first, as on the whole less false and terrible than the second. Rationalism, the resolution of faith into the mere mind and will of man, (with the Bible or without it,) under all its forms and shapes, we religiously abhor and hate. With the reigning slang on that side, we have no sympathy whatever. Here then the question comes, How are these extremes to be at once both avoided? And no question can well be more great and solemn. We pretend not now, however, to answer it. Enough so far, if we have been able to show that it needs and demands an answer; that the truth is not, in this case, in either of the alternatives, separately taken, which for the common understanding seem to cover the whole ground; that Christianity, in one word, must find its true sense between them, in a form of life which shall be the union of both. It is much to be sure of what is false and wrong here, even if at a loss still to master the full meaning of what is right. The best preparation for solving the problem of the age, is to be well satisfied that the problem really exists, and so to feel earnestly that it calls for a solution.

J. W. N.

THE OLD PALATINATE LITURGY OF 1563.

As the subject of congregational worship is awakening new interest in our Church, it must be desirable for us to become more familiar with our Liturgical history than we have hitherto been. By some, indeed, vastly higher importance may be attached to results reached by an abstract consideration of the merits of the question itself, than to any suggestions of past history. Still it must, on many accounts, be interesting to know definitely, what views our Reformed Fathers held upon the subject. We may, perhaps, not be willing to build our creed exactly on their coffins, nor to pin our faith to their shrouds. And yet we may believe that they were about as *wise* as their children are *to know* the right, and as *piously* disposed *to choose* it when known! In paying deference, therefore, to their opinions and practices, it is not so much them that we honor, as the truth and grace by which, with one accord, we believe them to have been guided. Mistrusting ourselves, and fearful lest self-complacency or a deceived heart might lead us to mistake the twinkling rays of our reason or fancy for celestial light, we would test the supposed agreement of our views with the divine Word, by comparing them with the opinions of others equally capable of interpreting its voice, and quite as willing as we to make it the man of their counsel. And assuredly there is wisdom in being as jealous of the influence of erring individual judgment, as of the authority of such tradition.

The most satisfactory method, undoubtedly, of ascertaining the earlier views of our Church upon the Liturgical question, is to consult its known usage, and see what it actually did. If we should turn to our Reformed Fathers for counsel upon the solemn subject, so earnestly discussed at the late Synod in Norristown, they could certainly in no way gratify us so completely, (though we should thereby be involved in merited reproach for our forgetfulness of their pious labors and legacy,) as by handing us the Liturgy which they themselves had framed. Had it been permitted to good old Ursinus, or Olevianus, or Frederick III. of "Christobseligen Gedächtniß," to sit with that ecclesiastical assembly, and in solemn form mingle with its discussions, and announce their views, with what intense interest and profound respect would not their words have been heard
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and received. The spectre tradition would have vanished before such spirits, like Banquo's ghost before the peeping day. But imposing and impressive as such a scene would have been, the effect it would have produced can be more intelligently and satisfactorily reached in another way. Though we may not conjure up their beatified spirits from the happy abode of the pious dead, we may summon the book containing their sentiments in the most substantial form, forth from the dust, which through long years of neglect has been permitted to bury it. And if we succeed in this, we can scarcely start an inquiry touching our earlier Liturgical history, which may not find a candid answer. If we ask what did our Fathers think of written or printed prayers for public use, the book will tell us. If we ask what were their practical views of the holy sacraments, the book will tell us. If we ask what they thought of public confession, sacerdotal absolution, Church festival days, and saints' days, again the book will answer. And thus might we proceed, until almost every important question that could be put, were satisfactorily solved.

This privilege now may be enjoyed. The desired book is at hand. It comes to us with the following comprehensive title-page : “*The Palatinate Liturgy, directing how the Christian doctrine, the holy sacraments and ceremonies, are to be administered in all the Churches of the Palatinate: as the same was originally published; now revised and reprinted after the edition of 1684.*” And with the hope that I may thereby do an acceptable service to many Brethren, I will attempt a translation of at least so much of this excellent old Liturgy, as seems of most importance, and as may afford those interested a fair opportunity of judging its merits as a whole. The copy before us is that now in the possession of the Rev. Father Pomp, of the history and general contents of which notice is taken by Dr. Nevin in his valuable tract upon the Heidelberg Catechism.¹

The book is introduced and authorized by the following impri-matur:—

¹ There is one deficiency about this edition of the Liturgy, which is to be regretted, viz: it leaves us without a single hint either of the place where, or the authority by which it was published. At the bottom of the title-page we find the words—"Für die Kirche zu"—followed by a blank, which in the case of the copy before me, is filled up with "America."

"We, Charles, by the grace of God Count of the Palatinate, on the Rhine, chief Treasurer and Elector of the Imperial kingdom, Prince of Bavaria, &c., present to all and each of the general Inspectors, Clergymen, and others employed in the churches and schools of our Electorate and Principality, *our greeting*, above all grace, and every good, and direct you herewith to know:

That whereas—The Right Honorable Prince, our kind and beloved relative, Frederick III Elector Palatine, of blessed ancestral christian memory, did, in the year 1563, order the preparation and publication of a Liturgy, together with a summary of christian instruction, faithfully drawn from the pure word of God,—which was afterwards, anno, 85, republished by our kind and worthy uncle, Count Palatine John Casimir, and was thus used in our Electorate and Principality until 1601, when again our worthy predecessor, Count Palatine Frederick IV, at the instance of His Counsellors, and principal Theologians, after that it was improved in a few places, and explained, ordered it to be republished, of which however now, upon our assuming the Government, but very few copies can be had, and therefore pressing necessity requires that it should be printed anew, we therefore have resolved to order the same to be herewith done:

We therefore enjoin it upon all our subjects and people, by virtue hereof, that ye aid and promote, to the best of your ability, this necessary and christian undertaking. Especially are the above-named Inspectors, Clergymen, and others employed in the service of the churches and schools, commanded to use this our Formulary in the preaching of the word of God, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, and such other services as belong to their office, in all the churches and schools belonging to our Electorate, that they may with becoming propriety, faithfully and decently discharge their office. Thus will the spread of God's saving word be promoted, and the edification of His Holy Church; and thus will our confident desire and intention be complied with."

Dated—*Heidleberg, Jan. 29, anno 1684.*

Next to this interesting, old-fashioned introduction we have—

"A Register, or page in which each title may be found.

I. *Of Doctrine.*

1—Regulation for sermons, whence they are to be derived, and to what end they are to be directed.

2—A general introduction to sermons, and exhortation, to prayer.

3—Sermons for the Sabbath day, when and how they are to be held.

4, 5, and 6—Sermons on Week, Fast, Festival, and Holy-days.

7—Morning and Evening lesson of a Chapter, and a brief exposition thereof.

8—Preparatory-sermon.

9 and 10—Catechisation and the Catechism.

11—A summary of the Catechism, together with the texts of the principal parts of the christian religion.

12—Several passages of the Holy Scriptures, in which every one may see, in any station, age and condition, what his calling requires him to do.

H. Of Public Prayer.

1—A prayer before the sermon.

2—A prayer for the Sabbath, after the morning sermon.

3—A prayer after the sermon on the Catechism.

4 and 13—Prayers for, a fast-day, Christmas, Newyears-day, Good-friday, Easter, Ascension, Whitsuntide, and a morning and evening prayer.

III. Of the Administration of the Holy Sacraments.

1—An admonition concerning Holy Baptism.

2—Formula of Baptism.

3—Preparation for the Lord's Supper.

4—Formula for the administration of the Lord's Supper.

5—Of the power of the keys, and christian discipline.

IV. Of other Church Customs and Services.

1—Of festival and Holy-days.

2—Of Church-psalmody and robes.

3—Formula for the annunciation and administration of Marriage.

4—Of the visitation of the sick.

5 and 6—A prayer for the sick, and dying.

7—Of administering the Lord's supper to the sick.

8—Of the visitation of Prisoners.

9—Burial-service.

10—Formula for the baptism of Ana-baptists.

11—“ “ “ of Jews.

12—Formula for administering the Lord's supper to the sick.

13—Formula for the admission of children to the Holy Sacra-
ment.”

A most promising and significant table of contents, this, and of itself rich in important historical hints and practical suggestions. How full of meaning especially the first item noted, touching the source and aim of sermons! Let us then, turning again to the Book, see what all is intended by this regulation.

*“ Of Doctrine.”**Regulation Concerning Sermons &c.*

Sermons are to } Thus saith the Lord Jesus Christ, John xvii.
be derived from } chap., v.: 3, “ This is life eternal, that they
the word of God. } may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus
Christ, whom Thou hast sent.” In order that He might lead His
chosen ones, to the knowledge of this eternal life, the Lord Jesus
appointed the preaching of repentance, and the forgiveness of sins,
that by this means (thus instituted on account of our infirmity,
which would not be able to bear the voice of God Himself) the
knowledge of God, and eternal life might be begun in our hearts
here on earth, until we attain in Heaven without external means to
that perfection in which we shall behold God face to face.

And whereas God hath revealed Himself in His Word, which is
fully contained in Canonicis Libris, that is the genuine undoubted
Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; therefore all sermons
are to be drawn therefrom, and based thereon, and always directed
to the existing wants and sins of the people, according to the declar-
ation of the Holy Apostle Paul, ii. Tim. iii., xvi, “ All scripture
given of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction,
for instruction in righteousness, that a man of God may be perfect,
thoroughly furnished unto all good works.”¹

Sermons are to } And inasmuch as the Word of God directs
be adapted to the } its doctrine to this end, that men may be led
Catechism } to a knowledge of their sins and misery; then
instructs them how they may be delivered from all their sins and
misery; and thereby, how they shall thank God for such deliver-
ance: therefore Preachers, in treating their texts, shall diligently

¹ This is the German version of the passage.

consider these three points, and be careful to use the medicine according to the necessity of wounded consciences. They shall also study to suit their sermons to the weak capacities of the common people, so that the article of the Catechism, to which the subject of their sermon has reference, may be intelligibly introduced and impressed upon their minds.

Ministers of the gospel shall further not presume to expound any other book besides the Holy Scriptures, without the advice and previous knowledge of their Inspectors, who shall then take care that such books are set forth and expounded, as may be most edifying to the unlearned.

General Introduction of all Sermons.

Grace, peace, and mercy, from God the Father, and His beloved Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, Amen—

OR :

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen.—ii. Cor. xiii. 13.

Exhortation to prayer, to be used occasionally by the Minister before the sermon, especially on Week-days.

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, let us call upon our faithful God and Father, and humbly beseech Him, to turn away His face from our sins, by which we have constantly kindled His wrath against us. And whereas we are, alas! altogether unworthy to appear before His Holy Majesty, let us entreat Him to look upon us in the face of His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, accept of the merits of His suffering and death in satisfaction for all our sins, and thus render us acceptable unto Him. Let us also supplicate Him that He would by His Holy Spirit, enlighten us with the right understanding of His Word, and grant us grace to receive the same with true faith and humility, that we may learn therefrom to withdraw all our confidence, continually more and more, from all creatures, and trust in Him alone, to serve and glorify Him, that our whole life may praise His name, and we may render Him that love and obedience, which faithful servants owe unto their Lord, and children unto their Father, seeing that it hath pleased Him to call us and accept of us, to be His servants, and children, and heirs of future glory. Let us therefore beseech Him for these things, as our faithful Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath taught us to pray, sincerely saying:

Our Father who art in Heaven, &c.

Regulation for preaching on Sabbath-days.

On every Sabbath morning at eight o'clock, a sermon shall be preached from the word of God, in all cities, towns and villages, which, as indeed all other sermons, shall not exceed an hour in length.

The sermon shall be introduced by one of the forms prescribed above, and may be followed by the prayer hereafter designated, commencing: "Our Heavenly Father, &c."

The morning service shall be concluded with the public confession of sin, and absolution, in connection with the appended prayer. After the prayer a short Psalm may be sung, and the congregation dismissed to their homes with the benediction: "The Lord bless Thee &c."

A catechetical sermon shall also be preached, every Sabbath afternoon, at such an hour as may be most convenient for each congregation. And wherever two sermons are delivered in an afternoon, as in cities and larger towns, at the first, after singing, God shall be called upon in prayer for grace rightly to understand His Word. Next to this at the commencement of the sermon, the summary of the Catechism,¹ together with the texts of the five chief points, shall be distinctly read to the people, when a half hour shall be employed in explaining a few questions of the summary. After the sermon on these questions, the youth shall be examined, and finally the whole service be concluded with prayer and singing, and the people permitted to return home.

In the other service, to be held towards evening, the principal points of Christian doctrine, contained in the Catechism, shall be explained somewhat more fully and in detail, for the benefit of the aged and adults. The introduction shall be the same as in the case of other sermons—viz: the prescribed greeting, singing and prayer. Afterwards a text corresponding with the doctrine under consideration, together with the appropriate questions of the Catechism, shall be read, and clearly expounded. The whole shall be concluded with the prayer given below, and directed to be used after catechisation.

In the country however, where only one service is held in the afternoon, the youth shall assemble at the second ringing of the bell, to be *examined* and *catechised*; when this is finished, the bell shall be rung the third time, that the whole congregation may gather together. Then as an introduction, after singing and prayer, the summary of the Catechism together with the texts shall be read. Afterwards a half hour may be spent in explaining several ques-

¹ This is placed immediately after the complete Catechism, and consists of twenty-three questions and answers, forming the marrow of the Heidelberg Catechism.

tions, when those who are prepared to answer with meekness and modesty, may be examined and instructed in the fundamental truths of salvation, and the service be concluded with the usual prayer.

Sermons during the Week.

Two sermons shall be preached in every city (or large town) during the week, on working-days, namely on Wednesday and Friday; and in villages one sermon, on Wednesday or some other more suitable day, when German psalms or hymns shall be sung both before and after the sermon. The service shall be concluded with the particular prayers designated below under the proper title.

Fast-day Sermons.

And inasmuch as the righteous anger of God is kindled more and more every day, in these last evil times, by horrible vices and crimes, by blasphemies contempt of His word, gluttony, drunkenness, lewdness, fornication, and like fearful iniquities, which are becoming so prevalent that we must greatly fear, yea feel undoubtedly certain, that the terrible chastisements, threatening us on every side, will break in upon us with power, if we take not warning, and implore the Lord for mercy :

It becomes highly necessary for us to turn unto God our Lord, in hearty sorrow and repentance, with humble and believing supplication entreating Him to hold back the uplifted rod.

The first Wednesday of each month observed on the first Wednesday of every month, on which all, both young and old, men and women, and servants, shall as far as possible, meet together, according to the special Proclamation issued, in order heartily to beseech the Lord our God to turn away the heavy chastisements now threatening us, or mercifully to mitigate them, being comfortably assured that we shall not supplicate in vain, but that help will be graciously granted us from above. On such occasions the Ministers shall preach from such texts as may serve to set forth a proper knowledge of our sins, and of God's displeasure at them, and to lead the people to true repentance ; and they shall endeavor to apply the whole properly to the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, and the existing condition of the churches. Before and after the sermon, penitential psalms shall be sung, and the service shall then be closed with the prayer designated below for such occasions. And as it is designed to be a day of prayer, in which all the afflictions of Christianity are to be considered, the sermon itself shall be made somewhat shorter, in order to allow more time for including all conditions of men, and all existing cases of distress.

Of Sermons on Festival and Holy-days.

On Christmas, and the day following, the basis of our salvation, viz: the incarnation of the eternal son of God, and the personal union of the two natures in Christ, as set forth in the Scripture history of the Birth of Christ, shall be explained, together with the benefits flowing to us therefrom, as all is contained in the second part of the Catechism.

On the Sabbath intervening between Christmas and New-year's-day, (being the time when new Elders are elected), a sermon shall be preached upon the duties of the Elder's office. In this it shall be shown from the word of God, that this office is not ordained of men but by God, that it is necessary and useful for the edification and perpetuity of the Church, and that it is not an infringement upon the office of civil government, but distinct from it. It shall also be shown what belongs to the office of Elders, and by what considerations they should be incited to diligence in the discharge of its duties. Thus will the congregations be admonished to becoming submission and respect towards the Elders, and these to faithfulness and zeal in their office.

On Easter-day, and the Monday following the history of the Resurrection of Christ shall be the subject of preaching, so that the congregations may receive thorough instruction from the Sacred Scriptures, upon those two chief points of our christian faith, namely, that Jesus Christ arose from the dead on the third day, and that we too shall arise from the dead. And in order that this history may be the better understood, and more profit may be derived therefrom, Ministers shall commence the explanation of the narrative of the sufferings and death of Christ on *Invocavit* Sabbath, and continue it until Easter.

The festival of the Ascension of Christ, also, has its history, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles 1st chap., and Mark 16th chap. and Luke 24th chap.; on this day therefore, Ministers will preach upon that article of our faith, in which we confess that Jesus ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, and from thence will come to judge the quick and the dead.

On Whitsuntide, and the Monday following, the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles shall be the subject of the preaching.

Morning and Evening meetings for Prayer.

In all the larger towns, on all working-days, the people shall be assembled *every morning*, and, without singing, have a chapter of the Sacred Scriptures distinctly read to them, the substance of which, together with such of the principal doctrines therein contained as are most profitable for comfort, exhortation, and instruction, shall be

briefly and simply given. This shall be followed by the regular Morning-prayer in connection with the Lord's prayer, the whole service not to be extended much beyond a half-hour.

In like manner every evening, the Minister shall hold a similar exercise at a suitable hour, reading a chapter, explaining and improving it as above, and concluding with the Evening-prayer in connection with the Lord's-prayer.

Of the Preparatory Service.

On the afternoon of the day preceding the administration of the Lord's Supper, a sermon shall be preached upon the benefits and right observance of the same. At the same time also a true christian self-examination shall be instituted, according to the directions which the Minister will find in the Catechism, and in the formula for administering the Lord's Supper. On this occasion the evening prayer for the day may be omitted.

OF THE CATECHISM.

In the Christian Religion a Catechism is a brief and simple statement of the principal doctrines of our Religion, in the form of questions and answers, to be used orally in the instruction of the young and unlearned. For all pious people from the commencement of the Christian Church have been careful to instruct their children in the fear of the Lord, as well at home, as in schools and churches: and undoubtedly for the following reasons, which should also incite us thereto.

I. In the first place they knew well, that the natural depravity of the heart, would gain the ascendency, and destroy both the ecclesiastical and civil authority, if not counteracted in time by wholesome instruction.

II. In the *next place*, they felt constrained to do so by the express command of God, seeing that the Lord saith: (Deut. 6; 7.) "And thou shalt teach these words (the ten commandments) diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

III. And *finally*, just as the children of the Israelites, after their circumcision, when they reached the years of understanding, were instructed in the mysteries of that sign of the covenant, as well as in the covenant of God itself, so also shall our children receive instructions concerning the Baptism they received in infancy, and the true christian faith and repentance, so that they may make a

proper confession of their faith before the whole congregation before they are admitted to the table of the Lord. This custom of using the Catechism, originating as it did in the command of God was maintained in the Christian Church, until malicious Satan, by means of Antichrist, destroyed this excellent regulation, as he also did all others that were good, and instead thereof substituted his deceitful daubings and flatteries,¹ and other abominations, which he called the true foundation. And whereas our more aged people were brought up under the Papacy, without Catechetical instruction, and may readily forget the leading doctrines of the Christian Religion it is thought necessary, that in villages and smaller towns on all Sabbaths, on which the Lords Supper is not celebrated, the minister before preaching shall read from the pulpit, distinctly and plainly several questions of the Catechism so that the entire Catechism may be publicly read at least twice in each year.

But inasmuch as the Catechism is written somewhat in detail, in order that it may not prove tedious and burdensome to less educated persons, and youth it has been thought best to designate the most important questions by an asterisk *, which they may be able to learn and understand, until they have advanced sufficiently in years and understanding to take up and comprehend the rest.

In larger towns the Catechism shall be taken up and explained more fully, on every Sabbath afternoon as directed above."

Hereupon follows the Heidelberg Catechism and the summary referred to a few pages back, with the principal texts quoted in full under each answer; and then the texts of Scripture for all stations and circumstances in life &c., with which the first general division of the Liturgy is closed. A translation of the principal prayers, given in the second part, is reserved for the next No. of the Review.

POST-SCRIPT.

Having but a day or two ago met with a recent issue of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, in which, among a variety of other things, they set forth some five or six *objections to Liturgies*, which are evidently considered conclusive upon the subject, I think it appropriate briefly to notice them in this connection, and expose what seems to me their utter imbecillity and unfairness.

"Presbyterians," it is said, "object to Liturgies because, 1. The

¹) „Schmierwerk u. Badenstreich,,!

Holy scriptures, particularly under the New Testament, prescribe no such forms, do not intimate their expediency, and especially do not impose them. The evidence is all the other way, showing that Christians prayed as they are moved by the Spirit, and expressed their wants, sins, and desires in their own language."

Good Richard Sibbes says (in that excellant volume of his published by this Board,) that the true "way to scan a reason is to see whether it will hold water or not." I fear if this test is applied to the above objection, it will hardly be found to hold enough even to moisten a preacher's lips for the announcement of a psalm or hymn. For where do the Holy Scriptures *prescribe* forms for congregational use in singing God's praises? Or where do they intimate their expediency, or impose them? Or what evidence is there that primitive Christians did not sing as they were moved by the Spirit, expressing their joyful praises in their own language, at least at times, and especially when they spoke with tongues or prophesied? Is it said that the Scriptures furnish the Psalms of David? So too do they furnish the prayers of Jacob, of Moses, of Gideon, of Hannah, of David, of Solomon, of Hezekiah, of Isaac, of Manasseh, of Ezra, of Nehemiah, of Habakkuk, of Zechariah, the father of the Baptist, of Simeon, and above all the great Pattern-prayer which our Lord gave to His disciples at their own request (instead of telling them to go and pray from their hearts, whatever came uppermost,) and the Sacerdotal prayer of Jesus Christ contained in the 17th chap. of John. If therefore the objection urged above, against all forms of prayer be valid, must we not burn our hymn-books too?

2. "No man can be so intimately acquainted with the hearts of all other men as to express their precise views, feelings, wants and desires, and hence precomposed forms, which are to meet the cases of Christianity under all the varying circumstances of the world, must necessarily be inadequate."

And what follows then? Why evidently these four things.
First.—We must have no Liturgies, as above stated. *Secondly.*—There should be no oral public prayer by Ministers—for what Minister can be so intimately acquainted with the hearts of all present in his congregation, as to express their precise views, &c., &c.; and if none, how inadequate and inappropriate must such prayers be! But who would submit to this? Surely it will suggest itself to every reflecting mind, that whilst there are indeed individual cases

and circumstances, which no public prayer, whether it be written or extemporaneous, can fully reach, the *general wants* and condition of all christians are so nearly the same, that they may be more befittingly comprehended in a written form, than if left to the accidental dictio[n] of those whose sermons, (as alas! may be the case with too many of us) allow them no time to meditate upon their prayers before they rise to offer them. With but occasional exceptions (*for which all our German Protestant Liturgies make provision*) we have the same sins to confess, the same mercies to thank God for, the same general and particular favors to crave, on each sabbath of the year. The difficulty therefore on which this objection rests is purely a fiction.

Thirdly.—No prepared psalmody dare be used in our churches. For our psalms and hymns express in various metres, the supposed views and feelings, wants, joys and desires, of those for whose use they are designed. But if these cannot be sufficiently well pre-conceived to be expressed in plain and solemn prose, how can they be expressed in less pliant poetry? Or if one or another of the hymns or psalms should exactly suit the case of one half of the congregation, how are the feelings of the other portion to be met? And how finally is the Minister at all events, by whom the particular hymns to be sung are selected, to determine his choice among the seven or eight hundred before him? How shall he be kept from announcing the 51st Psalm, when the state of feeling amongst the majority of his congregation would be far better expressed by the 71st., 2nd part? And yet if I am to receive the objection stated as valid, it leaves me defenceless against the unmusical Quaker, and when he mocks at the songs of my Zion I can only blush or weep.

So it follows in the fourth place, if this objection be a good one, that after all *silent worship*, as they have it at the corner of 4th and Arch, is most consistent with the Bible, individual devotion, and common sense!

3. “Liturgeries are an unwarrantable infringement of Christian liberty. It is incredible that God ever intended a man, under the strong emotions of repentance, faith, hope and love, to be confined in the expression of these emotions to a form of prayer, written, perhaps, by one insensible to such strong feelings; and it is incredi-

ble that it was ever designed to make men use from week to week, forms of prayer which do not express their present emotions."

This is in substance a repetition of the previous objection, only more warmly and eloquently expressed, perhaps under an irritating conviction of its weakness. It has therefore been met already. It may be added however, that all Protestant Liturgies bear very strong proofs of having been composed or compiled by very good men, by men who felt what they introduced into them, and who appear prayerfully to have sought divine guidance in their work. The Liturgy for instance, of which translated specimens have been given above appears to me to be the work of men of as deep and fervent piety, as those who wrote the Confession of Faith, or the Shorter Catechism. As for other Liturgies they may speak for themselves, which some at least are well able to do. Besides all these forms of prayer &c. are designed to deepen and animate Christian devotion, and stir up those whose emotions may be languid or cold. And doubtless good prayers are as well adapted to do this as soul-reviving hymns. And where is the Christian that has not often had his dull faith and lukewarm affections aroused and kindled by Watt's version of the 5th, 25th, 86th, 116th, &c., &c., Psalms, or by those precious Hymns,

"Ye humble souls, approach your God, &c."

"Awake my soul in joyful lays, &c."

"Plunged in a gulf of dark despair, &c."

"How sweet the name of Jesus sounds, &c."

and scores besides? Did they ever interfere with his inward emotions? Were they not rather pinions to aid their upward flight? Or channels all cut and cleared, through which their gushing joys could flow on with less impediment, and greater peace? If then, my Brother, you and I, with many others, have often experienced this, how can we accept of the objection urged against such welcome aids?

4. "All Liturgies, however well prepared, must necessarily, from constrained and constant repetition, produce lifelessness and formality in devotion, and hence they are always most acceptable to those who have least spirituality of mind, and know least of the power of godliness."

It seems then the previous objection implied a little too much,

and needed some qualification. Liturgies may be well prepared—and need not necessarily be the production of one *insensible to the strong emotions of piety*. Let credit be given for this acknowledgement. As to the other part of this fourth objection, it is so uncharitable a libel on thousands and tens of thousands in Europe, England and America, that I wish to have nothing to do with it—and therefore prefer submitting it to an arbitration of seven creditable and orthodox men, of whom I will take the liberty of choosing the following three, viz: Zuingle, Luther and Calvin; three may be chosen by the objectors, and the six select an umpire. Before such a tribunal the point at issue may be left without an argument.

In addition to the above two other objections are given, the one on the ground that Liturgies cannot be adapted to seasons of emergency, and the other on the ground that every pious Minister must consider it a grievance to be hampered by the prayers of men who lived hundreds of years ago, and of whose piety he knows nothing &c. These have in effect been answered already, and so need occupy no further space.

In conclusion I cannot forbear thinking that their logic must indeed be lame in the feet, who must grasp such crutches to support it. And still more, how painful is the evident want of upright Christian candor betrayed in objections like those stated! The writer of them could hardly fail to see and feel their pitiful weakness. And yet he was willing, in order to strengthen the prejudices of others, or his own, to palm them off, on as many as may not be able at once to detect their fallacy, as good substantial reasons against the use of Liturgies! Is this consistent with christian honesty? Is it consistent with the spirit of earnest religious inquiry now abroad in the world? What can be gained by such theological card-shuffling? Even if it do silence for the moment rising fears in anxious godly souls, (like oil the troubled spring), what good will be effected in the end? Is it thus the children should be fed at the Shepherd's hands? If not then why when they ask for a fish, give them a serpent? Or when they entreat an egg, give them a scorpion? Or when they beg for bread, hand them a stone? Oh! for christian candor and honesty in these discussions upon the most momentous topics that can engage the head or heart of an inquiring Church!

If Liturgies are evil and unscriptural, let us have, not cunning

appeals to stupid prejudices for it, but good, sound reasons in proof thereof. If they are evil and pernicious, and our modern Presbyterian Brethren are right in their opposition, then let them be at once banished, nevermore to be recalled. But if they are not, and Presbyterianism has erred in opposing them, why let us have an open, and manly confession of the error. What is Presbyterianism, or Prelacy, what is Lutheranism, or the Reform, what is any thing under the sun, in contrast with the truth! Let us then have the confession though some Church dignity should thereby be compromised. The honor of the *Truth* is after all of infinitely more moment, than that of Puritan Presbyterianism! Neither has this latter any where claimed infallibility!

Easton, Pa.

J. H. A. B.

HYMN.

Fleeting, fleeting, ah, how fleeting
With a footfall lightly sped,
O'er the living, by the dead,
Wearied never, hastening ever,
Time pursues his silent tread.

Still retreating—still retreating,
Through the years which God hath given,
Borne along our lives are driven,
Pausing never, passing ever,
Like the drifting clouds of heaven.

Parting, meeting—parting, meeting!
Fitful tides the heart doth know,
Springs of joy and wells of wo,
Failing never, mingling ever—
One their current as they flow!

THEE entreating—THEE entreating,
Hear, oh, LORD, we now implore!
May we claim, life's changes o'er
Ending never, spending ever,
Blessed Eternity our dower!

Pittsburg, December, 1849.

R. P. N.

FAITH, REVERENCE AND FREEDOM.

A Baccalaureate Address to the Graduating Class in Marshall College, Sept. 12, 1849.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN.—Your academical career is ended. A long course of study indeed, as well as a long course of action, should your lives be spared, still lies before you in the new stadium you are now called to enter, to whose claims and responsibilities we trust you may all be found faithful. But the days of your College life, forming the period of general discipline and training for all the literary professions, the most interesting part of his existence to the reminiscence of the scholar, are at length all numbered and complete. You have taken your first degree in the liberal arts, and with the solemnities of this day *commence* your proper citizenship in the great republic of letters, under sacred pledge to your *alma mater*, and this witnessing cloud of friends now present, that you will not disgrace in time to come such truly honorable distinction. In compliance with long established venerable usage, I improve the opportunity of the parting moment to which we have now come, while your feet still linger by the threshold of relations here made to cease forever, and our hand is extended in the office of its last benediction and farewell, in my own name and in the name of all your teachers here present, to speak a few words of final counsel and advice; which we beg you to carry along with you, as the legacy of our affectionate regard, into the hard and difficult world, on whose stepmotherly bosom you are hereafter to be cast. We cannot pretend of course, at such a time, to say all that our hearts might prompt, or the nature of the occasion suggest. We must prefer what is general to that which is particular, and even in such form we may not pretend to cover the whole field of practical wisdom and duty. Enough that we try to fix upon your thoughts a few primary and central interests of morality, that may be felt to commend themselves to regard as specially needful for the mission of life at the present time, without account of much besides that might be worthy of presentation in the some general view. Let me hold up here then to your earnest consideration three grand objects especially, to which we have endeavored to have regard in the conduct of your education thus far, and of which you are bound never to lose sight in the activity of your whole subsequent lives, *Faith, Reverence and Freedom*. Our parting counsel, at present, gathers itself up into this threefold interest. Cultivate faith in the existence of

the invisible and eternal ; cherish reverence for the absolute and universal ; seek the true freedom of the spirit in its own sphere of necessary self-moving law. Only so can you be true to yourselves. Only so can you hope to be either truly useful or truly honorable, in your generation.

Cultivate, earnestly and constantly, the power of FAITH. Man carries in his constitution the life of two worlds. Under one aspect he belongs to the system of Nature, as it stands revealed to sense in the forms of space and time. The organism of nature completes itself in him, as its proper consummation and head. In this view, he is comprehended in its economy, and dependent perpetually upon its power. By his senses and appetites he is bound to it, through the whole course of his history, as the necessary ground and substratum of his very being. He is the child and creature of the earth, linked in close sympathy with its universal life, from the cradle to the grave. However far his nature may rise towards heaven, it is a column still which can never make its escape in full from the material basis in which it starts ; it can never so effloresce into the form of spirit, as to lose all connection with the root that underlies it in the form of flesh and sense. But this is only one side of our constitution. Under another aspect, Man belongs, by original and native right, to a higher order of existence, the purely spiritual world, as it lies beyond nature altogether, and includes in itself laws and powers to which mere nature can never ascend. He is made in the image of God ; which implies the light of self-knowledge and the power of free will, something wholly independent of the world in every lower form, in virtue of which only he is qualified to be its centre and head. The life of man in this form is a new power or force brought into the bosom of nature, which can never be resolved into its previous action, and which is required accordingly to unfold and complete itself as its own product. Reason and Will spring not from the world of sense, but from a higher sphere of existence, which sense has no power of itself to apprehend or penetrate. At the same time, they are so wedded to matter and sense in our human constitution, that they cannot unfold themselves at all without this union. The case requires accordingly, not only that the spiritual principle should be autonomic, the spring and the law at once of its own action, but also that it should in this character lay hold of the material principle, the conditional basis and inseparable adjunct of its own life, in such a way that this may be converted throughout into a passive organ simply for its service and use. The harmony and perfection of our existence

demand, not the destruction of nature within us, nor yet a violent divorce of the spirit from its conjugal claims, but the unity of a true marriage, in which the spirit shall be supreme and nature appear as a willing and loving handmaid by its side. This is the true conception of human life, this is the great problem of virtue and religion which every man is called to fulfil, in his particular time and place. To do so effectually, it is plain that he must stand in living earnest connection and communion with the spiritual world, from which his own spirit springs, and in virtue of whose resources only it can have either vocation or power to assert the supremacy of which we now speak. This communication with the spiritual world is accomplished by *faith*; which is simply the capacity or organ our nature carries in itself as spirit for perceiving and apprehending spiritual things, the realities of a higher world, as sense is the organ through which we stand in union with things seen and temporal. It forms emphatically thus the bond that joins us, in a real and living way, with the *pleroma* of life in God; and it is easy to see, how immeasurably needful it is that it should be always at hand as an open channel, through which fresh supplies of light and strength from that boundless fountain may be poured into our souls, to fit them for the work and conflict to which they are called.

Faith is at once a source of enlargement and strength for the human spirit, by the very posture into which this is brought by its means. Every thing is strong, in union only with the general ground of its being, and such union is necessary to make it complete in its own separate position. So reason and will in man come to their full force, only as they are brought to fall back consciously and freely upon their own proper foundation in God. Faith serves thus to bring its possessor subjectively into the full use of his spiritual nature, under the most favorable form. To be under the power of mere sense, to be thrown upon the course of this world naturally considered as the end and whole meaning of life, is to be at the same time necessarily more or less impotent and unfree. Faith brings with it the feeling of health, the sense of order, the consciousness of strength. It is more in this respect than all opportunity and education besides; for it goes to the inmost core of our being, and makes room for it to pour forth, from the deepest fountain of its vitality, the full force of its own contents. It forms the true completion of our human state, its climax and crown, its only normal habit, in comparison with which every other condition is to be regarded as defective.

and out of rule. The man, in whom it reigns, verifies wherever found the magnificent simile of the first psalm. He is like the green and stately palm tree, planted by the rivers of water; "that bringeth forth his fruit in his season: his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth, shall prosper."

This personal enlargement involves however a real participation in the life and power of the invisible world itself, towards which the soul thus erects itself by the power of faith. It is not in imagination only, but in the way of actual fact, that it passes over the limits of nature, and connects itself with the vast spiritual economy which lies beyond. Faith is the substance or hypostasis of things hoped for, the evidence or authentication of things not seen; the very ladder, we may say, that joins earth and heaven together, on which the angels of God are seen ascending and descending always as the ministers of their glorious communion. The man who believes in God, truly and really, is brought by such creed into union and communion with God himself, and enters to the same extent into the bosom of that everlasting order, whose seat is the Divine Mind, and which holds the universe in its place. He dwells in God, as the very ground of his own intelligence and will, and receives into himself, in the same proportion, the light and activity of the adorable WORD, the medium of all God's revelations in the world, the one single source and full comprehension at once of all truth, all law, all life. Faith in this way gives its subject a present citizenship in the skies; surrounds him with the scenery of heaven; causes him to hear in his soul the music of the spheres; brings him to bathe in the pure liquid of uncreated light; sets him in full harmony with the counsels of the Almighty; draws into him, with unceasing stream, the powers of the spirit world. Is it any wonder, such vast and glorious results are attributed to it in the Bible? How can it fail to purify the heart, and form it to every noble and generous sentiment? Can one thus hold communion with the skies, and not be transformed gradually into the same image? May one walk with angels, and not grow angelic in his own soul? And how again should such faith not prove the "victory that overcometh the world?" It is the spear of Ithuriel, whose touch at once brings all forms of Satanic mischief to their proper shape, and compels them to confess their own worthlessness and shame. It is powerful alike against the false pleasures of the world, and against its terrors and alarms; superior at once to its frowns and to its smiles. Greatest of all, it overcomes the bad power *self*, and enables a man to bring his own life thus into harmony with its original law, without which it is

not possible for him to possess true harmony or strength in any other view. The greatest of all achievements for any of you in this world, is the mastery of yourselves ; for this implies the free subordination of your natural life to the authority of the spirit, not as an isolated self, but as the universal principle of truth and order in the world ; in which view it involves, of course, at the same time, the supremacy of the spirit over the whole constitution of nature, as originally designed in man's creation. Well may it be said accordingly : " He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."

Faith has respect to all God's revelations. Of these the last and most perfect, is that which is presented to us by the glorious mystery of the incarnation, proclaimed in the New Testament, and always at hand in the Church. This, as it goes beyond all other revelations, completes at the same time the sense of all, and throws back upon them a depth of significance which they would not otherwise possess. We cannot have faith in God then, as he reveals himself in nature and providence, except as we have power to see and know his presence in Christ and the Church. He is the light of the world, the Sun that forms the centre of the spiritual universe, and communicates to it all its beauty and glory ; whom *not* to follow, is to " walk in darkness, without the light of life." He is the inmost reason of creation, the last sense of all God's works and ways, the Everlasting Word made Flesh. By him, we have access to the Father. Through him, the powers of the higher world are made to unite themselves, in a real and abiding way, with the wants of our fallen life. He is the Son of Man, by whom and in whom the Divine Spirit is fully revealed in the world as the principle of the new creation, and through whom the angels of God carry forward the full correspondence of earth and heaven, (John i : 54) as symbolically seen in Jacob's vision. Have faith then in Christ. Let him be to you, in the whole mystery of the incarnation, the surest and deepest of all truths, the most necessary and near of all facts. This will bring with it a corresponding faith in the presence of God under other forms. He will be seen in Nature. He will be felt in History. The whole world will be found to be full of his glory.

Who shall utter the value and importance of such faith, in such an age especially as this, for all who are called, as you are, to take some active part in the conduct of the world's affairs. The age is full of commotion, revolution and change. Evidently we are in the midst of a vast crisis or process of transition,

by which a new character is to be given hereafter to the universal state of humanity. Old things are passing away. Foundations of long standing are in many cases ready to give way. Darkness and confusion are settling on much that once seemed firm and clear. Powers of hell, not unfrequently transformed into angels of light, are on all sides actively at work. Politics, science, and religion, are all unsettled, and more or less torn with inward conflict. There is much in every direction to confound the wisdom of the wise, and to fill with apprehension the stout heart of the strong and brave. The tendencies of the age especially are in many respects powerfully adapted, to beget scepticism and doubt in regard to all that lies beyond the present world. It shows itself, to a fearful extent, materialistic, rationalistic, titanically bent on storming the heavens by its own strength. It is something high and solemn, to go forth and wrestle with the great problem of human life, in such a period of vast tumultuating strife. You may have some sense of this possibly to day; but it is no such sense as you will have of it hereafter, if earnestly true to your own mission, when you shall have fairly gone forth into this great and wide sea, and are called to grapple with its waves and billows in their own wild strength. Who can say in what midnight eclipse the stars of heaven shall not seem to go out, in all directions, over your head? Who may tell what vortices of doubt, what rocks of grim discouragement and despair, shall not present themselves in your way? One thing is certain. Outward forms, rules and traditions, as they might serve for the tolerable administration of life in more settled periods, will not answer this purpose now. Mere opinions and notions are not sufficient to preserve the path of men at any time; but least of all in such a time as this, when the whole moral world is agitated and convulsed with the throes of mighty revolution. To stand erect in such an age; to be firmly faithful to the great trust of life; to make common cause throughout with truth and virtue; to bear up manfully against surrounding darkness, difficulty and fear; to be of quick intelligence to discern what is right, and of resolute will to follow it in the way of constant earnest obedience; you need above all things faith in God, in the moral order of the universe, in the divine fact of Christianity. Without Christ, the world is indeed no better than a spiritual chaos, in the midst of its greatest prosperity and glory. His presence on the other hand brings order into it, and spans it with the rainbow of hope, when it is otherwise most dismal, confused, and dark. Through all revolutions, he remains the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever. In the midst of all clouds and

darkness, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne. With Christ in the vessel, History can never be the sport merely of the winds and waves. The gates of hell never have prevailed, and never shall prevail, against his Church. "Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea ; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof."

Cultivate again the principle of **REVERENCE**. This rests upon faith as its necessary foundation, and is at the same time the necessary product and fruit of it, wherever it prevails. It has regard to the spiritual and invisible, and is the homage the soul pays to that which is higher and more comprehensive than itself, under its own form of existence. We reverence not nature, but spirit ; and we reveal, in doing so, the spirituality of our own being, and its native affinity with the object awakening such lofty sentiment. The animal has no reverence. It dwells not in the bosom of brutish men. On the other hand, there can be no true culture without it. Imagine a man of the highest intellectual order, gifted with all natural endowments and graced with all educational accomplishments, but still insensible to the claims of Mind and Law in their universal form, as something older and immeasurably greater than himself, and you have still at best a column only of Parian marble in human shape, the solitary grandeur of a pyramid in the midst of boundless sand. Without reverence, Gabriel himself would be poor and mean.

All reverence carries in it an acknowledgment of God, as its ultimate object and ground ; and it involves also, essentially, the conception of God as an intelligent personal Being, and not simply in the form of an infinite abstraction. Even where this may not be clearly perceived, and the mind seems to be overwhelmed only with the sense of the absolute as a merely natural power, the true interior spring of its emotion is still always the obscure apprehension of a divine *Life* behind this, which is felt to underlie all in the character of self-existent Thought and Will. Such an emotion, even in the breast of a Spinoza, is the involuntary tribute of the human spirit to the fountain of its own life, which serves of itself to demonstrate, against all intervening speculation, its true living reality as the self-conscious ground of the universe. There can be no reverence for a universal Fate, or universal Chance ; as little as it can be said to be due to a blind whirlwind or to the roaring of a forest lion. Only in the presence of the Divinity, apprehended as free, self-moving, all embracing Spirit, and only in the sense of our relation to it as

the centre and end of our own being, can any such sentiment legitimately fill our minds.

But now it would be a grand mistake again, on the opposite hand, to suppose that because all reverence has regard ultimately to God, in the way here affirmed, there can be no room for its exercise towards any object less than God. This would be, in truth, to fall into the very abstraction, which the case requires, as we have already seen, that we should religiously avoid. It is not the absolute as such simply, but the absolute in the form of self-revelation, God in the world, God unfolding his glory to the view of angels and men, before which our spirits are required thus to bow. In this view, Nature itself may be the object of reverence; not on its own account, outwardly considered; but as it serves to manifest to the view of faith the sublime presence, and wonderful attributes, of Him who dwells in it, and makes it the perpetual mirror of his glory. Reverence is due to the NAME of God, wherever it comes to utterance in any way, in the stars of heaven or in the flowers of the field, in rolling seas or everlasting hills, in the birds of the air, the fish of the sea, and the beasts of the forest. The universe of nature, as a whole and in all its parts, is not merely the sign of what God is, but the very symbol and sacrament of his presence, a true revelation, as far as it goes, of his "eternal power and Godhead." The heavens declare the glory of God; the firmament sheweth his handiwork; day unto day uttereth speech; night unto night proclaimeth knowledge. Reason and speech enter into their very constitution; they are a vast magnificent *word*, speaking forth always the awful majesty of Jehovah. By the WORD of the Lord in truth the heavens are, and the host of them by the breath of his mouth. So again, where religion has come in with new and more full revelation under a strictly supernatural form, the outward and natural may be employed still farther to embody and represent the divine and spiritual, by special inward conjunction more or less sacramental, so as to have part in its title to reverential respect. We are commanded thus to reverence God's sanctuary, his holy altar, and the solemn mysteries of his worship. In all these cases, our reverence passes at once *through* the object of sense to that which lies beyond and behind, the idea of the invisible God himself; the first is the medium only and vehicle of the sentiment, not in any sense its end. God however reveals himself in the world not merely by such outward symbols, which themselves have no part in the life of spirit, and so are shadows only of the divine substance they are made to enshrine; but still more gloriously also through the

world of mind itself, in virtue of which the very image and likeness of his own nature look forth upon us from the bosom of the universe, under a created form. This is entitled to our reverence always, not only as the shrine of something higher, but also for its own sake; though only for its own sake again, of course, as it is felt to be comprehended in that which is more general than itself separately considered, and so finally in the Universal Mind itself, forth from which as a parent fountain all other minds proceed. Man thus, in his single capacity, becomes an object worthy of veneration even with angels; because his personality, constituted by reason and will, sets him in real union with the very being of spirit under its universal form, and makes him to be something far more, in this view, than his own individual life as such. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." God did not simply make him from the dust of the ground, in the beginning, but breathed into him also a portion of his own life, and so constituted him a living soul.

As such an efflux from God, still bound through every point of its separate existence with the ocean of light and love from which it proceeds, the human spirit everywhere challenges our awful respect. We are bound to reverence it, in all men. Even an infant may claim, in such view, the inmost homage of our hearts; for it carries in its tiny life potentially the high and holy mystery of self-acting intelligence, in comparison with which the sun itself is a very small thing. It is related of Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, that he would at times kiss reverentially the breast of his little son, while he lay asleep, as though he felt the presence of the spirit that dwelt there to be higher and greater than himself. There is something beautiful and sublime in that. It carries the true and perfect stamp of Christianity. So should we all reverence our children, and treat them from the beginning as temples of the Holy Ghost. No man can have any true reverence for God, who has not yet learned, or who has forgotten, to entertain reverence for his image as it lies hid in the person of a child. Thus reverencing others, we are led to exercise the same sentiment also towards ourselves. This is something world-wide apart from pride and self-glorification. Such a habit springs from the want of faith in the true nature of spirit, leading its subject to affect a private and separate independence, which is in full violation of all truth and reason. It is only when the man recognizes in himself the presence of a life broader than his own, and finds his consciousness complete as a drop only in the sea of intelligence with which it

is surrounded, that he is at once delivered from selfishness and inspired at the same time with the most profound self-respect.

This of itself implies, however, that our reverence for the single reason and will, whether in ourselves or in other men, is conditioned necessarily by a corresponding regard to reason and will in their more general form. As in the case of Nature, so too in the world of Mind, the individual existence is comprehended always in the bosom of the whole to which it belongs. God reveals himself, in the form of self-acting spirit, not by inspiring truth and law into every man separately taken ; that would be as monstrous a supposition as to imagine all natural objects made separately and put together like an orrery or watch ; but by a single inspiration rather, or breath of the Almighty, which is at once as broad and full as the compass of our whole Humanity. Our acknowledgement of his authority then in this form, can never be genuine and full, save as it is *mediated* by a due respect to the living organism of mind, through which alone it is brought to challenge our regard. What we are required to reverence here, as before in the constitution of the outward world, is a divine revelation, an actual self-manifestation of God's glory or name ; which in this case meets us, however, in the form of created intelligence and will, and not as before in the form simply of blind nature. This system of created intelligence and will, the life of man in its general or collective character, is itself the revelation we are bound to acknowledge and respect. And do we ask now, in what way this homage is exacted at our hands ? The answer is plain. Through the ethical constitution of society (itself God's work,) as it starts in the Family, rises into the State, and completes itself at last in the glorious idea of the Church. Rightly considered, nothing can be more absurd than for men to pretend any true respect for God's will, while they show no respect for these institutions by which his will is carried over into the actual order of the world. The worst of all heresies indeed, as false to philosophy as it is to religion, is comprehended in the imagination, that reason and will are the private property simply of those to whom they belong, by means of which they are called to transact the great work of truth and righteousness directly and immediately with God himself, in an abstract and separate way. Such private judgment and private will may indeed pretend a more than usual regard for the authority of God, as not enduring the intervention of any other authority less absolute than his own ; but this is only to substitute in truth an empty thought for a divine reality. God's truth and God's will come not to men, not even

through the Bible itself, in any such abstract and naked style; ' and so to be the object at all of reverence or faith, they must be apprehended as a real revelation, under the form of life and spirit in the actual structure of the human world. No child can reverence God a whit farther than it is imbued with reverence for its parents. To despise authority, to speak evil of dignities, to be given to revolution and change, is the mark universally of an irreligious and profane mind. Radicalism and Red Republicanism, however loudly they may prate of religion, reason and right, are as irreverent towards God as they show themselves always in the end selfish and cruel also towards men. In the Church too, the same spirit is ever distinguished by the same bad character. It is the very mother of schisms and sects, ill favored, hard and harsh, from whose presence every sweet charity of the true christian life shrinks affrighted away. Reverence for the Church is the necessary condition, all the world over, of reverence for God and reverence for Christ.

The revelation of God however, under the form now in view, is not something at once finished and complete from the beginning. On the contrary it is accomplished in the way of history. In this respect, the world of mind differs from the world of mere nature. This last has no history, in the true sense of the term, except as we may choose to conceive of a vast cosmogony going before its present state, and making room for it in the way affirm-

¹Inspiration itself forms no exception to this rule. Plainly the supernatural vision of the prophets is conditioned always by the character of their natural life, which holds of course in organic connection with the reigning religious life of their age. To conceive of the psalms of David or the oracles of Isaiah flowing from the lips of a child, would be an offence against true faith, the same in kind, though not in degree, with the imagination of their having proceeded from Balaam's ass. So the inspiration of David or Isaiah cannot be rationally imagined competent, in any way, to reveal what comes to light under wholly new circumstances, in the mind of Paul. The inspiration of Paul again is not the inspiration of Peter or James or John; and could not be so without magic. Any theory of inspiration which implies the contrary is false, and dishonorable to religion. Inspired prophets, (in this respect like uninspired poets, only in far higher view,) moved supernaturally by the Holy Ghost, are notwithstanding, and indeed for this very reason, the birth and product of their own time, the central organs of their generation, in which the inmost meaning of its life comes to apprehension and utterance. Their oracles are no abstractions, Delphic riddles, wizard vaticinations. They are not of any *private* interpretation, (2 Peter i : 20,) but belong to the true universal life of the world. They come medially *through* the organization of the religious life, as an existing whole at the time, and not by any means as abrupt meteors shot from the clouds.

ed by geologists. Humanity, on the other hand, is plainly a process, by which one generation is required continually to carry forward the sense of another. History becomes thus, in a deep sense, nothing less than a divine *anthropogony*, by which the universal life of man, in the form of reason and will is moving forward always to its grand completion. It becomes plain at once, in this way, what sort of homage and respect it is entitled to claim at our hands. Shall we own God's presence in Nature, and take it by faith for the sure guaranty of order, reason and law, even in the whirlwind and earthquake; and shall we then turn round, and say of *History*, the revelation of Spirit, in which that other revelation finds its whole sense and end: It is chaos without form and void, or a sea of chance whose waves roar eternally the same hollow sound? Shall there be a divine teleology in the universe of matter, and neither end nor plan in the universe of mind? Must we see God in the stars, must we hear him in the storm and in the breeze, must we converse with him through the flowers of the field, and yet have no power to perceive his stately goings in the far more awful sanctuary of the human spirit, carried forward by successive generations towards its proper consummation? There is blasphemy in the very thought. History is no chaos. Earth has not been thus forsaken of Heaven, in the highest sphere of her life. We may find much here to bewilder and confound our thoughts, deep places of providence that we have no power to fathom or comprehend, Gordian knots that all our ingenuity and wisdom are employed in vain to solve; but still notwithstanding all this, we are bound to believe that history, as a whole, is divinely rational, and that it embodies in itself under such view the power of a moral authority, which reason and piety alike require all men to respect. It is not possible to have any sense of the organic constitution of the world, by which the general reason and will become the medium of divine revelation for individual men, without being made to feel to the same extent the intimate and necessary connection of this general life with itself in the flow of time; for every generation grows forth plainly from that which goes before, and must be regarded as the product and result accordingly of all previous history. We cannot reverence the present truly, in any of its institutions, except as we reverence also the past. The individualism, which affects to place private judgment and private will over all authority of a general kind, is characterised always by a corresponding contempt for the world which has come to be in its rear. Radicalism and Sectarianism are by their very constitution unhistorical. They will have it that reason and law start

with themselves, as a direct gift from the Almighty; and to make room for this proud pretension, they turn the whole past life of the world profanely into a moral nullity, or it may be into something much worse. Not to have faith in history however, and not to reverence it as a true revelation of God's mind and will is simply to be without true faith and reverence towards God himself. An undevout astronomer, it has been said, is mad, can he be less so, who is not led to bow in reverence before the Infinite Mind at work in History, but sees in it rather the very opposite only of intelligence and order?

Cultivate, finally, the life and power of true FREEDOM. Man is formed to be free. It lies in the very conception of intelligence, that it should be a law to itself, and not obey blindly and mechanically a power foreign to its own nature. Self-consciousness, the image of God in man, completes itself in self-activity. Truth becomes fully actual in the world, only where it passes into the form of freedom ; which may be said for this reason, to constitute the crown and glory of the whole creation. No wonder, that such an interest should be held universally in high account, where any sense is had, though it be never so darkly, of the original and proper dignity of our nature. All slavery is an ignominious wrong, which the human spirit can never patiently and quietly endure, without degradation. It is the duty of all men, as well as their divine prerogative, to be free.

Few however have any right conception of freedom. It is taken, for the most part, to consist in the mere outward liberty, by which men are allowed to use their lives according to their own will, without restraint or coercion from abroad ; or what is but little better, in that simply civil or political liberty, which stands in the assertion of what are conceived to be the original and inalienable rights of men, under some abstract scheme of law. None but actual madmen are so foolish indeed as to disown all limitation, in the case of their private mind and will. Society could not exist, even under the rudest form, without law ; and law implies objective restraint. But the conception now noticed severs the will from the law ; makes them to stand altogether out of each other ; and so places the value of liberty still, at last, in the supposed independence wholly of the first separately considered. According to the most gross form of this theory, men relinquish in society certain privileges and rights, which belong to them as individuals, in order the more effectually to secure those that are still reserved. By a more refined view, the law demanding such surrendry is regarded as a divine constitution, which men are bound to accept as the necessary condition

of their social existence ; in which case accordingly it is incumbent on the will in the exercise of its independence, to consent to the limitation as wholesome and good, while it expatiates then all the more freely within these bounds as its own lord and master. The two views come in the end to very much the same result. The will has its being in both cases on the outside of the law ; the relation between the two is a sort of mercantile contract ; obedience resolves itself into mere prudential calculation and policy. In all this we have no freedom, but spiritual mechanism and bondage. Such is the result, however, into which the fiction of abstract rights and private judgment must ever run, when left to its own course.

In full opposition to every fiction of this sort, the true idea of freedom meets us, only where rights cease to be abstract and merge themselves in the sense of society as a living whole, only where judgment and will lay aside their merely private character and show themselves as universal as the law itself. Liberty is an ethical fact, which stands just in this that the single will, in virtue of that divine autonomy or self-motion which belongs to it by its creation, flows over the boundaries of the individual life in which it has its rise, and makes itself one with the pure ether of truth that surrounds it, the glorious sea of light in which it is carried and borne. In other words, authority, law, truth as something objective and universal, is just as much a constituent of true freedom, as the single will by which in any case it is brought to pass. Will in no union with law, will sundered from the idea of authority and objective necessity, will in this way purely private and not general, can never be free. The one conception is the precise opposite of the other. And yet we hear, on all sides, authority opposed to freedom, as though the one must necessarily exclude the other! Never was there a greater mistake, or one more practically mischievous. Not only are the two necessarily conjoined in an outward way, so that where the law ends liberty must end at the same time, and in the sense of Voltaire's maxim, if there were no God it would still be necessary to invent one to keep the world in order ; they flow together inwardly also in every free act, and in such union form but the power of a single indissoluble fact. The law is not simply the measure of liberty, but its very substance and soul. So far is it from being true that authority and independence oppose each other, the last has its very being only in the sense of the first. To reverence authority is to be free. To despise it, is to have the mind and heart of a slave.

It has not been without reason then, that Faith and Reverence

have been made to go before Freedom, in the present address. They form in truth its original foundation, and necessary condition, and constant element: All true authority springs from God. To believe in God, is to have the sense of authority, to be embosomed in the consciousness of law. And this consciousness, as we have now seen, constitutes the very substance of freedom. Faith inspires reverence; this is the necessary posture and habit of the will, where such apprehension of the infinite prevails; and the result of all is inward emancipation from the power of what is simply single and finite, whether as in the mind itself or out of it, and willing motion in the orbit of law; such a marriage of the single and universal, in other words, as brings them to be one. This is freedom; while all that falls short of it, is for the spiritual nature of man inglorious servitude and bondage. No man can be free, without reverence. No man can be free, without faith. Atheism, profanity and pride, are always unfree, cowardly and mean. The fear of the Lord, is the beginning of wisdom, the fountain and support of all strength in man, whether it be as light in his understanding or as active force in his will. "God hath not given us the spirit of fear," says one who was himself full of this divine heroism, "but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

The authority which freedom respects and obeys is of course always the will of God. All law, as well as all life, comes from this source alone. It must be well borne in mind however that we have to do with this, not as an abstraction brought nigh to us immediately in the way of mere thought, but as an actual self-manifestation of God's will in the living world of which we are a part. To believe in God, is as we have seen to discern and apprehend his presence and glory in Nature, in History, in the Bible, and above all in Christ; not to dream of him simply as an unrevealed essence beyond the clouds, which can only be to sport the semblance of faith with what is at last but the creature of our own brain. So also, we have seen, reverence towards God is the profound homage of the created spirit, rendered to him, not as the incomprehensible *Sige* or *Bythos* simply of the Gnostics, but as the omnipresent indwelling Life of the Universe, whose mind and will are perpetually announcing themselves in a real way, as the very word or voice of Jehovah, first in the constitution of Nature, and then far more gloriously still in the constitution of Spirit, both wedded into a single life in the constitution of Man. The order of the world is concrete. The law of creation is in it, not beyond it, either as physical or as moral. Men can never obey it as an abstraction. It is then a grand

Satanic delusion, when any pretend to be free by casting off all other forms of authority, to obey simply and exclusively, as they say, the authority of God under any such imaginary purely naked form. God's will touches no man in that way, either through the Bible or on the outside of it. It comes to every man in its full force at last, only through the medium of the actually living world, especially the living christian world, the Church; which for this very reason is proclaimed "the ground and pillar of the truth," the Body of Christ, "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." No man's reason or will is to be trusted who sets out with the assumption that he is the organ, directly and separately, of the Divine Mind, and in this view responsible to God only for his opinions and ways. Rather such assumption marks universally the want of true independence and freedom, as well as the very contrary of all genuine reverence and faith. It is the slang of infidelity itself, and low, coarse, selfish radicalism, in all its forms, thus to make everything of God and *self*, and nothing of all the world besides. The manly independence of a truly free mind, springs always from the apprehension of God's presence and authority, as something concretely revealed in the actual life of the world, and from this apprehension only. The law which it is urged willingly to obey, as a power more vast than itself, is felt to surround it as an awful spiritual Reality in the the constitution of the universe. There is an homage which true Freedom exercises, under this form, in the presence even of Nature. The man is not free, whose soul is moved to no reverence, no loving though awful sense of dependence, by the sea, by the stars, by the voice of God in the whirlwind and storm. But it is in the presence of Spirit far more under its own form, created mind, the intellectual and moral world, as not only the symbolic shadow or mirror but the very image and substance of the Divine Mind itself, that such homage finds its full value and sense. Freedom, in proportion as it is free, bows down reverentially, and is never so great and strong and glorious as when its obeisance is most complete, to all lawful authority, whether it be political, moral or religious. The obedience of a little child to the will of a father, or the command of a mother, involving such reverence and faith, is something more beautifully grand than the course of a planet round the sun. Such a child too is at once a more glorious spectacle of freedom and strength, than a whole army of Titans piling Ossa upon Pelion to take the heavens by storm.

I pity the man, who supposes that Freedom can begin, only where Authority ends. There may be indeed a slavish and ab-

ject sense of power, that brings with it only degradation and weakness. So in regard to Nature. It is the sign of an unfree mind to bestow upon it superstitious worship, or to cower tremblingly at its feet. But what then? Is the fool free, on the other hand, who can bring himself to mock and brave its terrors, or who can gaze upon its glories with the apathy of an ox? No! Even in this relation, freedom supposes and requires, not an abstract separation of the subjective from the objective, but the free loving acknowledgment rather of this last on the part of the first, as the measure and mirror of truth under its own outward form. When God rides upon the wings of the wind, or utters his voice in the majesty of the rolling thunder, true superiority to nature consists not in overlooking the awful fact, but in meeting it promptly with the reverence of an awe-struck spirit. And why then may not the same relation between the subjective and the objective, liberty and authority, extend itself also in all its force over into the moral world? It is indeed something base to crouch to authority here, in a merely outward way; just as all *fetichism* is base, when directed towards nature. But we ask again, what then? Is the remedy for such baseness, to be found in deriding and casting off all such authority, in the exercise of mere wanton self-will? Can it be less fool-hardy to despise parental government, civil government, church government, than it is to mock the lightning or brave the lion in his den? Am I bound to reverence God, and feel his law, in the constitution of the planets; and am I *not* bound to reverence him also, and feel his law, in the far more glorious constitution of Human Society and History? The question surely answers itself.

Strange that those who take Freedom to be the simple opposite of Authority, should not reflect that this must hold, if it be true, in regard to the highest form of authority, that which it carries in the Divine Mind itself, as well as in all inferior relations.¹ What is gained for the independence of the subject, by

¹It is always a false and injurious conception of God's will, when it is thought of as arbitrary, and so as outward and foreign altogether, in its relation to men. God is not out of the world, and beyond it, however truly different from it in his nature, but enters into its actual order as the ground and support continually of all its laws and powers. In the moral world accordingly he does not *make* reason and right, as something on the outside of himself, which created intelligences are then required to acknowledge out of regard simply to his absolute authority; but he is both reason and right under their most universal form; they subsist, wherever found, only in and by the living activity of his intelligence and will. Men are rational and free in God. His Personality is the absolute ground of all personality besides.



merely transferring the authority he is called to obey, from created will up to that which is uncreated and eternal, if the one is to remain at last wholly out of the other, each bound forever to its own sphere? It should be remembered, that there may be a craven spirit of submission towards God himself, as well as towards mere nature or mere human power. Indeed all submission is so, in which the will of the creature is not brought to enter into the will of the Creator as its own free life. But now if Freedom and Authority do not exclude each other in this highest relation, but on the contrary are required to flow together in this inward way, why should it be imagined that they are incompatible in any lower relation, legitimately belonging to the moral world? Why may not the man who disowns private judgment and private will, be just as free in the reverent use of established law and tradition, to say the least, as the man who scorns every such limitation; limiting himself in fact at the same time in order to be thus privately and narrowly free? Why should the traveller, who has learned to respect the universal civilized world, be less truly independent than the rude shepherd or farmer, to whom his native valley still stands for the measure of the earth entire? Why should the scholar at home in the broad empire of science, not be full as great when he bends to its vast objective laws, as the self-willed sciolist or pedant who sets them all at defiance? Why should the man who honors the Past, with large knowledge of its life, and bows down before History as a divine revelation, be less prepared to think and act safely, or less likely to be onesided and bound in his views, than his hard-minded neighbor, who tries all ages by his own century, and finds no sense or meaning in any, beyond this most unhistorical rule? Why should one who believes that Christ has been always present in the course of Christianity, according to his own promise, from the beginning, and who counts it a duty accordingly to study with reverent homage the footsteps of his majesty and grace through all ages, be less qualified to reach the true mind of Christ in the Bible; than another, whose extreme individualism makes light of the Creed, looks down upon the Fathers, sees chaos only in the Middle Ages, and finds universal Christianity thus at last reflected through the Bible, from the small and insignificant *Mantua* of his own untravelled mind?¹ Or yet once more, why should faith in the Holy Catholic Church, and reverence and sympathy for her voice, be held to be a less

¹ *Urbem, quam dicunt Romam, Melibœ, putavi
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.*

genial and friendly element for the growth of that true christian liberty, wherewith the Son of God makes men free, than is the atmosphere of a Sect, with which all such reverence and sympathy are wanting, and for which its own brief and narrow tradition is of more weight than the "*ubique, semper et ab omnibus,*" of whole Christendom besides?

Cultivate then, we say again, Faith, Reverence, and Freedom. Remember that to be truly free, you must be superior to yourselves, as well as to the surrounding world; and this you never can be, except as you stand in felt living communion with the spiritual world, and are made to do homage thus to truth and law as something vastly greater and more glorious than your own individual lives. This is the true perfection of your nature. This is your first vocation and mission in the world. This is the magnificent work, more high and glorious than all the labors of Hercules, which you are sent forth upon the arena of life to accomplish, and which the whole creation of God, surrounding you like a mighty amphitheatre on all sides, may be said to require and expect at your hands. Your whole education, in its last sense and purpose, centres here. In vain have you made yourselves familiar with science, or secured the accomplishments of art, if along with all you are not assisted to understand and govern yourselves. Your knowledge and art may serve indeed, without this, to make you important and give you power within certain limits. But, alas, what are all advantages which can be thus secured, even under the most favorable circumstances, for the man who carries still in his own bosom the spirit of a slave? What are wealth, and station, and credit, and power, in such case, but fetters and chains, by which the soul is only so much the more enslaved to the authority of a strange and tyrant law? On the other hand, let this inward liberty prevail, and its fruit is found to be universal freedom and universal strength. It can make even poverty to be rich, and adversity serenely strong; while it throws a new worth round every form of prosperity, and spreads a new charm over all that life may have of beauty or glory besides. Such freedom is in truth a victory at the same time over the world. The man who is truly master of himself, not in the way of Stoic apathy and pride, but by inward unten with the Divine Law, can never be the slave of men. He is prepared, to the same extent, to brave all tyrannical authority, whether it spring from the many or the few, whether it be exercised by single handed pope or hydra headed mob. Let it be *your* ambition, and aim and endeavor, to be thus free. God has

not called you, and we have not trained you, to the spirit of bondage and fear.

With these counsels, and the prayer that you may be able to quit yourselves like men in the great battle of life, we now bid you an affectionate and solemn *Farewell.*

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WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY?

A vindication of the idea of Historical Development. By PHILIP SCHAF. Translated from the German. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1846. 12 mo. pp. 128.

The subject discussed in this work is full of interest. However widely the views of individuals in regard to History may theoretically differ, its importance is practically admitted by all. It portrays man in all his struggles to solve the questions involved within his own being, and to reach the end of his creation; and contains and truly exhibits the results to which, in the different stages of this process, he has arrived. "It is, and must ever continue to be," consequently, "next to God's word, the richest source of wisdom, and the surest guide to all successful practical activity." Affect, therefore, as some may, to treat history with contempt, and to overrule at the bar of their own judgment, its solemn decisions, whenever convenient to do so, they cannot in reality despise its teachings, nor tear loose from its authority.¹ Those who imagine themselves to be most independent in this

¹These remarks find strong corroboration in the fact, that in those theological institutions in which it is considered essential to orthodoxy to deny all real value and authority to Church History, it still is made to occupy a very important place in the course of study.

respect, are, generally, least so. Not unfrequently they are found seeking the aid of history to sustain them in their protest against history.

It is in its relation to Christianity, however, that History most strongly challenges attention. Church History, in fact, may be said to comprise *all* History. All the great movements of humanity, whether in reference to politics, to literature, to science, or to art, have had a powerful influence upon the Church, and at the same time, were themselves the direct, or indirect results, of the Church's life operating in those several directions. For Christianity is not an isolated principle working itself out to completion, in entire independence of, and indifference to all other spheres of action. It does not achieve its triumphs by a process of sheer demolition, leaving the world unchanged except in a merely outward way. It works as a living principle *in* the world, rather than upon it, destroying only that which is bad, carrying out to its fulfilment all that is good. No proper idea, consequently, can be obtained of any sphere of human activity, except from the stand-point of Christianity. The past, when regarded from any other position, seems to be full of confusion and obscurity,—a chaos of events without order or connection, apparently springing from inadequate causes, and productive of no proper results,—no clue appearing to guide the bewildered inquirer through its dark labyrinths, nor common principle to harmonize its conflicting activities, and bind together its successive periods. As the eddies of a great river to be properly understood, must be viewed in connection with the stream, which sweeps through the main channel, so the changes of society become plain in their origin, and end, only when considered in their relation to Christianity. This must ever necessarily be the case. Christianity is the most important fact in the history of the world,—the attainment, in a living way, of the truth which it embodies, the most important object to which the attention of man has been, or can be directed. Hence it has formed for him, consciously, or unconsciously, in all ages, and nations, the ultimate end of his most earnest strivings; and the deepest movements of the past have sprung from it as their source, or looked to it as their completion.

Nor is it, indeed, possible to arrive at any correct idea of the nature of the Christian religion itself, without a proper regard for its history. Christianity is not an abstract theory, nor yet a mechanical system of law, but a living fact. As such, it can be understood only by contemplating it as it has actually unfolded itself in history, and that too, in the history, not of one age, and

nation, but of all ages, and nations. For it is a world-fact, extending through the world, both as to time, and space. It is only under a general view, therefore, comprehending it in all its manifold relations, and different but consistent forms of action, that the nature of the Christian religion becomes truly and fully manifest. As little as a traveller can determine the course and character of an unexplored stream by the scene which a single point upon its banks presents,—as little as man himself can be understood, if studied with reference only to a single tribe and century,—so little can correct and enlarged views of Christianity be obtained, by confining our attention to the aspect, which it happens to present in some particular period and country.

At all times, then, the study of Church History is important, but it is especially so at present. On the one hand, *Romanism*, declaring itself alone to be the Holy Catholic Church, appeals to the past in vindication of its claims. On the other, *Puseyism*,—in respect to this point in full harmony with Puritanism,—is striving to lead Protestantism back to the first centuries, leaping over the intervening chasm of fourteen hundred years, and disregarding the mighty results of the Scholastic Philosophy of the Middle Ages, and the Biblical Theology of the Reformation, as entirely without value. Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism (the two latter, at the same time, professedly denying, with glaring inconsistency the authority of History,) with equal earnestness, and apparently with equal confidence of success, search the records of primitive ages, for a perfect portrait of their respective features. To History all parties appeal in corroboration of their claims ; and by History their claims must in great measure be decided.

If these remarks are true, the importance of possessing a correct idea of the nature of History must be obvious. For not more certainly will the beauty of a landscape be lost if looked at from an unfavorable point of view, than the truth of History will become distorted, if contemplated from a false position. Its most prominent, and important facts, thrown into the shade, may seem of little consequence or even be completely hid behind the insignificant form of some trivial occurrence improperly thrust into the fore-ground ;—its magnificent vistas, resplendent with light when viewed from the proper point, may seem shrouded in darkness ; and the influence of Christianity upon the world be made to appear as the blighting shadow of superstition, or the meteoric glare of fanaticism, rather than as the life-giving beams of the Sun of Righteousness. We all know this to be the case. The infidel seeks in the store-house of History for

weapons against the Christian, and uses her assistance in the conflict.. The most bigoted advocate of ecclesiastical tyranny,—the most abject upholder of political despotism, on the one hand,—and the most fanatical declaimer in favor of individual lawlessness, on the other, as well as the firm friend of law and liberty, all appeal with equal confidence to History, in justification of their principles, and conduct. And as regarded from their several points of view, she does appear to give each of them her approbation. Yet History in fact, is not thus self-contradictory. The seeming inconsistency results from the want of a proper understanding of what History, in itself considered, is.

The want of a proper idea of History, in this country, is too plainly evident to require proof. In fact, we cannot be said to have any general idea of it, whatever. Every one makes it what he pleases,—forming in this way his own History, and adopting that theory,—if he theorizes at all respecting it,—which best accords with the character of his own mind, or will enable him to defend most successfully preconceived opinions. The truth, that History is but another name for the *World's-life*, gradually unfolding itself, under the guidance of Divine Providence, and consequently that it has an existence of its own, as really as the individual life of man, seems to be comprehended by very few and very often is characterized as Mystical, Rationalistic, or Romanistic, or all together, according to the peculiar prejudices of the individual objector. Most commonly, History is looked upon merely as a collection of facts,—a narrative of events sustaining only an outward relation to each other, as cause and effect, and influencing the world in an incidental way, as the invention of gun-powder, for example, produced a change in the method of carrying on war. We do not wonder that History should be regarded as having no great claims to respect, so long as such notions of its nature are in vogue. Nor is it a matter of surprise to us, that the students of even our oldest and most respectable Theological Seminaries should pursue its study with little interest, when a formal examination upon it is made to consist, possibly of interrogatories respecting the form and furniture of the Churches, and the costume of the clergy in a particular century, or other points of like mechanical concern.

Under such a view, History appears to be the result of mere human action. Its most secret springs are to be found in the caprices and passions of the human heart ; and its most important events seem to be but the consequences of the ambition, the selfishness, the weakness, or the generosity, of particular individuals, or communities. “*'Thus God is thrust out of History,'*”

and His Providence is virtually denied ; or if He is recognized as the ruler of events, it is only in an outward, mechanical way, presiding over the destinies of nations, and the actions of men, as a player presides over the pieces on a chess-board. It is a fact well worth considering, that most of the English Historians,—all of whom held this view of History, to a greater or less degree,—were infidels ;—and that in Germany,—as Dr. Schaf clearly shows,—the idea ran out into Rationalism as its legitimate result. Nor are we so free from this infidel influence, as is generally imagined. It is easy to see the effect of this false view of History, combined as it always necessarily is with a false view of the Church, upon a large portion of New England Puritanism, carrying it over into so-called "Liberalism," and thence to infidelity by the closest logical process. Even in that part of the Christian community which is considered really sound, and under the form of the strictest orthodoxy, this tendency is but too apparent ; and it is owing only to the powerful influence of divine truth under other forms, that we do not feel in all their disastrous consequences, the effects of a spirit, to which full assent is yielded in the sphere of History, but which robs History of its truthfulness—distorts the idea of Christianity as actualized in History, perverts the relation of God to the world, and is closely allied to infidelity in all its manifestations. In its least objectionable form, the view of History alluded to does gross injustice to History itself. It throws aside a great portion of the past as entirely valueless. The long lapse of time between the fifth and fifteenth centuries, though full of intense activity, and abounding in vast movements,—being indeed the period when the foundations of our present social structure were laid,—is looked upon as unworthy of notice,—as a vast void in the World's life, during which God was not in the world at all, in fact, but men were left to grope their way, by themselves, in impenetrable darkness, as best they could.

From all these false results, the theory of History set forth in the book before us is free. God is recognized not only as ruling *over* the world but as actually dwelling in it. He is regarded not as merely watching the course of events, and by occasional interferences causing them to promote His glory, but as being Himself constantly present in History—the original source of its activity, and the controller of all its movements. At the same time, with full consistency, ample room is left for the largest freedom of human will and action. The struggles of man, and the changes of society, do not seem, in this theory, as in the view of History already mentioned, to be a sea of fluctuations in them.

selves without meaning, but the progressive effort of humanity, under the guidance of Divine Providence, to unfold its own nature, and thus to realize the ultimate object of its creation.—No portion of the past is despised, but every part is considered important from its relation to the whole process of History, and as forming one stage of the world's progress.

Thus much for the importance of the subject discussed by Dr. Schaf. Believing that History is not a mere creature of the historian's brain, but has an actual existence of its own, he has endeavored in the work before us to point out its nature and laws. His book is emphatically a "tract for the times,"—an effort to answer questions hitherto unanswered, and little thought of in this country, but demanding a reply as necessary to the solution of the deepest questions of this, or indeed of any age. Impressed with this idea, the author has evidently bestowed upon the subject labor and thought commensurate with its importance and difficulty. His well known learning and mental vigor, and the acknowledged sincerity of his zeal for the truth, were in themselves, a sufficient guarantee for candor and thoroughness in the discussion of the subject. It might reasonably have been supposed, that a work of such character, breaking ground and preparing the way for future culture, in a field so difficult, and yet so rich in fruitful promise, would at once secure serious attention,—that it would be carefully studied,—that not merely isolated parts, but especially its fundamental idea would be critically examined,—and that its errors, if any were found, would be pointed out, and refuted with the same candor, and thoroughness, that characterize the book itself. Surely no other treatment could be anticipated from an earnest theological public.

Such however was not the reception the work met with. It was noticed by two or three of the religious newspapers of the day,—was harshly denounced, in one instance, without having been read through; and in the only instance in which, so far as we remember, it was formally reviewed, its fundamental principle was left untouched. This, we believe to be a fair example of the mode in which views that do not fully accord with the reigning tone of thought, both as to form and substance, are disposed of. The most approved method of escaping from them, seems to be, without the formality of a trial, either dictatorially to denounce them, or to consign them to oblivion by silent contempt. Quite a number of works upon important subjects, some of them very able, have lately met with this summary treatment. The method is certainly very effectual to prevent disturbance in established opinions, but most unfavorable to the progress of truth.

Though the effort of Dr. Schaf to direct attention to the nature and laws of Church History has apparently failed, we do not think that it has done so, in reality. Very probably it is better for the final success of the book, that it did not at once secure general notice. Had it done so, it doubtless would soon have been dismissed from attention, without having been permitted to produce much effect. As it is, many earnest minds have been quietly reflecting upon it; and the thought and discussion produced by kindred topics, meanwhile submitted to public consideration from different quarters, have prepared the way for a juster appreciation and a clearer apprehension of the whole subject. It is under this conviction, and with the hope of turning attention to the book, rather than of throwing light upon a subject treated in its pages with far more clearness than we have power to do, that we pen this article. In pursuance of our design, we shall employ the remaining space allowed us in exhibiting as well as we can by extracts from the work, its general plan and character.¹

Before entering upon the discussion of the true idea of Church History the author takes a comprehensive survey of the recent results of German labor in that direction. This survey is prefaced with some interesting remarks upon the general character of German Theology, and its probable influence upon the world, which we cannot forbear quoting, in part:

"In all the deeper movements of the world of mind, Germany for three hundred years past, has led the way for other nations. She is the land that gave birth to those world-embracing ideas which introduced the Protestant period of the Church, and have wrought such mighty changes in State, Science and art, and the entire social life of the modern world. In the Reformation she set in motion the entire course of Protestant History as it has developed itself from that time to the present. But as Rôme was twice the centre of the world's life, while the sword of the capitol, transplanted with broken point to the dome of St. Peter, ruled the world for a full thousand years; so Germany would appear to be called to act the second time a world-historical part in the fact that the spirit of the Reformation resuscitated under a new form is just at this time, actively engaged on all sides with the work of a vast revolution whose power may be

¹ To some, who have a copy of Dr. Schaf's work, it may seem unnecessary to quote as largely, as we intend doing. It should be remembered, however, that in all probability the book has never been seen, by very many readers of the "Mercersburg Review;" and the most effectual way of introducing it to their notice, we believe, will be to furnish copious extracts, together with a synopsis of its main chapter.

expected, in the end, to rule the life of the world for whole centuries to come."

"No reference is here had to the so-called German Catholic movement, which the Protestant religious press of this country, with a most marvellous want of critical discernment, has already trumpeted as a second Reformation. * * * We have in our eye rather the exploits as they may be styled, of the *later Protestant Theology*, of Germany. These must make their way in time over the whole cultivated world, and exert a mighty influence on the form and shape that shall be given hereafter to Church relations. Those who measure the importance of all things by their immediately outward consequences, and in whose view nothing is counted eventful but what fills the general popular consciousness with its sound, will be ready, no doubt, to smile at this declaration. Such, however, would do well to consider how they are to get along with Christianity itself, which was present in history as the great regenerating principle of dying humanity, working silently but powerfully like leaven, long before the central power of the world as it then stood, so much as thought of bestowing upon it the least notice." * * * *

"No one who is thoroughly acquainted with the extended exegetical, critical and historical inquiries, as well with the philosophical and dogmatical struggles of the last 20 or 30 years," in Germany, ("reaching as they do to the inmost ground of all things) can possibly yield to the discouraging thought, that such an extraordinary mass of acuteness, intellect and learning should have been all to no purpose and that the sore spiritual toil of the most gifted and excellent men of the age should have been absolutely thrown away. It is true that the German theology, in the last century, became more estranged from its proper life-element of religion and the Church, than was the case in other lands. Whilst the Deism of England, and the Naturalism of France, failed to rise in general above the lowest and most shallow popular free-thinking, the unbelief, of Germany formed itself into a scientific system, fortified with a fearful bulwark of learning and philosophy, which became thus immensely more difficult to overcome than in any other case. The German takes so deep an interest in science and religion as such, and is possessed at the same time of such inexhaustible energy and perseverance of mind, that this character proclaims itself even under a false, perverse tendency, and he cannot rest till he has pushed a principle out to its most extreme consequences. But for this very reason again, he alone could produce a *scientific* remedy for the disease in question. A large shadow indicates always the presence of a large body. The process could not stop, of course, content with rationalism. For the Church of God must bid defiance even to the gates of hell. There arose accordingly with the beginning of the present century, and more particularly since the Jubilee of the Reformation, celebrated in the year 1817, in connexion with the false theology of Rationalism, in

its different forms, still retaining some portion of its old life, a powerful reaction, which with the keen weapons of the latest scientific cultivation and the force of a newly resuscitated religious feeling, carried breach after breach into the system of unbelief, and began once more to build up again the ancient faith with the most diligent zeal. This, however, is not a direct unconditioned return to the earlier stand-point of Church theology, over against which rationalism must be allowed to have a certain kind of right ; but a living reproduction rather, and for this very reason, at the same time an advance. The pure negation of a particular tendency, is never a victory over it. Only such an opposition can be so considered, which recognizes also and saves the element of truth in which the tendency has its life.—*pp. 11-14.*

It would be gratifying to follow the author still farther, into this part of his book, but the limits of our article will not permit us. We commend the whole chapter, however, to the attention of all who desire to know, what has been done, of late, for TRUTH in Germany, and especially to those who imagine German theology to be throughout unsound. No one can rise from the perusal of this portion of the book without a higher regard for German Literature, and a strong conviction that it must, in the necessity of the case, exert a powerful influence upon the world of thought, for a long time to come, together with a feeling of surprise, that in this country, we should have so long neglected to avail ourselves of the rich stores of knowledge, heaped up and systematized by German labor and offered to us on the slight condition of a reproduction in an English form.

The most important section of the work, is that which unfolds the author's idea of Church History. This we will endeavor to exhibit, as far as we can, in the words of the book. But inasmuch as we shall frequently be obliged, for the sake of brevity, to join detached sentences, and parts of sentences, by clauses of our own, we will place quotation marks only where we give the author's language unaltered and at some length. After some interesting preliminary remarks upon the nature of the Church, Dr. Schaf proceeds to consider first the nature of History in general, and afterwards of *Church History*:

"HISTORY denotes in its objective sense the general course of events ; subjectively the representation of these events. This definition, however, requires to be made more particular, so soon as History comes to be handled as a science. Only that can be called *Historical*, strictly speaking, which has exercised a determining influence upon the progress of humanity. * * * As every individual has his history, so has humanity as a whole. Its biography

is universal or World History. Revelation and enlightened reason teach us, to look upon the human race as a single family, which has sprung from one and the same common ancestor, and tends toward the same end, the exhibition of God's glory. Hence the History of the world also must be conducted as a living organism, in which the irresistible onward movement of humanity towards its end,— may be fairly represented. The Histories of particular nations form the members of this organic body ; through which, under all difference of character, and calling, and position, and circumstances, one life-blood still flows, and in which the idea of humanity, as formed from God, and for God, dwells as a single soul. All nations, however, are not Historical, any more than all individuals ; but only such as have made themselves felt in a living way upon the actual developments inward and outward, of the world's life as a whole." * * * * *

" As nations which have come to free action, and individuals that reciprocally complete one another, form thus the factors of world-history, so we are to recognize in different periods the several stadia, inwardly connected, and flowing necessarily one out of another, through which the idea of humanity must proceed, in order to come always to a more complete realization and exhibition of its own nature. Every period has a distinct character, which is impressed more or less on all its movements and tendencies. This is denominated the spirit of the age. It is nothing more than the world-spirit, or the spirit of humanity itself at a particular point of its age. For humanity, like the single man of which it is organically composed, passes through the stages of childhood, earlier and later youth, and manhood, onward to old age." * * * * *

" At the same time, every period and every people has also its several stages of life through which to pass ; and then we must say again that Christianity, as such, includes a new course of development, peculiar to itself, and essentially different from all that went before. Religion in this form is not to be viewed as an advance simply upon the Jewish system, exalting it to a higher state. It must be regarded rather as a new creation, by which a new principle, a divine life is communicated to humanity itself. Christianity forms the turning point of the world's History ; and Christ the true pole star of the whole, is the centre also around which all revolves ; the key, as the great historian John Von Müller expressed himself, which alone can unlock the sense of all that has taken place before his advent, or since. In Christ, the ideal of humanity has been actualized. All history before him must be viewed as a preparation for his presence ; a preparation, which in Judaism carried a positive character, in the way of progressive revelations and descensions on the part of God ; while in Paganism it was more negative, a helpless struggle upwards on the part of man. All history since Christ finds its central movement in the divine principle

of life, which he has introduced into human nature, and which is destined gradually to take all up into its own element as revealed in his person. In this view it becomes *Church History.*"—pp. 37-41, *passim.*—

CHURCH HISTORY.

CHURCH HISTORY itself like every other theological discipline, has its own history; having reached the high position it now occupies by degrees. We distinguish, in its course of development, three periods. The first two stand related to each other as extremes. By surmounting both, and at the same time recognizing the truth contained in both, that higher view has come to prevail which enters clearly into the ground of all the more important modern German historical works.

I. *The Orthodox Historiography.*

Chronicles and annals constitute, down to the time of the Reformation almost the only attempts at Church History; very valuable of course as collections of material, but still no more than attempts at History. Church History, as a science commences, where the Church comes to reflect upon herself; where the historian so represents his matter as to put life into it spiritually from some point of view. The first stand-point which presents itself in the development of the idea of Church History, is that of the earlier *orthodoxy* as well Roman Catholic, as Protestant. "We may style it the stand-point of *established orthodoxy*, and *exclusive ecclesiasticism*. It consists in general, in this, that the Church, with her whole system of doctrine and life, is regarded as something complete from the start; and is thus made to stand, under some received visible form in abstract opposition to all diverging sects, as the absolute and only legitimate representative of the Christian faith. Outward changes in the fortunes of the Church, by its growth in the way of missionary activity, and aggression upon the world are of course admitted, but all idea of an *inward* development of the *nature* of the Church itself, is rejected." This view of the Church and its history was held both by the Roman Catholic and early Protestant historians, though differently applied in practice.

"*Historical method of the Older Protestant Orthodoxy:*" Under this view of History, "the conception of the Church be-

came more broad and spiritual.¹ It was no longer identified with the communion of Rome. Elements of evangelical truth and Christian life were recognized in the sects also of the Middle Ages. It was generally admitted that the Lord had at all times reserved a people for himself, even under the dominion of the Pope; but what might be called *Roman* properly in the Catholic Church, the papacy with its institutions, was regarded as an apostacy from the true Church." After the Reformation the Roman Church, in this theory, took the character of a heresy, and Protestantism took the place that was previously occupied by Rome.

Notwithstanding this change, however, the church continued to be for Protestant historians as well as Roman, something complete in its nature from the beginning, not needing nor admitting any proper development. All activity in the sphere of doctrine, was apprehended only under the form of a vindication or denial of the truth; so that the history of doctrines resolved itself at the last into a mere history of heresies. The entire Protestant system was supposed to be found immediately and literally in the Bible, even in the Old Testament itself, and in the life and practice of the first period of the Church; so that the whole intermediate history was made to sink in fact into the character of an unmeaning and useless episode. As it regards government and worship, the more liberal acknowledged changes even within the true Church, but then they looked upon these as the accidental rise and disappearance merely of indifferent ceremonies. At the same time, there were not wanting those who imagined that they could find a specific system of Church government and form of worship, complete in all its details, in the New Testament.² The view taken of the relation between the reigning Church, and dissenting bodies, remained formally the same that it had been before in the Roman Catholic conception of history; namely that of exclusive ecclesiasticism.

Here, however, this principle fell into a striking self-contradiction in its application. In the first period of the Church, on into the sixth century, the Protestant view went hand in hand with the Romanist in acknowledging the authority of the ecumenical councils, and opposing the sects. But the case changed in the Middle Ages. Here the Protestant Historians were

¹ We pass by the author's exposition of the Roman Catholic view of history, from want of space.

² Such persons are still to be found.

forced to take sides with the non-catholic sects, and to make *them* to be the true Catholic Church, in order to maintain some show of consistency with their previous rule of judgment. But this was attended with great difficulties. For in the first place the Middle Ages are only the regular development of the Catholic Church of the first six centuries. All the germs even of the papacy existed thus early. A second difficulty appears in the fact, that a large proportion of the sects which existed before the Reformation, were further removed in a number of points from the Protestant orthodoxy, than the errors even of the Church of Rome itself. Finally, such Protestants as had carried their studies somewhat thoroughly into the Catholic theology of the Middle Ages could not with all their respect for the dissenting sects, shut their eyes to the fact, that at least as much piety as they could exhibit, and a great deal more learning also had place in the reigning Church. This was especially evident in the persons of such men as *Anselm of Canterbury*, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Thomas a Kempis*. Thus through the pressure of the difficulties which have been mentioned, as well as by the continued development of orthodox theology itself, there was gradually formed during the 18th century, a *mediating view*, or *moderate orthodoxy*. This is the *supranaturalistic* style of *Church History*. The term supranaturalism is employed in the historical sense of the word to designate the last representatives of the old Protestant orthodoxy, as opposed to Pietism, and still more to Rationalism, by which the theology of Germany was overpowered during the last century. The supranaturalistic historians agree with their strict orthodox predecessors in this: that they look upon the process of history simply as a series of favorable or unfavorable events; and the exhibition of it is considered to be not a living reproduction, but a simple narration, merely of these events. The Christian doctrines are viewed as a fixed unalterable system, handed down through the Bible, and existing in the same form from the beginning. On the other hand, the supranaturalistic historians differed from the strictly orthodox, in regarding deviations from the Church theology with more indulgence. They did not look upon heresies as the product of bad intention; but rather as errors of thought or imagination, or as deviations merely from Church terminology, thus reducing often the most weighty doctrinal controversies to unmeaning logomachies. Lastly, they even justified the heretics in part against the orthodox. In this, however, they assailed their own assumption, that heresy must be regarded as sheer falsehood, which of course can never have

any right in opposition to divine truth. To close the eyes then indulgently in favor of falsehood, could not fail to promote a spirit of indifference to truth and error, of a very dangerous character. This did, in fact, towards the close of the century become generally prevalent; so that it became an easy thing for Rationalism to conquer so poor an enemy, and even to bring it over to its own side.

II. *The Rationalistic Historiography.*

The second stand-point of ecclesiastical history may be styled, in opposition to that of the old orthodoxy, the stand-point of *fluctuating heterodoxy*, and *unchurchly subjectivity*. This, also has its own historic process, in which we may distinguish two periods: the *Pietistic* and the proper *Rationalistic*. The two differ widely in their views; but both come together in the point of unchurchliness, and this explains the transition of the first over into the last, as its proper theoretic consequence.

The Pietistic Method of History, or *that of sectarian religious separation*. The Pietistic method resembled the Supernaturalistic in its indifference in regard to true and false doctrine. It made very little account of theology. Its concern was all for practical religion. In the sphere of history, this form of thinking would, of course, try the worth of every person and church by the standard of subjective piety; and as this, in many cases, seemed to prevail among the oppressed sects, rather than in the reigning Church, all *religious life*, and so of course all true *historical legitimacy* also, was attributed to the former. This we find exemplified in the History of the learned and pious *Gottfried Arnold*, who belongs properly to this Pietistic school.

The Rationalistic Method of History: It is easy to see that the Pietistic view of history, could not fail to shake the credit of the reigning Church, in favor of the dissenting sects; nay to bring its very existence into question. It required only the loss of that religious feeling which Pietism inherited from the Church, in order to fall over necessarily into Rationalism. This took place in the person of *Semler*. *Semler*, in common with *Arnold*, had a strong feeling against the ruling Church, and in favor of all uncatholic dissenters. To this was joined, however another important element, which had no place with *Arnold* whatever; namely the comprehension of the material of ecclesiastical history, and indeed of orthodoxy itself under the view of endless mutability; which we must take care however not to

confound with the conception of organic development. He believed that doctrines were always in a course of change ; and that the church system as it stood in his own time, was not something which had existed constantly, under the same form, from the first, but was rather the result of a continually advancing disfiguration of what might be regarded as the original biblical form of Christianity. This view of Semler served to inflict on the old orthodoxy and its theory of history a second stroke, that proved indeed to be deadly. For this whole school based itself on the assumption, that whatever might have arisen in time could not be properly of divine or eternal right.

The followers of Semler could, of course consistently with their principles, find no more important work than that of demolishing the Church and its history down to the time of the Apostles. "The vast labour of centuries was looked upon as labour spent in vain. The acute dogmatical distinctions of the œcumical councils were thrust aside as sophistical subtleties. The symbolical books of the Protestant Church were condemned as dishonorable shackles for the human mind ; the deep speculations of the most spiritual thinkers derided as empty dreams ; the vigorous manifestations of faith in opposition to unbelief, cried down as wild Zealotism ; the greatest enterprises of the Church, in other times, or among other people, branded as the product of dark religious fanaticism."

To give some account, at the same time, of the past activity of the world, the *pragmatical* method was adopted. *Mosheim* had already laid down the rule that Church History must be pragmatic ; that is, must not simply relate events, but as he expresses it, "unfold also, under the guidance of psychology, the causes to which they are to be referred in the passions, tricks and windings of the human heart." This pragmatism was not so dangerous with *Mosheim*, and his school, on account of their connexion with the Church orthodoxy ; but in the hands of religious indifferentism and rationalism, it turned the entire history of the Church, into a purely subjective play of human passions. The most important doctrines and events, all tried by the standard of the most miserable private judgment, were deduced from idle speculation, or the lowest motives of a selfish heart ; the divinity of Christ, for instance, from the rhetorical fancy of Athanasius ; the doctrine of free grace and original sin, from Augustine's stiff humor, and fondness for writing ; the papacy of the Middle Ages, from the imposition of the false Isodorian decretals and the ambition of "the rascal" Hildebrand ; the Reformation from the pecuniary embarrassment of Leo X ; the

Lutheran dogma of the Lord's Supper from the stupid obstinacy and contentious spirit of Luther himself.

"Thus was God excluded from History altogether ; which was at the same time, to thrust out its eyes, and tear the living heart from its bosom. The life-course of the Redeemer's bride, was caricatured into a "History of human folly." The theatre of God's kingdom in the world was degraded into a wild arena of base, unholy passions."

Having thus traced the idea of History throughout its several stages, until it reached the position just above described, Dr. Schaf points out the successive steps by which a juster method of History, reproducing within itself in a living way, and in a higher form, the truth of the previous methods, but rejecting their errors, has at length been reached. We are unable, from want of space, to follow him in his sketch. We commend it, however, (as containing convincing evidence of the ridiculousness of their opinion) to those who imagine German Philosophy and Theology to be a mere chaos of wild and unmeaning speculation, controlled by no certain principles, having no definite ends in view, and producing no consequences of practical value to the progress of truth. Sure we are that no one can seriously contemplate the idea of Church History passing in the process of its development, through so many different philosophic schools, and conflicting forms of thought, without perceiving,—what the constitution of mind itself should have led him from the first to believe, —that severe mental and spiritual struggles must always have their ground in the mental and spiritual wants of our nature, and can never be carried on without producing some valuable practical result.

In accordance with the design of our article we pass on immediately to give a condensed exhibition of the author's own view of Church History. This is substantially the same with that which in its general idea enters as a controlling element into all the more important modern German historical works, though differently held by different persons, from whom Dr. Schaf also claims the right to deviate, in regard to some points. The view alluded to forms :

III. *The Modern Historiography, or the stand-point of Organic Development.*

"The orthodox treatment of history, as well as the rationalistic, came to a dissolution by the irresistible process of their own development, under the one-sided tendency which belonged to each."

Out of their ruins, the elements of truth, which both possessed, divested of their perishable hull, became united in a higher method, in which they now came to their true force. "We allow both the previous methods, then, up to a certain point, and incorporate them so far into our own view."

"The *orthodox* theory of history we hold to be right in two essential points. First in insisting upon something unchangeable in history. But while the theory identifies this at once with the *church doctrine*, and affirms that *this* has undergone neither decrease nor increase, but perversions and obscurations only; we, on the other hand, distinguish between truth as objectively present in Christ and in the Scriptures, and truth as subjectively present in the consciousness of the Church, and say: Christianity in itself considered is complete in Christ, in whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and who is the same yesterday, to day, and forever; and also in his word, which is exhibited in the holy Scriptures of the New Testament in a pure, original, perfect, and absolutely normative form, for all times. Subjective Christianity, on the contrary, or the life of the God-man in his Church is a process, a development, which begins small, and grows larger, till it comes at last to full manhood in Christ; that is till the believing human world may have appropriated to itself, both outwardly and inwardly, the entire fulness of objective Christianity, or the life of Christ. In this view the word of God was not at once understood by the Church from the beginning, in all its depth and comprehension, but gradually always more and more with the advancing age of the Church." *

* * * "We agree with the orthodox stand-point, in the second place, in believing the *Church* to be the bearer of God's truth, and of Christian life, the lawful and proper heir of all the promises of the Gospel. But we do not, for this reason, agree with it, in denying the sects all right to exist, and excluding them from all participation in the truth. On the contrary, we suppose them to play an indispensable part, in modifying and determining the development of the orthodox Church itself."

We consider the *rationalistic* theory of history "right, in this respect generally, in the first place, that it apprehends the life and doctrine of the Church as something movable and flowing. But in determining more particularly the nature and character of this movement, we differ from it essentially. The rationalist sees in the movement only the lawless play of caprice, without any unity at the ground of the manifold, without any fixed and definite end, resolving all mainly into the course of mere human affections and passions. * * * * But we conceive of historical movement, as an ever-increasing stream, whose course has been already prescribed in the plan of eternal wisdom, and

which now rolls itself forward according to divine law, to empty itself finally in the ocean of eternity. We maintain, consequently, that the Spirit of Christ himself, uninterruptedly present in the Church, is the chief factor in history, to whose power all human factors, which are also to be acknowledged in their place, must be regarded as subordinate ; and that nothing which has once come to be of true historical weight can be absolutely negated, or made to become null, but must ever incorporate itself as an abiding element into the subsequent part of the process."

* * * * *

It remains now for us in the first place, to explain the idea of *organic* or *regular development*, since this forms the key to the proper understanding of our theory ; and in the second place, to show how the idea is to be applied to the history of the Church. " Only that which is dead has the privilege of being *done*. All, on the other hand, that can lay claim to life, is in its inmost nature a *genesis*, movement, process, development. * * * The proper *genesis* first appears in the sphere of organic nature, in the life of the *plant*. The plant is possessed of a real life, and is the subject thus of a development that begins with the seed, forms itself from this into the root, stem, branch, leaf, and blossom, and becomes complete in its fruit. Here we have progress constantly from the lower to the higher ; but still nothing is revealed that was not contained potentially at first in the germ. * * * A still higher form of life is the animal ; at the head of which (though of a specifically different order of existence) stands man, so far as his earthly nature is concerned. Man, * * * after his birth makes the course of childhood, boyhood, youth, manhood, and old age. In all these stages he is *man*, and preserves thus in his development the unity of his nature ; but in all, at the same time, he is also different, inasmuch as his general nature takes continually a more definite form, and reveals itself in a higher and more perfect way. Still even the highest stage, the life of the old man, is but the full evolution of the life that was originally present in the child. This development we denominate *regular* and *organic* ; since it follows with necessity an inward life-force, proceeds with equal, steady order, and continues always true to the original nature of the man, till in the end it has brought the whole fulness of it into view. The German language, which is uncommonly rich and philosophical, has an admirable word, that expresses all that is comprised in this idea of organic development. It is the word *aufheben*, which is so much used, and we may say so much *abused* also, in the Hegelian philosophy. It includes three meanings, namely, to

abolish (*tollere*) to *preserve* (*conservare*) and to *raise* to a higher state (*elevare*). All these senses are wonderfully combined, in the idea with which we are now concerned. We may say with the fullest truth, of man, that in every higher stage of his existence, his previous life is in this threefold view *aufgehoben*. The child is abolished as a child in the young man, and yet is preserved, at the same time, and raised unto a higher stage of life. The temporary outward form is abolished; the substance, the idea is preserved; not however by continuing to be what it was before, but by mounting upwards to a more exalted mode of outward existence."

"Parallel precisely with the bodily life of man in this view, is the life also of his spirit. For soul and body are by divine constitution most intimately joined together, and what God has thus joined, man has no right to put asunder. Both parts of his being develop themselves, hand in hand together. Man comes not into the world a scholar, an artist, or the possessor of a fully formed moral and religious character. He carries within him, indeed, the *capacity* for life, in such form; but only in the way of *germ*, that must yet be developed, by impulse from within, and the influence of proper conditions from without, as the plant grows through the action of air, sunshine, and rain. Here also, we have in full again, what we have just noticed in the case of his animal life. Spiritual growth or development is likewise a process of annihilation, preservation, and exaltation; in which it comes in the end to a complete explication only, of what was present by implication at the start. This must be affirmed even of the development of the life of religion itself. Its commencement is the new birth; its end the resurrection of the body. This last is only the full consummation of the first, its proper ultimate consequence, by which the new spirit has added to it the new body also, as its needful organ and blessed habitation." * * * * *

"What holds of the individual must hold also of humanity as a whole, since this is simply the organic totality of all single men. So precisely as the single Christian does not become complete at a stroke, but only by degrees, the Church, as the complex of all Christians, must admit, and require too a gradual development. Christ himself, the head of the Church, submitted to the law of a genesis in time, and grew from infancy up to manhood. This genesis was no opposition merely, no *δόξης*, as many of the Gnostics supposed; but truth and reality. "Jesus increased," it is written, "in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man," (Luke ii. 52). "Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience, by the things which he suffered," (Heb. v. 8). How then shall the Church, which repeats and continues the earthly human life of

Christ, form an exception to this law of development. The Lord himself teaches the contrary, in the parables he employs to represent the nature of the kingdom of God; comparing it with the small mustard seed that gradually becomes a great tree, (Matt. xiii. 31, 32;) and with leaven, that works and spreads till the whole lump is leavened (v. 33). Paul is full of the idea of a constantly advancing development on the part of the Church. He speaks of the whole building of the saints, as *growing* to a holy temple in the Lord, (Eph. ii. 21., Comp. 1 Peter ii. 5). He dwells on the *edifying* of the body of Christ, until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, (Eph. iv. 12, 13., Comp. v. 16., also iii. 18, 19, and Col. ii. 19)."

"We present, now, the particular characteristics of this development of the kingdom of God, as they disclose themselves in a thorough study of history."

I. "The development of the Church is partly *external*, and partly *internal*. The first consists in the progressive diffusion of the gospel among those who are not Christians, by the activity of missions. This must go forward as long as there may be a soul that has not yet heard of Christ crucified. * * * * As soon as Christianity has gained footing among a people, however a more difficult *internal* mission begins; having for its object the transfusion of the manners and institutions of such a people with the Christian principle. This forms that *inward* development, which we have here chiefly in view. * * * Like leaven the Gospel must work itself into the universal mass of life, under all its established forms." Hence the Church exerts a powerful influence upon Government, Art and Science, greatly modifying their outward form, and trans-fusing them inwardly by her own spirit. Thus too the Church, "transforms the *natural social life* of the nations, and causes her faith to show itself in a system of virtues and good works, which as Christian all rest on the principle of love to God."

II. "The development is *organic*. It is no mechanical accumulation of events, and no result simply of foreign influences. Certain outward conditions are indeed required for it as the plant needs air, moisture, and light, in order to grow. But still the impelling force in the process, is the inmost life of the Church herself. Christianity is a new creation that unfolds itself continually more and more from within, and extends itself by the necessity of its own nature. It takes up, it is true, foreign material also in the process; but changes it at once into its own spirit, and assimilates it to its own nature, as the body converts the food, required for its growth into flesh and blood, marrow and bone. The Church accordingly, in this development, remains true always to her own nature, and reveals only what it contained in embryo, from the start. Through all changes—first Greek, then Roman Catholic, then German Evan-

gelical"—she never ceases still to be the Church. So the oak also changes, but can never become an apple tree. Just because the Church does unfold itself from within, as now affirmed, obeying its own life-law throughout, the process itself must form a whole, in which the several parts mutually complete each other. It is only the entire history of the Church, from her commencement in the congregation at Jerusalem to her consummation in the general judgment, which can fully represent her conception." * * * *

III. "The development in question includes the three-fold form of action, which has been already described as expressed by the German word *aufheben*. Each new stage negates the preceeding one, by raising its inmost being to a more adequate form of existence. Annihilation is thus required. * * * * But it is only the outward, the transient, that is thus annihilated. The substance abides." * * * * *

IV. "The development of the Church is carried forward, by means of *dialectic opposites* and *extremes*. This is a very weighty point, which is indispensable to a right understanding of Church History. Here the history of mankind shows itself different from the history of the divine Redeemer. His life unfolded itself quietly, like a clear stream flowing with smooth regularity in a straight course. * * He suffered indeed and died; but this came not properly from the constitution of his own nature morally considered; it grew out of his voluntary assumption of the place of men, in order to redeem them from the power of sin. His own life, as such, remained always calm and serenely clear, in uninterrupted communion with his heavenly Father. This was because he knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. If Adam had not fallen, his life would have unfolded itself in his posterity, in the same way, without being required either to pass through death, that sharpest and hardest of all contradictions. He fell, however, and the human nature along with him, including of course the whole human race; as partaking of the same life. Hence, in history, all errors, contradictions, conflicts and sufferings, with death at their head. Christ has appeared indeed as the second Adam, and introduced into humanity a new principle of life, that must in the end triumph over all contradictions, all sin and all evil. But this principle can realize itself only in a gradual way. The Church on earth consists not of perfect saints, but of dying sinners, comprehended in a process of sanctification, which will end only with the outward resurrection. Freedom from sin and error may be predicated of Christ and the Church triumphant, but not of the Church militant. So long, accordingly, as the elements of a still unrenewed life continue to work in her constitution, her development must necessarily involve hard struggles and conflicts." * * * Thus, up to the time of the Reformation, the "history of Christianity had been a development of the principle of objectivity, authority, obe-

dience, Jewish Christian legalism. This was carried so far that the power of the Church became at last an insupportable bondage. Then the spirit of personal freedom, trained by such discipline to ripe self-possession rose in revolt. With this begins the evolution of the principle of subjectivity, the Gentile Christian element, evangelical liberty and independence." Evangelical freedom, however, has degenerated into fleshly self-will, and licentiousness. Hence the historical stream of Christianity, is now turning from this pseudo-protestant extreme, towards a higher form of true Church life in the opposite direction. "Not only on this large scale, however, is the law in question illustrated; it repeats itself also, in each single period, within more narrow compass. Every where one extreme begets another." * * * Thus, for example, "the formality of the English Episcopal Church causes Puritanism to appear; and when this swings over to the opposite extreme, a reaction follows in the restoration of the Stuarts." * * * *

V. "The truth, in this whole case lies not in the extremes, but in the middle, or the *deep* rather, in which they may be said to meet! The very nature of an extreme is, that it pushes one side of a truth into pre-eminence at the cost of another; wronging thus the interest itself which it seeks to uphold, since the organic nature of truth makes it impossible for any part of it to be fairly represented, without due regard at the same time to other parts." * * * * "This right middle, is removed heaven-wide from a characterless halting between two opinions, or that loose eclecticism, which throws heterogeneous elements together, and then dignifies the undigested mish-mash with the name of a system. Such a middle must be pronounced rather something worse than the extremes it seeks to avoid; since it lacks courage and energy to attach itself decidedly either to the one, or the other."

VI. "Every stage of development has its own corresponding *disease*. That the process should pass through diseases, might be presumed even from the analogy of our natural existence; it results with necessity from the elements of sin and error, that still cleave to the Church in her militant state, as well as from her connexion with the unregenerate world whose influence she is made continually to feel. These diseases form the Antichristian power in the Church, which first has also a development of its own. Along with the wheat grow the tares till the last judgment." * * * *

* * * VII. "These diseases, however, attending the development of the Church, prove in the hand of an all-wise God, who in the end rules all for His own glory, the *negative conditions*, of her *progress*. * * * With the consciousness of disease, awakes also the desire for improvement. * * When the Church is brought to thorough repentance for her sin, and the proper means are employed, her original life returns more fresh, and vigorous than ever before; as

the natural body, after having surmounted the diseases of early life, goes on to unfold itself subsequently with increased strength."

VIII. "The starting points of new stages of development, or the epochs that unfold themselves into periods, carry, according to the want of the time, the character prevailingly, either of *restoration*, or *revolution*, or *reformation*; of which three forms of change the last must be considered the highest and most influential. By *restoration*, we understand the simple re-establishment of a state which has existed before, without any advance. * * * * Revolution is the unsparing violent overthrow of what is at hand. * * * * In the midst between restoration and revolution, stands *reformation*; the improvement and productive advancement of what is at hand; or such an overthrow of the old, as is its fulfilment, by raising its truth to a higher position. A reformation includes in itself both restorational and revolutionary elements, and the organic union of these, through the force of a positive life-principle, is that precisely which constitutes its peculiarity." * * * *

IX. "Reformatory movements are characterized by having at their head *great religious personalities*, which have become filled and ruled, in mind and heart, by the power of a deep religious idea."

X. "The main stream of development, though full of turns, moves always *forwards*. We say purposely the *main stream*, which was formed first by the Greek-Roman universal church; then by the Romano-Germanic Catholicism; and since the Reformation appears in evangelical Protestantism. Along with this there are side-currents that may dry away entirely. Thus we find sects which having fulfilled their historical call, without uniting themselves afterwards with the general life of the Church, are as it were turned into stone. * * Large Churches also, that once formed the main stream of history, may sunder themselves from the historical movement, and then stagnate and waste away in dead formalism. This is the case with the Greek Church since its separation from the West, and with those sections of the Roman Church, since the Reformation, that stand in no connexion whatever with Protestantism. With this restriction we affirm an uninterrupted progress in the history of the Church. As soon as we are set free from the cheerless view, that takes history to be the product of mere human activity, without the living intervention of the almighty love and wisdom of God himself, we must necessarily come to this idea of a progressive movement. * * * God has proposed for his kingdom upon earth, a definite end. * * * * It would imply either that He is not almighty, or that He deals not seriously with men, to suppose that the Church is not always in fact coming to this end, or that it is never to be reached." * * * * *

"The Rationalists also talk much of an ever-advancing "*aufklärung of humanity, in their sense.*" But they mean by this an advance *beyond* Christ and the Bible. Every such conception

we decidedly reject ; and affirm, that this would be no advance, but a relapse only to Paganism and Judaism. According to our view, on the contrary, Christ is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end ; and all true progress, as we have before remarked, consists simply, in a more full appropriation continually of his divine human life, and a deeper understanding of his word, which is the absolute truth, and eternal life itself." * * * * *

" Particular periods, however, may be held up to our view, that seem wholly at variance with our affirmation" of continued progress; "periods in which religious life has almost entirely failed, and dark superstition, or daring unbelief, or both perhaps together, have reigned supreme in the Church. * * * * But here we refer to our previous exposition, in which we have shown that the development before us, is carried forward through diseases, that cause the vital energy to give way at times, for a season ; only however that it may afterwards, as soon as the disease has been overcome display itself again, more actively than before." * * * *

XI. "The last feature of the development of the Church, which we shall mention, is found in its *Geographical* course. This proceeds in general, like that of the Sun, from *East* to *West*. The cradle of Christianity as also of History and civilization generally, is in the orient. Even in the time of the Apostles, it passed over from Palestine to Asia Minor, Greece and Italy." Thence in the lapse of centuries it has advanced westward, until now it finds its home in Germany, England, and the United States of America. " From this country again, perhaps, when its civilization shall reach Oregon, may proceed principally the evangelization of China and India, still bearing the gospel westward in its sun-like course ; till it finally shall return, with the millenium, and the coming of the Lord in his glory, to the point from which it started on its circuit round the globe. At present, we lie in the birth-throes of a new creation. All still rolls in wild confusion. But the time is not far, when the divine word shall sound, *Let there be light !* and a beautiful world shall rise from the midst of the struggling chaos." * * * * *

We have thus endeavored to furnish a condensed view of some portions of Dr. Schaff's work. We feel that we have not done it full justice. We have closely adhered, in general to the author's *words*, but are conscious of having, in very many instances, contrary to our own wishes, deprived his style of the freshness and vigor, and his thoughts of the fulness and close connection which characterize them in the work itself. This, in fact, resulted almost necessarily from the method of abridgment pursued by us. By the process of dismemberment the original spirit of the book was destroyed, and however carefully the "dis-

jecta membra" were joined together, the life that previously animated them could not be recalled. It would doubtless have been better on some accounts, to have adopted a different method, but many considerations, which we cannot here mention, prevented us from doing this. Those who read the work will understand the difficulties with which we had to contend in our effort to condense. The subject is in fact, condensed by the author himself, into the smallest compass consistent with a clear exhibition. There is nothing superfluous. The illustrations, even where heaped upon each other, in great number, as they frequently are, not only illustrate but also *add* to the main thought. Hence farther condensation was not possible, without squeezing the very marrow and life itself from the book. Those who have *not* yet read the work, but who induced by our remarks may hereafter take it up, will, we are sure forget the roughness of the road by which we lead them, in their delight with the rich field of thought into which they will have arrived.

The concluding chapter of Dr. Schaf's treatise, exhibits "the practical importance of a right view of Church History," and the advantages of his own theory over those generally prevalent in this country. The length of our article already, however, compels us to cease from all farther comment or quotation. Upon a future occasion we may give expression to some thoughts upon the general idea that lies at the bottom of the theory of Historical Development.

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G. D. W.

HUMAN LIBERTY AND FREE AGENCY.

Scarcely any question, connected with theology in general and the science of the human mind in particular, is more important and intricate, than that which has respect to the freedom of the will, or (in more popular language) the free agency of man. The subject has employed the pens, and called forth the efforts, of the ablest writers and most profound thinkers; and yet still remains involved in much difficulty and contention. It is still a matter of controversy in what the free agency of man, or the freedom of the will, precisely and properly consists. That man, in so far as he is an accountable being, is a free agent, that is, one who decides and acts no otherwise than he chooses or wills, would seem to be universally conceded; nor can it well be de-

nied that he is also in a sort a necessary agent, that is, the circumstances in which he is placed, and the causes and effects operating upon him, beyond his control, being such, that it may be said, that he cannot choose or act otherwise than he does. To reconcile these apparently conflicting statements or facts, and to point out scientifically their consistency and harmony, is the great difficulty connected with the subject.

There are two main philosophical theories which are adopted and strenuously advocated in relation to the freedom of the will or the free agency of man. I. That which places the freedom of the will in the force of motives, the will of man always choosing and determining one way or the other in any case, according to the strongest motive, or that which to the individual at the time appears the strongest motive. According to this theory, man is a free (moral) agent, because he never chooses or determines otherwise than he himself wills; but he is also in a sort a necessary agent, because his will is in all cases swayed and determined by the strongest, or that which seems to him the strongest motive. II. The other theory is that which affirms that the Will itself possesses, what is called a self-determining power (sometimes also denominated a liberty of indifference or contingency), in consequence of which it holds the preponderance or balance in its own hands, so that, in view of the motives presented, it is able, to choose and decide of itself, independently, and even in a direction contrary to that to which the strongest motives impel at the time. The former theory is that which is adopted and so strenuously advocated, in opposition to the latter, by "Edwards" in his celebrated treatise "on the Will."

In calling further attention to this subject, I propose, as intelligibly and simply as possible, to ascertain and state the facts involved in the case; and then to notice more particularly the philosophy and theology by which it is attempted scientifically to explain and harmonize these facts. The facts in the case are two: man's free agency and man's necessary agency.

The first prominent fact connected with our subject to which I call attention, is the fact of Man's free agency. And here and elsewhere in this article, I shall be content to adopt and make use of the common phraseology, as that which is most intelligible and level to the capacity of the general reader.

"Philosophy itself," (says Locke Hum. Und. p. 162, vol. I) "though it likes not a gaudy dress, yet, when it appears in public must have so much complacency, as to be clothed in the ordinary fashion and language of the country, so far as it can consist with truth and perspicuity."

By a free agent, I understand one, who has the power or capacity of doing or forbearing to do any thing, according to the preference of his own mind. Man is a free moral agent when he has the power, opportunity, or advantage of doing or leaving undone any thing, according as he wills or chooses. He is not a free moral agent when he is under such restraint, hindrance or impediment, that he is unable to do as he wills ; or is necessitated to act in a manner contrary to his will.

Locke, in his treatise on the Human Understanding, uses the following language in respect to *Liberty in general* (vol. I p. 158). " All the actions that we have any idea of, reduce themselves, as has been said to these two, viz : thinking and motion ; so far as a man has a power to think, or not to think, to move, or not to move, according to the preference or direction of his own mind, so far is a man *free*. Wherever any performance or forbearance are not equally in a man's power : wherever doing or not doing will not equally follow upon the preference of his mind directing it, there he is not *free*, though perhaps the action may be voluntary. So that the idea of *liberty* is the idea of a power in any agent to do or forbear any particular action, according to the determination or thought of the mind, whereby either of them is preferred to the other ; where either of them is not in the power of the agent to be produced by him according to his *volition*, there he is not at *liberty*, that agent is under *necessity*. So that liberty cannot be where there is no thought, no volition, no will ; but there may be will, there may be volition where there is no *liberty*."

Edwards in his work on the Will expresses himself in the following manner, p. 40. " But one thing more I would observe concerning what is vulgarly called Liberty ; namely, that power and opportunity for one to do and conduct as he will, or according to his choice, is all that is meant by it ; without taking into the meaning of the word anything of the cause or original of that choice ; or at all considering how the person came to have such a volition ; whether it was caused by some external motive or internal habitual bias ; whether it was determined by some internal antecedent volition, or whether it was necessarily connected with something foregoing, or not connected. Let the person come by his volition or choice how he will, yet, if he is able, and there is nothing in the way to hinder his pursuing and executing his will, the man is fully and perfectly free, according to the primary and common notion of freedom."

On the following page he thus defines a moral agent. " A moral Agent is a being that is capable of those actions that have

a moral quality, and which can properly be denominated good or evil in a moral sense, virtuous or vicious, commendable or faulty. To moral Agency belongs a moral faculty, or sense of moral evil and good, or of such a thing as desert or worthiness, of praise or blame, reward or punishment; and a capacity which an Agent has of being influenced in his actions by moral inducements or motives, exhibited to the view of understanding and reason, to engage to a conduct agreeable to the moral faculty."

The proof of man's free agency may be briefly reduced and ranged under the following heads: I. The free moral agency of man is a necessary and constituent part of his being as a rational and accountable creature. It belongs to his nature; and is inseparable from it, so long as he is a responsible agent. Whatever may be his state, whether considered as a perfectly holy being, as he was in the person of Adam at his original creation, or as a lapsed and sinful creature, as he now is: whether as an impenitent or as a renewed sinner; as an inhabitant of heaven or of hell; so long as he remains man, rational and accountable and subject to law, he must necessarily be a free agent and liberty of moral action must ever be a constituent attribute of his nature. II. Free agency is a matter of personal consciousness. Every accountable agent is conscious that in so far as his actions have a moral character, he acts freely and voluntarily. Even the inebriate and those chargeable with the grossest criminality, never think of denying (unless as a plea for a special purpose) their free and voluntary action. III. Hence the free agency of man must be assumed as the necessary ground and basis of all accountability. Man is so far, and only so far accountable before God and his fellow man, as he acts freely, that is, in conformity to his own will and choice. This broad principle is the dictate of common sense and agreement, and is recognized without controversy in all law, human and divine. IV. The civil law holds and treats all a man's acts as irresponsible, and all contracts made by him as null and void, if it can be shown that he has not acted as a free agent, but by compulsion or restraint. The acts of an idiot or of a man *non compos mentis*, are not valid, because he is not a free agent; and in the most criminal cases, if it can be proven, that a murderer or culprit is properly insane, the law releases its hold upon him as an offender, however it may be obliged for the public security to take in charge his person. V. The law of God in general, as contained in the ten commandments, supposes and takes for granted the existence and exercise of free and voluntary action. The sum of the whole law and the prophets, according to our Sa-

viour, is comprehended in this : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind ; and thy neighbor as thyself," Luke 10-27. The divine law, like every other, would be without meaning and force, unless the subjects of it, were moral agents, free in their choice of obedience or violation. And from the fact that the commandment is addressed to fallen creatures, it is evident that they must, as such, be yet possessed of some kind of capacity and power, to comply with its requirement, provided in the exercise of their free agency they should so choose and determine. It is not the way of the Almighty to require absolute impossibilities ; which would be the case, had man no capacity or strength whatever to obey, even if he should so will. His capacity or power (whatever it may be said to be) has indeed become so shattered and ruined by the fall, and as a consequence the commandment so difficult, that it is very certain that in no single instance will it be perfectly kept, by any of the fallen descendants of Adam ; still some kind of capacity or strength must be supposed to remain and exist, as the necessary basis or substratum of accountability and moral agency. The law of God literally affirms that man, fallen as he is, has a *heart*, a *soul*, a *strength*, and a *mind* ; for the right or perverted use of which he is accountable. And the whole of what the law requires is, that man love the Lord his God, with *all* his heart, with *all* his soul, with *all* his strength, and with *all* his mind, be the same greater or less. This is in conformity with the equitable rule laid down by the apostle, 2 Cor. 8-12. "If there be first a willing mind it is accepted *according to that a man hath and not according to that he hath not.*" Thus is secured, on the one hand, the infinite dignity and perfection of the divine law, and on the other, man's obligation to obedience, whatever be the extent or degree of his capacity. VI. Again, according to the Scriptures, men are censurable and blameworthy, not because they are unavoidably ignorant of their duty (which they are apt to plead), but because knowing or having the opportunity of knowing their duty, they yet in the perversity of their hearts choose to do wickedly. "This is the condemnation," says our Saviour, "that light is come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil," John 3-19. And in another place : "If ye were blind ye had not had sin ; but now ye say, We see ; therefore your sin remaineth." And again, "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin : but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father. Now

they have no cloak for their sin." VII. Lastly, the accountability of man as a free moral agent, is taught us in every variety of form, in the commands, promises, invitations and threatenings of the Scriptures. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve. Repent that your sins may be blotted out. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned. Because I have called and ye refused, I have stretched forth my hands and no man regarded, therefore, &c. Oh, that they were wise, that they understood, that they would consider their latter end. Look unto me and be ye saved all the ends of the Earth. As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live; turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die? Ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life. Oh Jerusalem, &c.—but ye would not. The spirit and the bride say come, and whosoever will let him come."

Having presented our statement of one of the great truths or facts connected with our subject, we proceed to a consideration and statement of the other, a seemingly opposite and conflicting fact; viz, the necessary agency of man—Man is not only a free (moral) agent, he is also, in perfect consistency with his free agency, a necessary agent.

By a necessary agent, I mean one whose moral dispositions, and whose circumstances and condition are such, that he is under a kind of necessity of determining and acting just as he does; not however in opposition to, but in perfect agreement with his own choice. The word *necessary* is here used, not as opposed to *voluntary*, but to *uncertainty*. A necessary agent, according to our meaning of the expression, is one, who while he acts freely, acts under the force of condition, circumstances and motives, which render it certain that he will act just as he does, and not otherwise.

It is important for the reader here to understand and bear in mind, that in using the terms *necessary*, and *necessity* in this connection, we do not employ them in their vulgar and popular acceptation. In this view, as Edwards observes (on the Will, p. 24), "A thing is said to be necessary when we cannot help it, let us do what we will." We use the terms in their metaphysical or philosophical import, as expressive of *certainty*. "Metaphysical or Philosophical Necessity is nothing different from certainty."—Edwards on the Will, p. 26. Such a necessity is not a compulsion or coaction to sin, nor is it at all inconsistent with free agency; it only affirms the certainty of men's sinning under particular circumstances, yet in perfect accordance with the voluntary action of their own minds.

In applying to the moral agency of man the terms *necessary* and *necessity*, as expressive of *certainty*, we are only following the usage of the most eminent theologians since the time of the Reformation. Such appears to be the meaning and force of the terms as employed by Calvin; whose doctrine however is sometimes misrepresented, as teaching the absurd and impious notion, that men are under a necessity of committing sin, in the common popular acceptation of the terms. "What God decrees," says Calvin (Book I. chap. 3, sect. 9), "must necessarily come to pass, yet it is not by an absolute or natural necessity;" and he refers for illustration, to "the bones of Christ," which were capable of being broken, yet that they should be broken was impossible, because the Scriptures must certainly be fulfilled—"a bone of him shall not be broken." Thus Luther also says, (*de servo arbitrio*, translated by Milner, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. 5)—"So long as the operative grace of God is absent from us, every thing we do has in it a mixture of evil; and therefore of necessity our works do not avail to salvation. Here," continues Luther, "I do not mean a necessity of compulsion, but a necessity as to the certainty of the event." F. Turretine, whose system of theology is a text book of standard reputation, teaches that the divine decree implies indeed the necessity of future events, but not an absolute or physical necessity, nor a necessity of coercion or force; but only a necessity of the certainty of the future events which are foreseen and decreed, (*respectu certitudinis eventus et futuritionis ac decreto.*)

As the views of Calvin are sometimes greatly misrepresented, it may not be out of place here, to present some extracts from his "institutes," in order to show in what sense he held and taught the doctrine of necessity and human freedom. For these extracts we acknowledge our obligations to the work of W. Annan on "the Difficulties of Am. Methodism," in which are contained, many sound and forcible statements upon this and other difficult points of Christian doctrine. What did Calvin mean by *necessity*? This we discover by comparing other passages—thus—"A distinction has prevailed in the schools, of *three kinds of liberty*: the first, freedom from *necessity*; the second, freedom from sin; the third freedom from misery; of which the *first is naturally inherent in man*, so that nothing can deprive him of it; the other two are lost by sin. *This distinction*," adds Calvin, *I readily admit*, except that it improperly confounds *necessity* with *coaction*. And the wide difference between these things will appear in another place."—Book 2, chap. 2, sect. 5, &c. "When man subjected *himself to this necessi-*

ty, he was not deprived of will, but of soundness of will." Augustine thus expresses himself: "The will being changed for the worse, I know not by what corrupt and surprising means, is itself the author of the necessity to which it is subject, &c." Afterwards he says, "that we are oppressed with a yoke, but no other than that of a voluntary servitude, &c." Again, Book 2, chap. 5, sect. 5, "Let them not suppose themselves excused by necessity, in which very thing they have a most evident cause of their condemnation." For if we are bound by our passions, which are under the government of sin, so that we are not at liberty to obey our father, there is no reason why we should plead this necessity in our defence, the criminality of which is within ourselves, and must be imputed to us."—Book 2, chap. 8, sect. 3. "Nor can we pretend to excuse ourselves by our want of ability—our inability is our own fault."—Ibid. From these passages, adds Mr. A., it is evident that the meaning of the term "necessity" in Calvin's work, is the same with certainty, or what Edwards calls, "*philosophical necessity.*"

The necessary and at the same time free agency of man, may at first view appear to some not only inconsistent, with, but absolutely contradictory to each other; but a moments reflection and consideration of known facts, will show that this cannot be so, however far beyond our ability it may be to offer a satisfactory solution, and answer every objection in the case. The divine being it will be admitted by all is possessed of the most unbounded absolute freedom; there is no power within or without himself that can at all interfere with the perfectly free determinations and acts of the infinite mind: Yet in all his volitions and acts, it may be said that he is impelled by an irresistible necessity to will and act just as he does. God cannot do wrong. He cannot deny himself. He cannot but love holiness and have an infinite aversion to sin. He not only exists but acts from necessity of nature; yet in perfect agreement with the most absolute liberty. Nor is such necessary existence and action at all an imperfection in the supreme being, but on the contrary the evidence of the highest excellency; for if holiness, justice and truth be essential attributes of God, it does not argue imperfection, but supreme and infinite excellency, that he cannot will or act in violation of them. The angels and saints made perfect in heaven, who are no longer in a state of probation, are perfectly holy, yet while they are so necessarily, they are entirely voluntary in their obedience. Satan and his evil angels are necessarily and only evil, yet their continued rebellion is altogether voluntary. The man Christ Jesus was without sin, he could not sin; yet his obedience unto death was altogether free and uncompelled.

That man, in connection with his free moral agency, is also a necessary agent, acting under a sort of necessity, rendering it certain that he will act none otherwise than he does, seems unavoidably to result from the decrees and foreknowledge of God. To those who receive the doctrine of the divine decrees according to the Calvinistic view, the inference is clear and universally conceded, that God's foreordaining and determining whatever comes to pass (either *efficiently* in respect to the good, or *permissively* in respect to evil) renders all events as fixed in the divine plan, necessarily and absolutely certain, in a way and manner however in perfect agreement with the creature's moral freedom and accountability. Nor will it at all help the cause of those who reject the divine decrees in this view, to say that the doctrine makes God the author of sin and destroys the freedom of human action ; for solve the difficulty as we may, the same result follows from, and the same objection lies with equal force against, the doctrine of God's simple foreknowledge or knowledge of all things. For to foresee or know any thing infallibly, implies and necessarily secures the certainty of its occurrence. Our concern however at present is not to answer objections, but only to state the fact and inference. A very remarkable and well known illustration of this fact and inference, the Sacred Scriptures present us in the case of the crucifixion. "Him," says the apostle Peter, "being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain," (Acts. ii. 23.) and again, "The Son of man goeth, as it is written of him : (*as it was determined or decreed—exactly bounded and marked out* by God, as the word $\omega\rho\zeta\omega$ most naturally signifies. Doddridge in loco.) but woe unto that man by whom the son of man is betrayed," (Matth. xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21.)

The necessary agency of man clearly results from the philosophical doctrine of *motives*, which we regard as the true theory in relation to human freedom. According to this theory, while man acts freely, inasmuch as he follows his own choice ; his volitions are also necessary, because his will is always swayed and determined by the strongest prevailing motives, or what to the individual, right or wrong, appears at the time the strongest motive. If this be so, then according as is the disposition of the individual, and the force of the motives operating upon him, will certainly and necessarily in every case, be his volition and determination.

The Sacred Scriptures which, as we have seen, so plainly declare man's free agency and responsibility, are equally explic.

it in affirming his necessary agency, or the certainty of his moral conduct, as good or evil, according to the state of his heart, and his condition as renewed or unrenewed by divine grace. According to the Scriptures, man in consequence of the Fall, is under a kind of impotence or inability, to do otherwise than evil ; left to themselves, it is most certain, that all men will disobey, reject the gospel call, and remain obstinately impenitent and unbelieving ; further, in order to acceptable obedience man must undergo a moral renovation, must have imparted to him a new principle of spiritual life, for the accomplishment of which the means of grace are of themselves insufficient, and nothing will avail but a special divine influence ; when thus renewed the man will as necessarily, truly, and sincerely, although imperfectly, love and obey God, in view of the truths and motives presented, as he formerly did just the contrary. "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots ? I know that in me, that is in my flesh there dwelleth no good thing. The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then, they that are in the flesh, cannot please God. Which are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but God must give the increase. No man can come unto me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him. Therefore, they could not believe, because he hardened their hearts, and blinded their eyes." In the case of the Lord's hardening the heart of Pharoah, it was only necessary that the divine restraints should be withdrawn, and he left to himself ; and the result would follow necessarily as well as certainly.

Having thus acquainted the reader with the two main and essential facts connected with our subject, viz : the fact of man's free agency, and the fact of his necessary agency, it remains that we should yet notice, more particularly yet briefly, the philosophical and theological theories and methods by which it is attempted to harmonize and show the mutual consistency of these facts, in some respects so seemingly opposite and conflicting.

One method of getting over the difficulties growing out of the subject, is to be content to take the facts as we find them, without attempting or being concerned to attempt any solution whatever in the case. To such a matter of fact course, it may be objected indeed that it is any thing but philosophical ; it must be admitted, however, that it is the wisest course, which minds of the widest range are constrained to adopt in many similar cases. In respect to God for instance, his Providence extending to all things, and founded in justice, truth, and mercy, is a primary

and essential truth of all religion, natural and revealed. Yet who does not know that events have occurred and are continually occurring, which the limited ken of man is utterly unable to account for, upon any known principles of human justice and benevolence? Job felt this, when in his visitation he was ready to curse the day of his birth; and the mind of the Psalmist himself staggered in view of the prosperity of the wicked and the afflictions of God's people in the present world. Thus also in relation to man, we know assuredly that he is a compound being, composed of an animal and mortal frame which we call body or matter, and of a reasonable and incorruptible soul or spirit, which we denominate mind. But who is able to comprehend fully their mode of union and mutual co-operation? Who can define exactly their respective bounds and limits, and tell where body ends and mind begins, or answer the many other equally perplexing questions which might be proposed? In these and other instances which might be adduced, we never suffer our ignorance of what is unknown to invalidate our faith in what is clearly ascertained; and we are content to receive and practice upon the facts which we know to exist. True wisdom dictates that we should pursue a similar course in relation to the perplexing questions growing out of man's free yet necessary agency; content to leave to the more curious and speculative, the task of reconciling inconsistencies, and solving endless objections.

"And find no end, in wandering mazes lost."

Milt.

I have already referred, in a former part of this article, to the two prominent Philosophical and Metaphysical theories, which are held and advocated in relation to human liberty; viz, the one which makes the freedom of human action to consist in a self-determining power of the will, sometimes also called a liberty of indifference or contingency; and the other, which attempts to account for the phenomena in the case by what is styled the doctrine of motives. According to President Edwards the former theory is maintained "by Armenians, Pelagians and others," the other is that advocated by divines of the Calvinistic school. It may be remarked here that the doctrine of motives (which the writer upon the whole regards as the right one) does not consist in ascribing to them the power of themselves of changing the disposition and renewing the heart, any further than as instrumentalities, effecting the change according to natural principles. Thus Regeneration, as consisting in the giving of a new heart, is the work of God; but motives fixing and holding the

sinners attention to the truth, are the instrumentalities by which it is brought about, in conformity to the established laws of the human constitution. Motives, as objects of love or aversion, occasion the heart to act *according to its existing disposition*, and there their power ends.

Upon the theory in question, Doctor Griffin in his Park street lectures, page 202, expresses himself to the following effect. His object is to show that God can, without at all impairing the sinner's freedom, so keep up his attention to the truth, as notwithstanding his resistance, to make him a willing subject of his grace. I shall not follow him to the close of his argument, but only quote so much as relates to his statement of the motive doctrine, which is subsequently applied by him to the point under discussion.

"In this place it is necessary to introduce more distinctly the doctrine of *motives*. Either we must admit the self-determining power of the will, holding in its hand the decision whether to yield or not to yield to motives, or we must believe that the will is *absolutely governed by motives*. The latter is unquestionably the truth, and common sense, instructed by experience, pronounces it true every hour of the day. Common sense, delivered from the labyrinths of metaphysics, pronounces that men always yield to the strongest inducement, and are yet free. Upon this principle you are constantly calculating the future conduct of men. You feel a perfect confidence that if you offer a miser a bag of money to induce him to walk a mile, and no stronger motive draws the other way, he will comply; and yet you never dreamed that he would not be free. The whole business of the commercial world is conducted upon the same calculation, and so is the whole system of social intercourse. Break up the uniformity of this principle, and leave it wholly uncertain whether a father will move to snatch a child from the fire, whether a friend will be restrained by a thousand motives from taking your life; and all the foundations of order and rational action are removed, and the world is transformed into one vast bedlam,—a bedlam in which the maniacs are as likely to kill a friend to gain a feather as to win a crown,—as likely to kill a friend without motives, and in full opposition to all motives, as to hurt an enemy when most highly induced. This is a new species of madmen, a world of madmen moving in a maze, without a particle of reflection, without any end or object even floating in a distempered fancy. Such a *self-moving will*, (good Lord deliver us!)—such a self-moving will, unharnessed from reason and let loose into the world, would be more to be dreaded than wolves and

tigers. In short there can be no rational action a whit further than the will is absolutely controlled by motives ; that is to say, a whit further than it has a *reason* for its decisions, and is governed by the considerations which appear strongest and best."

The subject of man's moral agency and freedom enters very deeply into the science of Theology in some of its most important relations. It constitutes in particular the gist and substance of the much litigated question respecting the sincerity and consistency of the gospel call, and man's obligation to obedience. The several distinct theological systems in vogue, may be not unaptly characterized by the different positions from which man's moral freedom and ability is viewed and determined. The following are the three prominent systems prevalent on this point.

I. Some refer us to man's original constitution, to the fact of his having been at first in Adam formed perfectly pure and upright, and capable of yielding the required obedience to the divine law. Adam as the head and root of the human family, having fallen through disobedience, has involved all his posterity in the consequences of his apostacy, entailing on them a corrupted nature, by which they are totally disqualified to render any longer acceptable obedience to the law. Now man having thus fallen, and *lost the power to obey, God has not lost the right to command.* His law is not to be set aside, nor a new one adopted suited to the present condition and ability of creatures, who by the fall of their original Parents have rendered themselves corrupt and impotent.

II. Others in the solution of the difficulty growing out of man's impotence, refer us to the remedial and restorative system introduced by Jesus Christ, the second Adam ; according to which wherever the gospel is rightly dispensed, and the means of grace properly observed, they are accompanied by a power and influence, which is adapted and adequate in all cases, to meet and correct the impotence which is the consequence of man's apostacy. In other words, the preaching of the gospel is accompanied by the communication of *common* grace, and this if rightly improved, will certainly lead to, and result in the communication of *special* grace, by which an individual is enabled truly to repent and believe to the saving of the soul.

III. Others again, in reconciling the impotence of man with his responsibility, resort to a distinction in regard to human *ability* and *inability*, which, on account of its supposed importance and the high authority by which it is supported, deserves a particular notice. The distinction referred to, is that which is made between *natural* and *moral* inability.

"*Moral inability*," says Doctor Smalley in his Dissertation on the subject, "consists only in the want of a heart, or disposition, or will, to do a thing. *Natural inability*, on the other hand, consists in, or arises from, a want of understanding, bodily strength, opportunity, or *whatever may prevent*, our doing a thing, when we are willing, and strongly disposed and inclined to do it. Or, in fewer words thus: Whatever a man could not do, if he would, in this, he is under a *natural* inability, but when all the reason why one *cannot* do a thing, is because he does not choose to do it, the inability is only of a *moral* nature."

Doctor Kollock, in one of his excellent sermons, thus simply states and illustrates the distinction. "Inability is of two kinds, natural and moral. Natural inability consists in a defect of rational faculties, bodily powers, or external advantages; this excuses from sin. Moral inability consists only in the want of a proper disposition of heart to use our natural ability aright; this is the essence of sin. We shall illustrate this point by a familiar example. A beggar applies for relief to two different persons: the first says to him, 'I perceive your misery; I know that you ought to be relieved, but I do not possess any property, and therefore I am totally unable to relieve you.' Here is an instance of natural inability, and it perfectly exempts the person from the sin of uncharitableness. The second says to him, 'I perceive your misery; I know that you ought to be relieved; I have a sufficiency of money; but I have such a dreadful hardness of heart that I cannot pity your distresses, and that I am totally unable to relieve you.' Here is an instance of moral inability; instead of excusing from sin, it is that which constitutes the very essence of the sin, and which renders the man uncharitable."

Now the inability which the sinner is under, to obey and repent, is, according to the Scriptures, only and altogether a moral inability. When our Saviour says, "No man *can* come unto me, except the Father draw him," his meaning is explained by the same lips, "Ye *will not* come unto me that ye may have life."—John vi. 44. *Cannot* in a number of instances in the Bible is used to mean simply a strong disinclination.—Gen. xxxvii. 4, Acts. iv. 20, John vi. 60. "*They could not believe*," i. e., they would not.

Such a moral inability, so far from being an excuse, is the very substance and essence of the sinner's criminality; otherwise the more depraved, the more excusable would he be. No civil judge would for a moment entertain such an apology. Accordingly when the sinner says: 'I am excusable because I am morally unable to repent, to believe, to love God,' he says in other words,

'I am excusable, because I have so dreadfully guilty and corrupted a heart, that I have no disposition to repent, to believe, to love God.'

Those who wish to see what can be said *pro* and *con*, in reference to this distinction, are referred to the printed trial of Albert Barnes before the Synod at York; he will find it in the able and succinct argument of the accuser and defendant on the point.

I shall close with a few reflections. I. If free agency belong to man, and be inseparable from his nature, as an accountable being, then, in view of its results in relation to God, ought it, not, instead of being a subject of vain glory and boasting, to be an occasion of shame and deep abasement. Who among the sons of men, has not perverted and abused his freedom?

II. If man be a necessary agent, and it be certajn that left to himself, he will only sin and that continually, then ought the best and holiest of men, imperfectly sanctified on Earth, to be humble, to feel their dependence, and continually pray, "Lead us not into temptation." "Who maketh thee to differ from another? Or what hast thou, which thou hast not received?"

III. If the inability of man in regard to spiritual things, so far at least as it is blameworthy, be only of a moral nature, and the result of a wrong disposition, then how false, deceptive, criminal and ruinous is the common plea of inability by which men attempt to justify and excuse their disobedience, impenitence and rejection of the gospel. The reader may see this point most powerfully and convincingly urged, by Doctor Griffin, in his "Park St. Lectures," sermon on "The plea of inability considered."

Montgomery co., Pa.

S. H., Jr.

OLD ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH BALLADS.

"O suavis anima! qualem te dicam bonam
Antehac fuisse tales cum sint reliquæ!"—*Phœdrus* iii. 6.

"O sweet soul! how good must you have been heretofore when your remains are so delicious!"

Admirably applied have the two foregoing lines from *Phœdrus* been, by Mr. Addison in the *Spectator*, to the few poetical remains of Sappho that have come down to us from antiquity.

The tenth muse, on account of her excellence, was this poetess styled by the antient Greeks who had her works entire, and modern critics, from the choice fragments of her writings preserved, are not disposed to find fault with the appellation. Beautiful specimens they are of passionate, unaffected verse. Frequently have they been translated into different modern languages; and some of our best poets, in spite of the affectation of their times, by imitating her simplicity, have sometimes been enabled to express with greater truthfulness and warmth than perhaps they could otherwise have attained to, the amatorial emotions. With the exception of some very short fragments and epigrams her remains are confined to two amatory odes, one of these not entire, composed in the verse that bears her own name. Selected were these two odes, the one by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the other by Longinus, from her whole stock of writings, as being the finest specimens of lyrical composition, and thus have they come down to us in their works. As the good taste of these two eminent critics is not to be disputed—they certainly selected from her compositions what was best. She may have written something equal therefore, it is possible, but nothing better, and, in all likelihood, a good deal that was worse. On the whole then, for her own memory's sake, I am just as well pleased that her odes have reached us no more numerous nor complete. With greater propriety than even her beloved Anacreon she might have sung :

'Α βάρβιτος δὲ Χορδαῖς
Ἐρωτα μούνον ἡχεῖ.

String anew her lyre as she might, it sounded only love. To be surfeited with sweets it is not well. To pronounce on the flavor and body of a wine a few sips are often better for qualifying us than even a hearty draught. Of her writings enough are still remaining to shew us her high poetical genius, and we would leave the rest to our imaginations. In the dim and shadowy land of antiquity she stands at present only half revealed, to be sure, but beautiful in the distance, and we would not wish to destroy the enchantment around her, as perhaps we might, by any nearer view.

After the same manner, in modern literature, I am just as well pleased that some of our old ballads have come down to us not entire. In this case, however, not for the sake of their authors am I well satisfied, as these are wholly unknown, but for the sake of the productions themselves. Of old ballads that have

reached us from former centuries unimpaired it is a characteristic trait that they are not always pervaded throughout by the same uniform excellence. Composed, in most cases, no doubt, by illiterate strollers, in some parts they fall often below even the worst prose, while in others, on account of their true simplicity and genuine pathos, they rise superior to any thing of a kindred sort in modern verse. With respect to those then that have reached us not entire it is natural to suppose that, as the populace would treasure up more fondly those parts which came home to their feelings and made the deepest impression, in being orally transmitted from one generation to another, these were the very parts which were not the soonest lost but the longest preserved. In their antiquated language they resemble old ruins, broken down, to be sure, in part, but not desolate nor devoid of beauty. An evergreen humanity they contain which becomes not arid, but is ever springing forth and covering them over as with the freshest moss and ivy. No modern hand should ever attempt their reparation. In filling up their breaches great injury is always done to their solemn grandeur and natural freshness. It knocks off a great deal of their ivy and ancient cast. They belong to their own hallowed times and their green old-age should be respected. No modern, however rich in imagination and steeped in romantic lore, can so thoroughly transport himself amid the scenes and manners of the past as to be able to reproduce its genuine poetry. Even its emotions and peculiar modes of thought should he succeed in entering into, he will certainly fall short in the diction. Its ruinous old verbiage he cannot so organically reconstruct as not to show some artificial arrangement and modern phraseology. His high finish and over-refinement displayed will show too much of his own age. O Shade of Thomas Chatterton ! Nurtured in black-letter while on earth and walking amid the show of olden times, casting over their gray ruins and recalled pageantry the fresh but lurid dawn of thine own enchanted life, with all thy rich imagination thou couldst not divest thyself entirely of modern phraseology and manners and assume the ancient !

In repairing a lonely fragment, however, instead of attempting an antiquated reconstruction of the whole, the modern bard is mostly better pleased with renovating, in later language, the antique relic itself ; as thus he can make it chime in better with his own polished additions. Its scenes and incidents he may still leave in their own barbarous times, but he clothes them in the more refined diction of his own. By the introduction of pieces prepared in this way our English literature, we admit, has

sometimes been greatly benefitted, when, in its history, it had gone all too far astray from nature. Thus during the latter part of the Seventeenth century it is well known that the prevailing taste of the learned had become either too classical or too metaphysical. It avoided simplicity and scenes of common life as things prosaic and sought after absurd conceits, preposterous metaphors, scholastic ornaments and pagan machinery. The treasures of the olden poets were left neglected and ballads were given over to the vulgar. Towards reclaiming this perversion, Dryden, with all his faults, at the close of this century, did something, we allow, by renovating, in more polished language, the old romantic tales of Chaucer. Prior too, at the beginning of the eighteenth century did perhaps a little towards the same object by paraphrasing the simple old ballad of the Not-browne Mayde; and even Pope conferred his mite by turning into the smoothliest flowing verse the Temple of Fame and perhaps some other poems of Chaucer. Nevertheless, though the age was benefited, we cannot help lamenting the native worth of the authors thus despoiled, and feel disposed to exclaim in the words of Juvenal :

“Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum!”

How much lovelier would be
The water's Genius, if with margent green
The grass enclosed its waves, nor marble marred
The charms of native tuff-stone !

It was not, however, till after the middle of this same century that Bishop Percy accomplished more than all by the publication of his Relics of Ancient Poetry ; which, however, for the most part, it is well known, are not properly relics at all, but renovations or enlargements merely of old ballads. Still they brought in a revived relish for what is simple and natural in poetry, expressed in words mostly of Saxon origin, at a time when with the classic, to be sure, but often too grandiloquous phraseology of Dr. Johnson and his followers the reading public had been well nigh over sated. For the poets and critics, of the “Lake School,” however, at the beginning of the present century, it was reserved to come to the full understanding in this matter. While of old English poetry and ballads they imitated the simplicity, sometimes, it is acknowledged, even to a fault, they never assumed their antiquated diction. By imitating the natural style

of these merely they sought to impart new beauty and freshness to modern poetry ; but they loved and revered still the old poets themselves and never thought of superseding them. Indeed of the critics of this school, of Hazlitt, Lamb and Hunt, for instance, it was the main intent to bring back into proper estimation the works of ancient authors ; and by their judicious criticisms and praises they have certainly well succeeded. To make ourselves acquainted with the rich descriptions of Chaucer we never think, now-a-days of having recourse to the diluted versions of Dryden or Pope, and to arrive at the wealth of Shakespeare, certainly not of betaking ourselves to the *improved* edition of that poet's works by Nahum Tate. We prefer at once to drink from "the well of English undefiled." Not to the age of Queen Anne nor of any of her successors, but to that of Queen Elizabeth is now awarded the high distinction of being called the Augustan age of English literature.

My only regret is that the prevailing taste for what is excellent in old poems is not accustomed, from want of opportunity and not of disposition I cannot help thinking, to feast itself also on fragments of old ballads. Of these, even in England, genuine collections are rare, confined mostly to private libraries, and in our own country how few of us have ever had the delightsome privilege of reading one in black-letter. Published collections, like those of Percy and Scott, I know, are not uncommon, but their ballads are generally all filled out and modernized. From old fragments our later poets catching inspiration have often given us beautiful poems, I admit, but certainly these should not supersede entirely the originals. When placed together, like the two "brigs of Ayr," described by Burns, though upbraiding each other, they are both shown off to better advantage by their ancient and modern contrast. Graphic, for instance, are the following lines, from Lochiel's Warning, by Campbell :

" But hark ! through the fast-flashing lightnings of war,
What steed to the desert flies frantic and far ?
'Tis thine, oh Glen Ullen ! whose bride shall await,
Like a love-lighted watch-fire, all night at the gate :
A steed comes at morning—no rider is there ;
But the bridle is red with the sign of despair ! "

But for touching simplicity are they at all superior to the old Scottish fragment by which, no doubt, they were, in part, suggested ?

" Hie upon Hielands
 And low upon Tay,
 Bonnie George Campbell
 Rade out on a day.
 Saddled and bridled
 And gallant rade he;
 Hame came his gude horse,
 But never cam he !

" Out cam his auld mither
 Greeting fu' sair,
 And out cam his bonnie bride
 Rivin' her hair.
 Saddled and bridled
 And booted rade he ;
 Toom * hame came the saddle
 But never cam he !"

What a picture of domestic affliction, heightened by contrast with the gallant setting out in the morning, is here called up, in a few lines, all the more graphic from being incomplete! Its own affrighted steed the fragment resembles, before the forlorn mansion, with saddle "toom," nostrils dilated wide and eyes glaring wild, all the more sublime from his being unable to tell a word of his lost rider. The Monody on the Burial of Sir John Moore, by Wolfe, was pronounced by Byron the best lyric in the English language; and its having been set to music and become afterwards universally popular is a proof that his praise was not misapplied. It was inspired, no doubt, almost wholly by the sad and solemn occasion on which it was written, but I cannot help thinking that the author may have caught something at least of its measure, if not of its mood, from the old Scottish fragment, which he may formerly have read and admired, of Bartram's Dirge. In a modern collection of old ballads we are told that this was "taken down by Mr. Surtees from the recitation of Anne Douglas, an old woman that weeded in his garden." We only wish that Mr. Surtees had given it as it fell from the old woman's lips without any of his modern touches. As it stands now it is still eminently beautiful, we admit, and deserving to be placed along side of the monody of Wolfe, but it has certainly lost something of its ancient cast. Its general character, we are sorry to say, is no longer altogether that of the genuine "old and antique song."

' Tearing.

* Empty.

“They shot him dead at the Nine-stone Rig,
Beside the headless Cross,
And they left him lying in his blood,
Upon the moor and moss.

“They made a bier of the broken bough,
The sauch¹ and the aspin gray,
And they bore him to the Lady Chapel,
And waked him there all day.

“A lady came to that lonely bower
And threw her robes aside,
She tore her ling long yellow hair,
And knelt at Bartram’s side.

“She bathed him in the Lady-Well,
His wounds sae deep and sair,
And she plaited a garland for his breast,
And a garland for his hair.

“They rowed him in a lily-sheet
And bare him to his earth,
And the Gray Friars sung the dead man’s mass
As they pass’d the Chapel Garth.

“They buried him at the mirk midnight,
When the dew fell cold and still;
When the aspin gray forgot to play,
And the mist clung to the hill.

“They dug his grave but a bare foot deep
By the edge of the Nine-stone Burn,
And they covered him o’er with the heather flower,
The moss and the Lady fern.

“A Gray Friar staid upon the grave
And sang till the morning tide,
And a friar shall sing for Bartram’s soul
While the Headless Cross shall bide.”

From Scottish ballad poetry we have taken the two foregoing specimens, when perhaps more properly, to suit our subject, we should have chosen some from what is English. The fact is,

¹ Willow.

however, beautiful as the ballads of "Merry England" are, those of Romantic Scotland, it must be said, excel mostly in touching incident and vivid description. The legends of a country, it is well known, are tinctured and inspired always, not only by the manners and customs of the people themselves, but also by the beauty or sublimity of the scenery in the midst of which they have arisen. From the loneliness of the gray and misty moors of Scotland and the wildness of her mountain glens and dashing torrents—

" Land of the mountain and the flood,
Land of brown heath and shaggy wood"—

her ballads catch a stirring sublimity, as well as, from the deadly frays of rival clans "fought over again in song," often a thrilling tragic interest. On the other hand, the rich and highly cultivated tracts of land along the storied streams of England, her gray towers of abbeys embowered amid ancient oaks and elms and hamlets sleeping in their vales, impart to her songs of this kind, for the most part, more of the charm of quietude and repose. They are more contemplative than active, more epic than lyric. Nevertheless, as the scenes of Scottish legends were generally laid along the Border and those of England in the "North Country," from their proximity it happened that the same ballads were often sung on both sides of the Tweed, and sometimes merely parts of one were borrowed and fitted on to those of another, receiving always, however, different modifications and improvements to suit the respective feelings of each people; and in such cases, it must be said that those applied on the Scottish side were generally the best. In the Scottish ballad of the Douglas Tragedy, for instance, how deadly and lasting was the wrath of the old knight against Lord William, who had carried off his daughter and slain his seven sons who were following hard after, is well set forth by his pulling up afterwards and flinging into the Loch, from the tomb of the lover, the presumptuous brier, because it dared to lean over and entwine itself with the branches of the—alas!—too loving red rose on the grave of his lamented daughter.

" Lord William was buried in St. Marie's kirk,
Lady Margaret in Marie's quire;
Out o' the lady's grave grew a bonny red rose,
And out o' the knight's a brier.

“ And they twa met and they twa plat,
 And fain they would be near,
 And a’ the wORLD might ken right weel,
 They were twa lovers dear.

“ But bye and rade the Black Douglas,
 And wow but he was rough !
 For he pull’d up the bonny brier,
 And flang’d it in St. Marie’s Loch.”

In comparison how tame and yet lofty, to be sure, in conceit to the exclusion of all feeling, is the somewhat similar tail-piece, which, however, I half suspect is a modern attachment intended to out do the Scottish, to the old English ballad of Fair Margaret and Sweet Williaim !

“ Margaret was buried in the lower chancèl
 And William in the higher:
 Out of her brest there sprang a rose,
 And out of his a briar.

“ They grew till they grew unto the church-top
 And they could grow no higher;
 And there they tyed in a true lovers knot,
 Which made all the people admire.

“ Then came the clerk of the parish,
 As you the truth shall hear,
 And by misfortune cut them down,
 Or they had still been there.”

O most lame and impotent conclusion ! Some ancient charms, however, this old English ballad still retains in spite of modern handling, from which it was that David Mallet, Esq. mistook the following lines,—

“ When it was grown to dark midnight,
 And all were fast asleep,
 In came Margaret’s grimly ghost
 And stood at William’s feet,”—

for a lonely fragment, as he found them in Fletcher’s “ Knight of the Burnin Ppesle,” and naked of ornament and simple as they are, he tells us, they struck his fancy ; whereupon, using them for a base, he completed upon them a superstructure of his own, called Margaret’s Ghost, “ one of the most beautiful ballads,”

says Bishop Percy, "in our own or any language." Beautiful indeed are the similes and antitheses with which it abounds, and its versification has all the smoothness of the times of its author, who was cotemporary and intimate with Pope; but after all, I must say, for my own part, I am just as well pleased, if not better, with the wild irregularity and varied incident of the old English ballad, notwithstanding its tail-piece, from which the first stanza of this, burnished up, to be sure, was taken; and in genuine pathos it is certainly far inferior to the modern Scottish ballad, well known in this country, on a theme somewhat similar, called Mary's Dream or Sandy's Ghost.

Mercersburg, Pa.

W. M. N.

WILBERFORCE ON THE INCARNATION.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ in its relation to Mankind and to the Church. By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. First American from the second London Edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker & Co., 1849, pp. 411. 12 mo.

We are not exactly prepared to pronounce this book, in the language of *some* of its admirers, the greatest theological work of the age. Our Episcopal friends are apt to be a little too fast in claiming credit in this style for the literature of their own Church, and a good deal too dull in perceiving or acknowledging the merit of any literature besides. They are quite too starched and pedantic especially, in their bearing towards the theology of Germany. It is only ridiculous however to fancy the English Church, or the Episcopal Church in America, on any sort of parallel and level, as regards theological science, with German Protestantism under its better form. There is no doubt on the English side a vast fund of traditional orthodoxy and order, which at this time particularly cannot well be held in too high account; and there are errors and heresies too in the thinking of Germany, as we all know, that need to be guarded against with the most jealous and watchful care. But mere tradition can never be made to stand in the place of thought; nor are heresies to be cured, by a declaration of war against all philosophy and science. Theology, to live, must be something more than a form of sound words. It must grapple with error, and overcome it. Its mission is to be scientific, as well as true to

the faith once delivered to the saints. In this respect, Germany with all her errors stands far in advance both of England and America. She is the land emphatically of Protestant theology. Not only is she entitled to the first rank in what regards the outward apparatus of the science, as most are now willing to admit ; her primacy is equally clear in all that pertains to its true inward life and substance. We need her help not only in philology and history, but in the settlement and defence also of all christian doctrines. The theology of Germany, for years past, has been more wakeful, more profoundly earnest, more vigorously active, than that of all the world besides. The theology of this country, with all its pretension and cant, is for the most part mere schoolboy pedantry in comparison. This scientific activity may not save the German Church ; at least not without help, under a different form, from some other quarter ; but it cannot fail to prove at last of high consequence for the christian world. It belongs to the inmost power of Protestantism, and forms in some sense what must be considered the central stream of its life. The dangers which attend it are to be surmounted by its own resources, and not by refusing to look them in the face. If our remedy for error is to be found in mere outward authority, a faith that owns no fellowship whatever with science, it were better for us to fall back at once fully and wholly into the arms of Romanism. Admit this principle, and Protestantism stands convicted of falsehood from the start. It has no right to exist. Say that Protestantism has no power to take care of itself in following out its own law, but needs to be overruled and controlled in its course by a purely foreign authority, saying to it, Thus far shalt thou go but no farther ; and we have the whole question of its legitimacy conclusively settled. It is for this reason, and in this view, that the problem of Protestantism may be said to be specially involved in the course of theological science at present in Germany. For whatever may be needed to make the Church complete in the end, it is clear that all other interests must be ruled sooner or later by the authority of ideas ; theory must underlie all solid life and practice ; and the heart of ~~any~~ movement is found consequently, where its theoretic or ideal character is made most actively the subject of thought. The question whether Protestantism has a right to exist, turns after all not so much on the practical working of Episcopacy in Great Britain, or of Puritanism in America, as it does on the results of theology in Germany. If the *idea* of the Reformation, its original and proper theory, be found unequal to the test to which it is here subjected, it is vain to imagine that it can command the

faith and homage of the world lastingly on any other ground. Let it appear that Protestant theology, under its most free and active character, not only calls forth such terrible errors as have appeared in Germany, but has no power also at the same time to overcome them by a still more vigorous vindication of the truth, and the Roman controversy, as we take it, is fairly brought to an end. If Protestantism cannot think itself out to its last consequences without landing us in rationalism and pantheism, we need no other argument to set aside its claims from the beginning. It is proved at once to be a failure under its more respectable forms, as well as under those that are openly anti-christian and false; and we are bound to save ourselves from its bad authority, not by allowing it wilfully only to a certain point, but by abjuring it altogether. It is in this view, we say, that Protestantism universally, whether the fact be perceived or not, has a deep and vital interest in the theological activity of modern Germany, notwithstanding its errors and heresies, more than in the thinking of any other part of the christian world. Let us be willing all round to do justice to its claims, and not affect to be independent of its co-operation and help. If we can go beyond its measure, well; but this we can never do, by superciliously ignoring or overlooking the whole field of inquiry here offered to our view. The questions with which this German theology is occupied, are questions that lie in the way of all true theological science, and challenge the respect of all really earnest and thoughtful minds. Nor is it easy to speak in too high terms of the learning and intellectual power, with which they are discussed. If theology exist as a science at all, at the present time, it is in Germany. We are made to smile accordingly, when we hear a single English work, like that of Wilberforce, referred to as the great production of the age in the department to which it belongs, without the least regard apparently to this fact. All who are acquainted with the later German theology, know that the age abounds with great productions in this form. It would be easy to name many theologians not only of equal but of superior learning, and many works also of far more thorough and complete execution, which must be allowed largely to divide at least the theological credit of the age with *Wilberforce on the Incarnation*.

We have no wish however to disparage the merits of this book. It is in truth worthy of high admiration and respect. It deserves to be welcomed as a work of thorough independent learning, which may well be taken to form something of an epoch in the history at least of English theology. We only wish that it may

be widely read and studied, both in England and in this country; for we are sure that it is suited to the wants of our reigning Christianity, whether theoretically or practically considered, and that it cannot fail to operate auspiciously, where it gains attention, in favor of truth and piety. Unfortunately it is not as well fitted as it might be for common popular use. The subject itself of which it treats, is one that lies out of the range of ordinary thought; but there is a serious fault besides, as regards popularity, in the author's method and style. It is fashionable to speak of the darkness and vagueness of German writers; and we are willing to allow that a good many of them are well entitled to such reproach; but we must say we have found it more of an effort to keep the clue of thought steadily in this English book, than to read understandingly some of the hardest German ones that come in our way. Wilberforce is for us decidedly a more *misty* writer than Dorner, for instance, or Rothe, or Daub, or even Kant himself in his Criticism of the Understanding. The difficulty with these writers generally is in the arduous character of their thought, and in this alone; whereas in the work before us it lies often to a very considerable extent in the representation of the thought. The plan of the book, as a whole, is not sufficiently clear; it is put together somewhat clumsily and awkwardly in its several parts; a sort of continual haziness surrounds the progress of its argument; the language is often careless, and lacks throughout the transparency and vivacity that are needed for full popular effect. The work, with all its merits, is decidedly heavy and hard to read. We are sorry for this; as it may prove a bar in some measure to its favorable reception, where it might otherwise have found free passport and exerted a happy influence on the side of truth. The theme with which it is occupied is one of the very highest interest, lying at the foundation of all sound theology, and carrying with it claims to attention, particularly for the present age, beyond perhaps any other that could well be named. It is handled here too, so far as actual substance is concerned, in a truly learned and masterly manner; so as to be everyway worthy of coming into respectful audience and consideration with all who take pleasure in divinity, whether in the Episcopal Church or on the outside of it. At the same time, as we have had too much opportunity to know, the theme, with all its vast significance, is for a large part of our reigning religious thought by no means palatable; for the reason precisely that it runs counter to many of its traditional prejudices, and is felt to involve practical consequences in the end, which it has become a sort of settled maxim with it to resist tooth

and nail in defiance of all examination. The age, however tolerant it may be in other directions, has no toleration at all generally for the idea of the *Church* or for the mystery of the *Sacraments*; and is but too ready to turn away with impatient disgust from any theological inquiry that leads this way. With all its professed love for liberty and light, it is apt here to resent everything like free investigation, and to shrink from *science* as though its presence were only suited to give pain. In such circumstances, it is to be regretted that the work before us should not have every outward advantage along with it, to assist it in commanding for its great subject the homage, which this has a right to claim, but at the same time so little power with too many to enforce. We are apprehensive that it is not reaching any such circulation, nor gaining any such earnest attention, as may be counted at all commensurate with its deserts. It seems to be received only with a sort of half-complaisance at best even in the Episcopal Church; while almost no notice whatever is taken of it among other denominations; for the simple reason perhaps that it is felt to move in a foreign sphere of thought, with which only *churchmen*, in the Episcopal sense, are regarded as having any sympathy or concern.

With all the prejudices of the age however towards the subject here brought into view, it is clear enough that this belongs notwithstanding to the proper religious life of the age itself, and that it is forcing itself more and more from all sides, in spite of prejudice, upon its consideration and regard. It is not uncommon, nor unnatural, for an idea or tendency to be at once resisted and responded to, in this way, by the life of an age, whose inmost necessity perhaps it comes both to interpret and fulfil. A new spirit of thought plainly is beginning to prevail in regard to Christ's *person*. Even in New England, theology may be seen gradually waking to an interest, which a few years since was wanting altogether, in what may be called the Christological Mystery, with more or less apprehension of its living concrete relations to the constitution of the world and the course of history. Questions which not long ago were considered fully settled, and laid away as shelf abstractions, on the hypostatical union and its practical results, are now, whether men choose to be pleased with it or not, asserting their right to be re-studied, and settled over again, with something of the same sort of interest that is given to immediately present realities of corresponding moment in the sphere of nature. It is coming to be widely felt that theology needs a regeneration, as well as our christian life generally, and that this must turn on a clearer and more power-

ful apprehension of what is comprehended in the person of Christ himself, as the true centre and fountain at the same time of all truth and grace besides. Christology is acquiring, in this way, new significance, as a world of truth within itself, from whose bosom only, fairly entered in the first place by faith, it can ever be possible to understand either the nature of God or the nature of man. In all such tendencies and indications, come from what quarter they may, we unsighedly rejoice. They carry in them a promise of good for the future; while they serve to reveal also the ephemeral character of what is different or contrary in the present. The fashion of our present reigning theology, with all its affected self-sufficiency, is evidently doomed to pass away. The mind of the christian world is coming to regard it more and more with misgiving and distrust; and on all sides the persuasion gains ground that the Christological Question, embracing the true idea of the Church and its relation to the Saviour's living person, is in truth the great question of the age, and carries in itself a power by which all the interests of religion are to be moulded hereafter into new shape.

We propose no formal analysis of Wilberforce on the Incarnation, nor any examination of its several parts in detail. Our object is rather to call attention to what we conceive to be the immense practical significance of the general subject with which it is occupied; which may be best done perhaps, by singling out some of the leading aspects under which it is here made to challenge our regard, and holding them up to separate contemplation, without any particular respect to the author's plan. These will be found to agree substantially with views which are presented in our own book entitled *The Mystical Presence*; and we shall be glad certainly if the high authority by which they are now endorsed in this very able and learned English work, may serve to win for them in any quarter, a more earnest consideration than they have yet been able to engage under a simply American garb.

I. The *Mediation* of Christ holds primarily and fundamentally in the constitution of his person. With our current theology this is not admitted. The Mediatorial office is taken to be a sort of outward investiture, for which it was necessary indeed that Christ should have certain previous qualifications, but which is to be regarded still in this view as holding out of his person and beyond it; like the work assigned to Moses for instance, when he was selected and appointed to lead the Israelites out of Egypt, and to give them the Law at Mount Sinai. Two parties, God and man, are thought of as in a state of variance, and

as needing reconciliation; a certain service is required for this purpose, it may be in the way of negotiation and persuasion simply, or it may be in the way of work, obedience, sacrifice, atonement; and to meet this requirement, under such purely outward view, Christ is regarded as assuming the character of a day's man or arbitrator, and as coming *between* the parties thus in order to bring them together. He may be considered a mere Prophet, in the Unitarian sense, who saves by his excellent doctrine and holy example; or he may be allowed to be far more than this, a Saviour possessed of truly Divine powers, according to the orthodox faith, by the mystery of the incarnation, who takes away sin by suffering the penalty of it in his own person; but still in either case, the thing done has its proper seat and substance in the relation of the parties concerned by itself considered, while Christ as the doer of it stands always as it were on the outside of the transaction, in the character comparatively of an instrument or servant to his own glorious work. Now every such view of redemption we hold to be more or less inadequate and false; and it is of the utmost consequence, we think, that attention should be fully fastened on the point, for the purpose of promoting a more just apprehension of this great mystery in its true nature and power. The Mediation of Christ, we say, holds primarily and fundamentally in the constitution of his person. His Incarnation is not to be regarded as a device *in order* to his Mediation, the needful preliminary and condition of this merely as an independent and separate work; it is itself the Mediatorial Fact, in all its height and depth, and length and breadth.

"His name of Mediator," says our author, "is not bestowed by reason of any work, in which He was occasionally or partially occupied; it sets forth that office, which resulted from the permanent union in one person of God and Man. For the benefits which He bestows upon man's nature result from his being the link which binds it to Deity. The salvation of Adam's race depends upon the influence of that higher nature, which has been introduced into it from above. This gift was first bestowed upon humanity in the Person of Christ, that from Him it might afterwards be extended in degree to all His brethren." He is accordingly not *a* Mediator, but *the* Mediator between God and Man; as Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 5, allows *one* only, in such way as to exclude all others. There may be a number of relative mediators between God and men, but there can be only one who is the absolute junction and union of the two parties thus distinguished. "Christ is the real bond by which Godhead and hu-

manity are united. And this arises not from any technical and artificial appointment; He bears this name, because He is what it expresses. His title follows from His nature, as effect from cause, as consequent from antecedent. He truly is what no other is, or can be beside Him, the Pattern Man, the second Adam; therefore no other can take his place among the generations of mankind." The Mediation of Christ is his actually binding the nature of God and the nature of Man into one life, in his own person. "For this cause the Son of God consented to become the Son of Man: 'When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.' Moses acted as mediator, Christ became one." The Christian faith, as set forth by the universal Church from the beginning, looks first accordingly not to our Lord's acts so much as to the mystery of his personality. "It has sometimes been asked why our Lord's Atonement is not inserted in the Creed, in such express words as his Incarnation. The reason is, that our Lord's Atonement may be admitted in words, although those who use them attach no christian sense to the doctrine which they acknowledge; whereas if the doctrine of our Lord's Incarnation is once truly accepted, His Mediation follows as its necessary result. So that the Church was guided by Divine Wisdom, to make this article of our Lord's real nature the criterion of her belief, the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae*: it holds a leading place in the profession which in all ages has been required at Baptism; and the early believers gave a token of their reverence, when on declaring that He 'was made man,' they were wont, with one consent, to bow the knee and worship." Christ's person is thus at once the centre and comprehension of all functions discharged on God's part towards man, or on man's part towards God. He is the sole channel of grace, and the only medium through whom our prayers can ascend acceptably to heaven. "This is the place wherein heaven and earth are connected; the bridge which joins them together. He is the *door*, the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*."—P. 170-173.

It makes all the difference in the world for our theology, whether the Christian Salvation be apprehended as a living fact thus starting in the person of Christ, or as an arrangement or economy simply in the Divine Mind which Christ came into the world to serve in an outward and instrumental way. Every evangelical doctrine becomes different, as seen either from the one of these points of view or from the other. It is not enough that the articles of our faith may carry in any case separately an orthodox sound; all depends on the order in which they are

bound together, the principle from which they proceed, their inferior genealogy and connection as parts of a common whole. The most orthodox formula may be full of heresy, if abstracted from the real ground of Christianity, and made to stand before us as a naked word or thought in some other form. The true order of the Christian faith is given in the Creed. All rests on the mystery of the Incarnation. *That* is itself Christianity, the true idea of the Gospel, the new world of grace and truth, in which the discord of sin, the vanity of nature, the reign of death, are brought forever to an end. Here is an order of life which was not in the world before, the Word made Flesh, God and Man brought into living union in the person of Jesus Christ, as the nucleus and fountain of salvation for the race. He is the Mediator, because God and Man are thus in a real way joined together and made one in his person. The primary force of his character in this view, the power which belongs to him to make reconciliation and atonement, lies in the fact that the parties between whom he mediates are in truth united first of all in the very constitution of his own life. He is in this way the actual *medium* of their conjunction. The mission of salvation which he came to fulfil was not indeed at once completed by the mystery of the hypostatical union; his Mediatorship involved a history, a work, the execution of prophetic, priestly, and kingly offices, a life of suffering and trial, the atonement, the resurrection, the sitting at the right hand of God, from whence he shall come to judge the world; but all this only as the proper and necessary result of the first mystery itself, the entrance of the Divine Word in a living way into the sphere of our fallen Humanity. This brought heaven and earth together in the very heart or centre of the world's life, and carried in itself the guaranty that all which was required to make the union permanent and complete should in due order be triumphantly accomplished. Conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ must necessarily suffer also and die, but only that by doing so he might conquer death, and bring in everlasting righteousness and immortal life for the nature he came to redeem and save. Forth from this sublime Fact proceeds the presence of the Holy Ghost, the power of a new creation in the world, the mystery of the Church, one, holy and catholic, and the whole process of salvation from the remission of sins in baptism on to the resurrection of the last day. The sense of Christ's Person, as the true bond that reconciles God and Man, brings along with it all this faith; and no article, we repeat it, deserves to be considered part of the Christian Creed, which comes not to be of

force in this order and on this ground. The early Church stood here on the true foundation. The Creed, as held from the beginning, forms the true and only legitimate basis of Christian orthodoxy. It needs, in this view, no condescending indulgence, no apology, no qualification, no surreptitious foisting of a new and better sense into its ancient phraseology. Any modern system which finds this necessary, however creditable and plausible it may appear in other respects, stands convicted by the very fact of being itself in a false position. No doctrine can be valid and worthy of trust in the world that comes from Christ, which is not inwardly rooted in the Christological mystery of the old Creed. As an *abstraction*, a thing of mere thought and notion, supposed to hold in the relations of God and man out of Christ, and beyond the power of the concrete Fact embodied in his person, all pretended orthodoxy is reduced at last to a mere empty sham. Even as it regards the nature of God or the nature of man separately taken, our faith and science become truly *christian*, only when they are conditioned by a lively apprehension of what has come to pass in Christ. Where sympathy with the Creed is dull, and inward sense for its grandeur gone, there may still be much talk of God's attributes and works in a different view, of election and reprobation, of man's natural depravity, of justification by faith, regeneration, and other such high evangelical themes; but there can be no really sound and vigorous theology at any point. We will not hear, in such case, those who pretend to plant themselves on the authority of the *Bible*, while they are guilty of such palpable falling away from the mind of the Church in the age when the New Testament was formed; for the very point here to be settled, is the true sense and meaning of the *Bible*; and what we maintain is, that the early Church is more to be trusted than they are, in regard to what constitutes the primary conception of Christianity, which must serve as a rule to guide us in the proper study of the Scriptures. The *Bible* rests on Christ. Light is not more necessary for seeing the world, than the idea of Christ is for reading the true mind of God in his written word. The indwelling Creed, in this view, must underlie our use of the *Bible*, if it is to be at all just and safe. To say otherwise, is to subordinate the *Bible* to that which is *not* original Christianity, the thinking of this man or that, or the thinking of a sect in no union with the Fact of the Christian faith as it stood in the beginning; and surely when it comes to this, there ought to be no great difficulty, one would think, in deciding which alternative it is the part of wisdom, not to say faith, to choose. However grating it may sound

to some ears, the truth needs to be loudly and constantly repeated : The Bible is not the *principle* of Christianity, neither its origin, nor its fountain, nor its foundation. For the opposite imagination is not by any means an innocent or powerless error. It strikes at the essence of Christianity, which is neither doctrine nor law but living grace, and tends to resolve it into a mere abstraction, a theory, that has its being in the world in men's thoughts mainly, and not in any more substantial form ; which, carried out to its legitimate end, is just what we are to understand by Rationalism. It is of the utmost account to see, on the contrary, that the principle of Christianity is the Lord Jesus Christ himself, the Word made Flesh, the Christological Fact underlying, as in the Creed, the new heavens and the new earth. With the sense of this old faith in the mind, no difficulty whatever is found in recognizing it as the true voice also of the Bible. It springs into view from all sides ; and the only wonder is, how it should be possible for any, under the power of the uncatholic theory, *not* to perceive and acknowledge its force. Christ is always, in the New Testament, the sum and substance of his own salvation ; the way, the truth, the life ; the divine *παταγλαγη*, reconciliation or atonement, in whom God appears reconciling the world to himself (2 Cor. v. 18, 19) ; the victory over death and hell ; the true ladder of Jacob's vision, by which the heavens are brought into perpetual free and open communion with the earth. He is the Peace of the world, the deepest and last sense of Man's life, by which all its other discords are harmonized, in the deep-toned diapason of its real union with God.

II. This conception implies that the sense and power of Man's life universally considered come to view only in Christ ; on which account the mystery of the incarnation, as revealed in his person, is no isolated portent or prodigy, but a fact that holds in strict *organic and historical continuity and unity with the life of the human world as a whole*. In no other view can the mystery be regarded as real. Christ is indeed the entrance of a *new* life into the world, the Word clothing itself with flesh ; but he is this, at the same time, in the way of an actual, and not simply apparent, entrance into the world. He was no theophany, but a real and proper man, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. In this character however he could not be merely a common man, one of the race as it stood before. Such a supposition would belie the other side of his being. As the beginning of a new and higher creation, his entrance into the world must be of universal force, a fact of force for humanity in its collective view.

In no other way can the mystery be apprehended as real. Make Christ either a common man, sharing humanity with Moses, David, Peter and Paul, or in lieu of this a man wholly on the outside of this humanity as it belongs to others ; and in both cases the conception of his Mediatorial character is gone, lost in Ebionitism on the one side or lost in fantastic Gnosticism on the other. The person of Christ, as Mediator, is of universal human significance and force. So the Scriptures teach when they call him the *Second Adam* ; a title plainly implying that he is to be regarded in some way as the root of the race, in a deeper sense even than this can be affirmed of the First Adam. It is accordingly a vast mistake, contradicting alike the letter and the spirit of the Gospel, and leading to consequences of enormous mischief, when the Christian Salvation is taken to be in its primary purpose and plan for a part of the race only, a certain number of individuals as such, and not for Humanity as a whole. It must terminate on individuals indeed, and this involves an "election of grace;" but like all *Life*, it is universal before it becomes thus particular and single, and the single christian is saved only by receiving it into himself under this character. To conceive of Christ's redemption as having regard, either to all men numerically and outwardly considered, according to the Pelagian theory, or to a given number only in the same outward view, according to at least one kind of Calvinism, involves in the end the same error ; this namely, that Christ did not really assume our human nature at all, in his Mediatorial life, but only stood on the outside of it, and wrought a work beyond it, in the semblance of our common manhood, for the benefit of such as are brought individually and separately to avail themselves of his grace. This is to make Christ a mere instrument or means, for the accomplishment of an end which is supposed to have its existence and necessity under a wholly different form ; than which it is hard to conceive of anything more derogatory to the true dignity of his person. Gloriously above all this is the form under which he appears in the Gospel. He is himself there the Salvation of the world, not simply as a true mediation between heaven and earth is reached in his own life separately considered, but as this life also, on its human side, is found to be the comprehension in truth of Man's life as a whole, the actual lifting up of our fallen nature from the ruins of the fall, and its full investiture with all the glory and honor for which it was originally formed. Humanity, as a single universal fact, is redeemed in Christ, truly and really, without regard to other men, any further than as they are made to partake of this redemption by being brought into living union with his person.

Archdeacon Wilberforce puts himself to some trouble, to show that there is such a thing as *human nature* objectively considered, in distinction from the mere thought or notion of a certain multitude of men regarded as having a common character.

"The objection brought against the actual existence of human nature is, that being only an abstraction formed by ourselves from a variety of examples, there can be no *real thing* intended by it; to give it actual existence is supposed to be the error of the Realists, who attributed an objective existence to those universal conceptions, which were only the creatures of their own minds. Hence, the reality of human nature, as a thing existing in the external world, is denied, because to assert reality for the idea of it in our own minds, would be contrary to the theory of Nominalism, which prevails in logic. But this is to abuse the principles of Nominalism on one side, as the opposite principle of Realism has been abused on the other. That many objects can be united by our classing them under a common idea, does not give them any real objective union; but neither does it take that union away, provided that by other means it can be shown to exist. Yet this is the argument of those who, on principles of Nominalism, deny the objective existence of human nature. They pass over the distinction between such classifications as men make for themselves by an inward act of reasoning, and such as have been provided in the external world by God's Providence. The one are only our own internal acts; the other have an external existence. The error of the Realists was encouraged, according to Archbishop Whately, by observation of those organized beings, which are bound together by the unalterable laws of nature. That in these cases there existed a real, though unknown bond, which maintained the perpetuity of the class, led men to attribute an objective existence to their own abstractions. But if no real connexion had united these external objects, the sight of them would not have led any one astray. When we class together philosophers or physicians, we bestow a common name upon those who are associated by their dispositions or employments. There is no connexion between them, distinct from the thoughts and actions to which the individuals described choose to addict themselves. There is a real similarity in their doings, supposing the class to be happily designated; but it is a similarity only, and at their will they may cease to resemble one another. It would be a vicious Realism, therefore, to assert the existence of an objective connexion among these parties, because we can embrace them under a common idea; but it would be an equally vicious Nominalism to deny an objective reality, where an inherent law prevents the possibility of such re-arrangement, and confines individuals to the peculiar classes to which they severally belong. The first would

be to claim for our own mind the power of making its inward ideas into external realities ; the second would be to deny the existence of external realities, because we have not the power of making them. We have no right, therefore, to deny the existence of a common nature in those who are derived from a common origin ; whose union does not depend upon their voluntary combination, and cannot be dissolved by their own will."—P. 48-50.

With some, all this may be set down as so much mysticism and transcendentalism. They go on the common sense view, which turns the world into a sand-heap. We agree however fully with Stahl, as quoted p. 52. "The more superficial a man is, the more isolated will every thing seem to him, for on the surface all things are detached. In mankind, in the nation, even in the family, he will see nothing but individuals, whose actions are altogether distinct. The deeper a man is, the more conscious will he be of those inward principles of unity, which radiate from the centre. Even the love of our neighbour is only a deep feeling of this unity, for a man does not love those to whom he does not perceive and feel himself bound. Unless sin could come through one, and through one atonement, there could be no understanding the command to love our neighbour."

Such a collective existence in the case of our race, not the aggregate of its individual lives but the underlying substance in which all these are one, is everywhere assumed in the Bible, as a fact entering into the whole history of religion. The race starts in Adam. It is recapitulated again, or gathered into a new centre and head, in Christ.

"This is the fact declared, when it is stated that Christ took man's nature : it implies the reality of a common humanity, and His perfect and entire entrance into its ranks. Thus did He assume a common relation to all mankind. This is why the existence of human nature is a thing too precious to be surrendered to the subtleties of logic, because upon its existence depends that real manhood of Christ which renders Him a co-partner with ourselves. And upon the reality of this fact is built that peculiar connexion between God and man, which is expressed by the term Mediation. It looks to an actual alteration in the condition of mankind, through the admission of a member into its ranks, in whom and through whom it attained an unprecedented elevation. Unless we discern this real impulse which was bestowed upon humanity, the doctrines of Atonement and Sanctification, though confessed in words, become a mere empty phraseology. That 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself,' implies an actual acceptance of the

children of men, on account of the merits of one of their race ; as well as an actual change in the race itself through the entrance of its nobler associate. The work of man's redemption and renewal is a real work, performed by real agents. It is not only that the Almighty was pleased to save appearances, if we may so express it, by conceding to the representations of a third party, what He did not choose otherwise to yield or to acknowledge (as Queen Philippa prevailed over her harsher husband, Edward;) but Christ's Incarnation was a step in the mighty purposes of the Most High, whereby all the relations of heaven and earth were truly affected. To deny, as is done by Bishop Hampden, 'that we may attribute to God any change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done,' would be to resolve this real series of acts into a mere technical juggle. But to the reality of this work, the existence of that common nature is indispensable, whereby 'as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He Himself took part of the same.' Else, how would the perfect assumption of humanity have consisted with His retaining that divine personality, which it was impossible that He should surrender? Since it was no new person which He took, it can only have been the substratum in which personality has its existence. For His Incarnation was not the 'conversion of Godhead into flesh, but the taking of the manhood into God.' Or how could He have entered into a common relation to mankind in general, unless there had existed a common nature as the medium of union? This nature, which exists only in individual persons, He took for the earthly clothing of that divine personality, in which He must ever continue to exist." —P. 55-56.

The universalness of Christ's life does not consist in the assumption of the lives of all men into himself, but in the assumption of that living law or power, which, whether in Adam alone or in all his posterity, forms at once the entire fact of Humanity, irrespectively of the particular human existences in which it may appear. These are always a finite *All*; the other is a boundless *Whole*; two conceptions, which are as wide as the poles apart. Christ, in this view, is organically and historically joined, we say, with the universal life of Man, as its only true ground, and centre, and end. The child, it is sometimes said, is father to the man; inasmuch as the first foreshadows the coming of the second; although, in truth, that which is second here, when we look to inward reality, must be counted first. It is only in full manhood, that the tendencies and powers of childhood are made complete at last, through the actualization of their own sense. Analogous with this is the relation of our general human nature to the coming of Christ. It looks to this event from the beginning, as the proper completion of its own

meaning ; and in such view may be regarded as opening the way for it in the order of time ; although as regards the order of actual being the mystery of the incarnation must be considered first, as that which lies at the ground of our whole human life in its true form. Christ thus is the deepest sense, the most urgent want of humanity, as it stood previously to his coming, or still stands where his coming is not owned. The universal constitution of the world looks towards him as its necessary centre. All the lines of history converge towards him as their necessary end. He is the “desire of all nations,” the dream of the Gentile as well as the hope of the Jew. If there be any wholeness in our human life whatever, any rational unity in history, and if the incarnation be at the same time a real putting on of humanity, a real entrance of the Word into the process of our existence, and not a mere Gnostic vision or Hindoo avatar instead, how is it possible to escape the truth of this proposition ? Those who seek to cut off Christ from all organic, inwardly historical connection with the world in its natural form, as though his credit must be endangered by his being made to appear a true birth of mankind, the veritable seed of the woman which should bruise the serpent’s head, know not surely what they are about. As an abstraction, in no natural union with the life of Man universally considered, how could his pretensions ever be legitimated or made sure ?

III. The *Humanity* of Christ is the repository and medium of salvation for the rest of mankind. The truth of this proposition flows inevitably, from what has been already said of his Mediatorial nature, and its relation to the universal or whole life of the race. Christ has redeemed the world, or the nature of Man as fallen in Adam, by so taking it into union with his own higher nature as to deliver it from the curse and power of sin ; meeting the usurpation of this false principle with firm resistance from the start ; triumphantly repelling its assaults ; and in the end leading captivity captive, by carrying his man’s nature itself, through the portals of the resurrection, to the right hand of God in glory. The process holds primarily altogether in his own person. In his own person, however, as the Second Adam, the bearer and root of our whole human nature, now lifted thus into actual union with the Godhead, and so made answerable to its true idea, as we find this labored after by its whole creation from the beginning. Thus perfected, he has become the captain and author of salvation for others, Heb. ii. 10, v. 9 ; and through his glorification, the way is open for the Spirit to carry forward the work of Christianity in the hearts and lives of his people

John, vii. 39. Such is the order of the Creed; Manhood glorified first in Christ, then by the Spirit in the Church, which is his Body, the true fulness or completion of his life in the world. The beginning of the new creation then, the primary and original seat of our actual salvation, is the *Human Nature* of Christ; for this is the real ground and foundation of the universal conception of Humanity in its highest form, the central orb through relation to which only this can ever change its character from darkness to light. True, the power of Christ to save rests in his person as a whole and falls back specially on his Divinity; it is the life of the WORD which becomes the light of men. But it is this Life still only as it "comes into the world," and appears clothed in the habiliments of *flesh*; and so we say the FLESH of Christ, or the Word which has come in the Flesh, and not the Word out of the Flesh, is the door or fountain by which the whole grace of the Gospel comes to its revelation in the world. Starting in eternity, it finds here the only outlet for its entrance into time. As an accomplished fact upon the earth, in living union with Man's life, and not a mere decree or thought in the mind of God, the entire Gospel begins in Christ, and proclaims itself as something to be seen, felt and handled, (1 John, i. 1-3,) in the power of his true Man's nature. Whatever of power there is in Christ for salvation, it is lodged for the use of the world in his FLESH, as the necessary medium of communication with the human race, the one only bond of his brotherhood and fellowship with those he came to save. To imagine any saving union possible with Christ apart from his Flesh, aside from that glorified Humanity by which only his Mediation stands in real contact with the world, is virtually to deny the mystery of the Incarnation itself, by making it to be of no meaning or force. It is the mark of Antichrist, we are told 1 John iv. 1-3, to place the coming of Christ *out of the flesh*.

This idea meets us everywhere in the ancient Church. "The mixture of Christ's bodily substance with ours," says Hooker, is a thing which the ancient Fathers disclaim. Yet the mixture of his flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what our very bodies, through mystical conjunction, receive from that vital efficiency which we know to be his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers similitudes, rather to declare the truth, than the manner of coherence between his sacred and the sanctified bodies of saints," *Eccles. Pol.* V. 56, 9. So with the Church of the Reformation, the sense of the same mystery, as set forth in the Creed, wrought powerfully on all sides. Luther's faith and zeal here are well known. Calvin, in his way, is no less strong.

With all his opposition to a crass Capernaitic view of Christ's flesh, he insists continually on the great idea, that the Christian Salvation starts from the Humanity of Christ in a real way, and that we participate in it only by entering really into the new order of life of which this is the fountain and seat. His language on this subject has been pronounced mystical and unmeaning; but it is so only for those who have become estranged, in their thinking, from the true and proper sense of the mystery with which it is concerned. In itself it is uncommonly lucid and clear, and admirably answerable to the form under which the subject meets us in the Gospel. The Word is the source of life; to recover man, this has entered into union with his nature by becoming flesh; *in which form alone*, Christ is now the author of salvation to all who believe in his name. "The very flesh in which he dwells is made to be vivific for us, that we may be nourished by it to immortality. I am the living head, he says, which came down from heaven; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world (John vi. 48, 51). In these words he teaches, not simply that he is Life, as the Everlasting Word descending to us from heaven, but that in thus descending he has infused this virtue also into the flesh with which he clothed himself, in order that life might flow over to us from it continually." Calvin speaks, of course, not of Christ's flesh materially considered, but of his real human nature, through which only it is possible for this same nature in other men to be raised from death to immortality. The vivification of humanity begins in *his* manhood. His flesh is truly thus *life-giving*, not as the origin of life, but as its necessary and only medium for our fallen race. The manhood of Christ is the reservoir or depositary in which all grace dwells first, (the Spirit without measure,) for the use of the whole world besides. "Christi CARO instar fontis est divitis et inexhausti, quæ vitam a divinitate in seipsam scaturientem ad nos transfundit." It would be hard to express the same thought more beautifully, or more clearly, in the same compass.

"Any school," Wilberforce tells us, "which denies the humanity of the Mediator to be the medium through which divine gifts are communicated to mankind, (and such is the error of all Rationalists,) is theologically allied either to Nestorianism or to Deism, in which Nestorianism results."—P. 154.

IV. The participation of Christ's benefits, in the case of his people, turns on a *real communication with his human nature* in the way of life. This is the idea of the "mystical union;" which all evangelical christians are willing to admit; while they

are too prone however, in many cases, to make it of no force, by carefully excluding from it the very mystery from which it draws its name. Because it holds only through the Spirit or Holy Ghost, they will have it that it is altogether spiritual, in such sense as to have no relation to Christ's manhood whatever; pleasing themselves, under this name, with the fancy of a life union with Christ in his divine nature, as though this only might be regarded as the fountain of such high grace in a separate and independent view. But this would imply the very consequence from which they pretend to shrink, without reason, on the other side, an actual partnership of believers with Christ in the awful mystery of the incarnation itself; for what less is it, if every single christian be joined in the way of real life directly with the Word absolutely taken, and not with the Word only *through* the flesh which it has already assumed in Christ. There is but one Incarnation, (*one* Mediator between God and man, the *Man* Christ Jesus,) but he is of such constitution, carrying our universal nature in his person, that all men may be joined with God also through him, by receiving into themselves the power of his life. This implies in their case no hypostatical union with Deity, no new theanthropy in the sense of Christ's person; but just the reverse; since the only medium of union with the Godhead is Christ's manhood, as something that must necessarily intervene between the Divine Word and all other men.

The law of such relation is by no means confined to this case; but finds analogies and exemplifications throughout the universal economy of our life; only we have here the absolute truth of what in all other cases comes before us relatively only and in the way of remote approximation. Men never stand separately, and with fully co-ordinate personality, in the union of society; but always in organic groups that cluster around some common centre, and find support in this as the bond or medium of communion with a life that is higher and more general than their own. Every *hero*, in the broad sense of this word as denoting one who is qualified and called to go before others in the mission of Humanity, stands actually between those who follow him and the superior world from which this mission proceeds; he is for them the real organ of its revelation; and through him, at the same time, they gain strength and power to master it as their own, although without such central support this would be wholly impossible. In this case the personality of every follower is completed, like that of the leader himself, by union with the higher life which fills his soul; but this only, let it be observed, *not* by taking his place as the primary organ of such commun-

cation, but by acknowledging rather his central position, and leaning upon him as the necessary medium of the benefit thus gained. Such is the universal law of our life. And what does it teach? Clearly this, that our human personality can never become absolutely complete, till it comes to be joined in a real way at last with the life of God himself, which alone needs no ground beyond itself; and that such conjunction requires, (not a general deification of the race as the Hegelians dream,) but a Central Person, in whom Divinity may be actually united with Humanity, and who may be qualified thus to communicate the fellowship of the "divine nature" mediately to all who trust in his name. This is just the mystery which meets us in Christ. In him alone among men dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and we are complete in him, as the head of all principality and power (Col. ii. 9, 10). Christ's person is the bearer of our persons. We are complete, as regards intelligence and will, only as we live not by and from ourselves, but through faith in him, as the centre and end of our whole existence.

There is no room then to object to the idea of the mystical union as now stated, that it implies a continuation of the hypothetical mystery over into the life of the Church. The ancients do indeed speak at times of our being deified in Christ, as sharers of his nature; but they mean not by this, of course, any deification aside from Christ himself. Through the medium of his humanity, it is the privilege of believers, without losing their own separate individuality, to fall in on the fulness of his person as the true central ground of their own lives, and thus to participate in the grace of which he alone is the repository and fountain, and which is accessible to others only as they are joined to him in this way.

"The union of mankind with Christ is not a mere imitation—the following a good model—the fixing our thoughts upon One who has shown in the clearest manner, how God may be served and men benefitted—it is an actual and real union, whereby all renewed men are joined to the second, as they were by nature to the first Adam. This union cannot be explained away in the kingdom of grace, unless it is first explained away in the kingdom of nature. Unless 'sin standeth' only 'in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk' holiness must involve not the mere imitation, but the putting on, of the man Christ Jesus. By what means the relation is maintained, is in each case an inexplicable mystery; the natural alliance which takes place by descent being not less wonderful than that supernatural alliance which is brought by the regeneration. To analyze the law of family affinity is as much be-

yond our powers, as to understand how ‘as many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.’ The first is that transmission of the nature of our common ancestor which causes us to be what we are; the second is that spiritual Presence of the manhood of Christ, by union with which we become what it is given to us to be. The one of these is in Holy Writ set against the other, ‘for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.’ As the one has its influence both on soul and body, so has the other.”

—P. 229–230.

V. As the medium of such living grace the *Human Nature* of Christ, and not simply his Divinity, is actively *present* always in the world. The Mediation of the Saviour, since his Ascension, holds towards God in his Intercession, while towards man it may be summed up in the single term of his *Presence*. This was his great promise, on going away: “I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you.” The promise plainly regards the restoration of what was about to be lost, the presence of our Lord, namely, according to his human nature; only under a new and higher form. In this view, it is a spiritual and not a carnal presence; a presence accomplished not in the way of place and material contact, but by the intervention of the Holy Ghost; while however, as regards efficiency and force, it is not for this reason less real, but rather we may say more real, than it could be in any other way. On this subject take the following extract.

“Neither is this Presence merely that He is an object to men’s thoughts, as Jerusalem was present to David from the land of Hermon. The reality of Christ’s presence depends on Himself, not on those He visits. It had been an unmeaning promise to His disciples, that His Presence should return to them through the power of the Holy Ghost, had He designed only that through the exertion of their mental faculties they might think of Him who was departed. In this sense how is Christ present more than any Angel in light? We are speaking not of men’s acts towards Him, but of His acts towards them, since His Ascension into heaven. As He acts for them by intercession with the Father, so are we assured that He acts towards them by His Presence with power. What is meant by His office as Mediator, unless through the annexation of the Divine to the Human nature, the latter has in itself some real influence independently of our thoughts? And this is the answer to the assertion, that since a body must either be present in any place, or not present in it, therefore Christ’s body must either be materially present in the consecrated elements at the Holy Eucharist, or that we must allow that His Presence is merely figura-

tive. Doubtless it were so, if His body were a human body alone ; but because He is Divine also, it has likewise that other medium of communication which does not depend upon local contiguity, but upon spiritual power. Even the sun, because its influence is more wide than its actual limits, while it is at rest in its place in the sky, is present upon earth by the effluence of its beams. But that Sacred Manhood which was created for the service of the Mediator between God and men, in which were stored up the ‘treasures of wisdom and knowledge,’ that from it ‘grace and truth’ might flow forth into the whole race of man, has a real medium of presence through the Deity which is joined to it : so that it can be in all places and with all persons—not figuratively, but in truth—not by material contact, but by spiritual power. And while its material place is among the armies of heaven, its spiritual presence is among the inhabitants of the earth, when, how, and wheresoever is pleasing to its own gracious will.”—P. 221–222.

The Mediation of Christ, then, is not something past and gone, nor yet something that lies wholly beyond the actual order of the world, with which we are to communicate only in the way of memory or thought ; it lives always, with perennial force, in the actual Presence of Christ’s Manhood in the world. This thought reigns throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews. His *one* sacrifice is once for all, not as a transient event, but as an ever during fact in the power of his indissoluble Mediatorial life. His intercession is going forward *now* in real union with the daily course of the world, as truly as the sun enters into the same economy from day to day. “Our Lord’s acts of Mediation towards men, as well as his Intercession with the Father, are a present fact in the world of life, and not a mere fictitious representation. To be accounted the bond of union between different natures is to discharge the part of a Mediator ; to be their real bond of union is to be one. Christ did not undertake this office as a legal fiction ; he is the ‘One Mediator,’ because in him Godhead and Manhood were really united. And if he has still the same character, it must be in fact and not in name—Godhead and Manhood must still be connected by his actual intervention. While he is one by nature with the Everlasting Father, he must be one also by grace with those inferior members to whom he has vouchsafed to become Head, that he might be the ‘Saviour of the body.’ For the gifts of grace do not become less necessary through the lapse of ages : every generation of Adam’s children has equal need of that external principle of supernatural renewal, which flows from the humanity of the Son of God into his brethren. The acts of his human, must

continue therefore as certainly as those of his Divine nature, and consequently that Presence of his manhood, whereby ‘we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones.’—If Christ be still Mediator, there must be the perpetual presence among us of his man’s nature, whereby he who is one with the Father becomes one also with his brethren.”—P. 238–239. To separate the action of Christ in the world now from his man’s nature, and to refer it only to his Divinity, is just to say that he no longer *acts* as a man at all, in other words *is* no longer really man, as in the days of humiliation. “And what then must be thought of that body which suffered on the Cross, but that either it was a created substance, invested by God’s mercy with more than mortal power and goodness, that it might accomplish that sacrifice which was needed for mankind—which is the Arian hypothesis; or else that the Father of all displayed himself in man’s form by a transient and occasional manifestation, and (that work being over) has again retreated into the abyss of his unapproachable Godhead”—which is the more subtle heresy of Sabellius. The Incarnation cannot be held as real, if the being and working of the Mediator in the world be not apprehended as the presence in it still of the living power of his true Human Life. This should be plain to all.

VI. Christ’s Presence in the world is in and by his mystical body, the *Church*. As a real human presence, carrying in itself the power of a new life for the race in general, it is no abstraction or object of thought merely, but a glorious living Reality, continuously at work, in an organic and historical way, in the world’s constitution. Christ communicates himself to his people, and lives in them, not by isolated favor in each case, but collectively. His relation is at once to the whole family of the redeemed, and single Christians accordingly have part in him only as they are comprehended at the same time in this whole. To be in Christ, is to be a member also necessarily of his mystical body, as dependence on a natural centre implies comprehension in the universal orb or sphere holding in the same relation. This is the idea of the Church. It comes from within and not from without. It grows out of the mystery of the Incarnation, apprehended as an abiding fact, and comes before us in the Creed accordingly, not as a notion or speculation merely, but as an article of *faith*. So too it has its attributes from itself and not from abroad. It is by an *a priori* necessity, it claims to be one, holy, and catholic. To deny or question this necessity is at once a heresy, which strikes in the end at the very foundation of Christianity itself. “That the Church is one body results

from organization, not from enactment," much less from human policy and agreement. "Neither is the profession of the Church's unity the mere admission of an external appearance, but the belief of an inward verity;" facts may or may not accord with it at any given time, but it still remains unalterably certain in its own nature, until Christianity itself be found to be false. Christ's *one* mediation, as related to men and reaching them through his glorified humanity, always present for this purpose in the world by the Spirit, is carried forward through the intervention of the Church, his Body Mystical, the fulness of what he is otherwise by distinction only in its single members. The Church, in this view, does indeed stand between Christ and the believer, but only as the body of a living man is between one of his limbs and the living soul by which it is quickened and moved.

VII. The idea of the Church, as thus standing between Christ and single christians, implies of necessity visible *organization*, common *worship*, a regular public *ministry* and *ritual*, and to crown all especially grace-bearing *sacraments*. To question this, is to give up to the same extent the sense of Christ's Mediation as a perennial fact; now and always taking effect upon the economy of the world through the Church as his mystical body. Let it be felt that the Incarnation is a mystery not simply past, and not simply beyond the world, but at this time in full force for the world, carrying in itself the whole value of Christ's sacrifice and resurrection as an undying "ONCE FOR ALL"—the true conception of the Mediatorial Supremacy, as the real headship of Christ's manhood over all in behalf of the Church and for its salvation ; let it be felt, at the same time, that this mystery touches men in and by the Church, which itself is made to challenge their faith for this reason as something supernatural and divine ; and it becomes at once impossible to resist the feeling, that the "powers of the world to come" are actually at hand in its functions and services, with the same objective reality that attaches to the powers of nature under their own form and in their own place. To see no more in the ministry and offices of the Church, in this view, than a power of mere outward declaration and testimony, such as we might have in any secular school, betrays a rationalistic habit of mind, which only needs to be set free from the indolence of uninquiring tradition, that it may be led to deny altogether that Christ has ever or at all come in the flesh.

It sounds well, and falls in well too with *natural* reason and popular sense, to magnify what is called spiritual religion as compared with a religion of outward ordinances and forms, and

to make Christianity turn on individual exercises transacted directly with God, in the sanctuary of the mind, aside from all regard to sacramental or other intervening media. But it ought to be borne in mind, that Christianity is not mere nature, and that to throw ourselves here on simply natural conceptions and impulses is in truth to substitute for it another theory of religion altogether. It comes to us as a system of redemption and salvation by a Mediator. It is throughout a mediatorial economy. The grace it reveals, is offered in Christ, not from a different quarter. It is offered in Christ again as Man; by the intervention of his flesh; through the door of his humanity, in the most real and true way. Under this form it is not something to be thought of merely, with however much devotion, on the part of the believer; the case calls for an actual participation in its life and power. Christianity is so constituted accordingly as to be dependent always on means, which have for their object this union and communion in a real way. Salvation in these circumstances is still a personal and inward or spiritual interest; *mere* relations and forms save no man; but it is made to hang on the medium of a special economy in the Church as the mystical body of Christ, serving to bind the subject in living union with his natural flesh or humanity; which is embraced and rested upon by faith accordingly for this purpose. Not to acknowledge this, but to insist on having access to God independently of any such special economy, by virtue simply of the relation in which all souls stand to him as the "Father of the spirits of all flesh," is not Christianity but Rationalism under the christian name.

"To assert the truth of Christ's presence — the reality of that union which binds the whole mystic body of His Church to the manhood of the Incarnate Word—is to maintain the reality of His Mediation, and the absolute necessity of that bond by which heaven and earth are united. For it is a necessary result of the cardinal truth of the Christian system—the truth, *i. e.*, that all gifts and blessings are introduced into our race through the intervention of that nobler member, who connects it with the Almighty. And herein is the Christian scheme of Mediation opposed to that theory of Rationalism, which rests upon the capacities of nature. The principle of Rationalism is, that man's improvement may be effected through those gifts which God bestowed upon him by creation, inasmuch as sufficient means of intercourse with the Supreme Spirit were provided by the law of his nature. Whereas the Church deals with man as a fallen race, whose original means of intercourse with God have been obstructed, and which needs a new and supernatural channel for the entrance of heavenly gifts. And this chan-

nel has been provided through the Man Jesus Christ. In His person did Godhead enter manhood, that through this one perfect type of humanity, it might 'leaven the whole lump.' Thus does the law of grace supersede the law of nature. If man had never fallen, to inherit the nature of the first Adam had been a sufficient means of communion with God. But because the natural means of communication have been cut off, that supernatural union is requisite which we obtain by participating the nature of the second Adam. Now, it is for the diffusion of this renewed and renewing manhood, that those media have been provided, whereby the Son of Man communicates Himself to His brethren. All the ordinances of the Church, its hallowed things, places, and persons—its worship and sacraments—are a series of instruments whereby the sanctified manhood of the Mediator diffuses itself as a life-giving seed through the mass of humanity. Thus does He continue to effect that work through His man's nature, which He avowed to be the very object of His earthly being: 'For their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth.' And for this office are external media as requisite, as were body and limbs to the truth of His human being. As He could not be a man without that substantial existence which revealed Him to the senses of mankind, so He could not be the Head of the Body Mystical, without the use of those actual media of intercourse, whereby He unites His living members to Himself."—*P.* 249–251.

There is no opposition between Christ and the Church, or between individual piety on the one hand and sacramental grace on the other; but just the reverse. Christ becomes full only in and by the Church; and personal experience is made solid and real, only as it rests on grace offered and appropriated from abroad. "To maintain that the outward means of grace, whereby we are united to the manhood of Christ, are not less necessary than those emotions of our own which have their seat within, is not to put the Church instead of Christ, but to protest against men's putting themselves in the place of their Redeemer. To speak of inward seriousness as necessary, is only to testify the truth of each man's separate responsibility; but to speak of it as superseding outward means, is to do away with the office of the 'One Mediator.' The individual life of each man's spirit, as opposed to the carelessness of a thoughtless walk, is the very treading down of Satan under our feet; but to contrast it with the value of Gospel ordinances, is to deny Christ, to depose him from his office of a Mediator, and to set up idols of intercession in our own hearts."—*P.* 270.

With this view of the significance of christian worship generally, the peculiar sense and power of the holy sacraments are

apprehended as a necessary consequence, the rejection of which must do violence to the whole Creed. They are "not only badges of profession" but also "certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace." They exhibit objectively the realities they represent. So we have it asserted very distinctly in the New Testament. Such was the faith, from the beginning, of the universal ancient Church. Such also is the original Protestant faith, as held by the two great confessions, Lutheran and Reformed, on the Continent, as well as by the Episcopcal Church in England. Our author closes his view of this subject with the following paragraph, which we commend specially to the consideration of all *evangelical* skeptics, who make a merit of sneering at the idea of sacramental grace, whether in the case of baptism or in the case of the Lord's supper, as though it were the same thing with the "*opus operatum*" itself in the worst sense of Rome.

"It remains only to recall that which has been already stated, as applicable to both the sacred ordinances which have been considered. The reality of both of them has been maintained: it has been affirmed that Baptism is not merely the expression of a charitable hope; that the Lord's supper is not a bare act of pious recollection. The essential principle of each of them has been shown to be union with the perfect manhood of Christ Our Lord. Let it be remembered only in conclusion, that to deny their reality is to assail the great principle of the Mediation of Christ. For the Doctrine of Our Lord's Mediation does not rest only on the Divine power of Christ, as a partaker in the nature of self-existent Godhead; it implies also that, by associating man's nature to His own, He has made created being the channel of His gifts. Now, as the media through which these gifts are dispensed to His brethren; as the ramifications, whereby His Divine nature distributes itself on the right hand and the left, these two Sacraments go together—their importance is equal—their effect alike—and to disparage them is to derogate from that principle of action which the wisdom of God has seen fitting to adopt. Every attempt to explain them away, every contrivance for extenuating the real import of what they effect, is a virtual detracting from the reality of that objective and actual influence, which Christ the Mediator is pleased to exert. Its tendency is to resolve His actions into a metaphor, and His existence into a figure of speech. His specific and personal agency as the Eternal Son, who in the fulness of time conjoined Himself to man's nature for the recovery of a fallen race, is merged in the general action of that ultimate Spirit, whom none but Atheists professedly reject. For the real objection against the Sacramental system does not arise from any deficiency in its Scriptural authority,

which has been shown to be ample, but from the abstract improbability that external ordinances can be the means of obtaining internal gifts. Now, this improbability rests on the circumstance that the *natural* mean of connexion with God is the intercourse of mind with mind, and consequently that the intercourse through Sacraments is *supernatural*. The connexion with God, *i. e.* which man received by creation, and which Rationalism affirms to be sufficient for his wants, is more compatible with men's natural position, than that new system of Mediation which has been revealed in the Gospel. But let the doctrine of mediation be admitted, and it ceases to be an argument against the Sacramental system that it does not accord with that scheme of nature, which the Gospel professes to supersede. And the Rationalistic argument against these means of grace, is of equal avail against that whole scheme of Mediation upon which they are dependent. If the natural intercourse of mind with the unembodied mind of the Creator supersedes the necessity of Sacramental ordinances, does it not supersede equally the humanity of Christ? If man has still that immediate communion with God, of which Scripture affirms that the Fall deprived him, what need is there of a Mediator between them? Thus does the objection mount up from earth to heaven—from Christ feeding men below through Sacraments, to Christ mediating above by His Atonement and Intercession. For 'if we have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if we tell you of heavenly things?' If the Sacraments be thus emptied of their meaning, it is because the present actings of Christ as the Son of Man are not appreciated; and the purposes of His Incarnation are forgotten. And this forgetfulness again may be traced to disbelief in that real diversity of Persons in the Blessed Trinity, in which all creaturely existence has its ultimate root. Thus does a practical Sabellianism respecting Christ's Person coincide with that Rationalistic theory, by which the reality of His Sacraments is disputed. And their surrender is fatal to the true Doctrine concerning Himself, even as the true doctrine of His nature sets the importance of these instruments in a proper light."—P. 346-348.

Archdeacon Wilberforce is of course a High Churchman, and his whole work is designed to be in favor of Episcopacy as established in the Church of England. At the same time however, he knows very well how to distinguish between the form of Christianity in this view and its true interior life and substance. There are two sorts of high churchmanship. One starts with a certain system of outward order, as though it were the first thing, the main thing, settled and sure by divine appointment in and of itself, and made to inclose thus externally all truth besides as its necessary boundary and hedge. In this way, too often, we

find Episcopalian laying all stress on their favorite system, as of divine right and obligation apart from its own contents altogether ; as though Christ had been pleased to provide by such an outward institute in the first place for the safe-keeping of his truth and grace, and it were possible now by simply historical evidence, or in the way of ecclesiastical tradition, to make sure of this always as the necessary condition and medium of reaching what lies beyond. Episcopacy, with this way of thinking, is taken to be the primary interest of Christianity, an indispensable stepping stone at least, or threshhold, to all that constitutes its interior sanctuary. It is to be accepted first as the necessary inclosure and platform of the Church. Vast pains are taken to establish its claims in this abstract view, on grounds and reasons that have nothing to do whatever with the inward constitution of Christianity itself ; and vast affectation follows, in parading such merely outward prerogative as a substitute for everything else, and a sufficient apology for overlooking and despising all earnest thought under a different form. This is pedantry, and so far as it prevails tends naturally and of right to bring the Church theory, with which it is associated, into discredit and contempt. But there is another way of holding and asserting the claims of the Church. It is to begin, not with the circumference of Christianity, but with its centre, the mystery of the Incarnation as we find it set forth in the Creed, and so to proceed to what flows from this for faith by necessary consequence and derivation. In this way the *idea* of the Church comes first ; and what its actualization may be found to comprehend subsequently, is apprehended and accepted in such living inward connection, not as something external to the proper christian life, but as the very form and expression of this life itself. It is in this order, that Archdeacon Wilberforce presses the claims of his subject. He sees the danger of substituting the Church as a formal system in place of its Head, and finds the only right security against it in the sense of their inward relation to each other as it springs from the christological fact itself.

" So long as the Church is regarded as an external system, based on certain laws and administered by certain leaders, it can never fail to enlist a measure of that party spirit which belongs to man's nature, and thus to draw away attention from the holy purposes for which it was instituted. The only safeguard against this danger is the due subordination of its external frame-work to its internal principle ; and the constant recognition that its life depends, not on the gifts of government, but on the gifts of grace. If the es-

sence of the Church's existence be that certain men have a right to rule, and teach, and minister, whether they be chosen by the free voice of the congregation, imposed by government, or delegated by the Apostles, there is such large opening for cabal and dispute, that love and peace and Christ's presence will soon be lost in the din of party strife. The Presbyterian platform offers as good footing to the spirit of partisanship as the system of Episcopacy ; and the Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts were as ready to persecute as Boniface or Hildebrand. But let the essence of the Church's existence be felt to be Christ's presence—let it be remembered that His manhood is the true seed of the renewed race, and that through spiritual presence it bestows its life-giving power on all the members of His mystic body—let every other question be dependent upon these—let them take their place, as of subordinate importance, and as merely contributing to this great result—and what room is there for discord between Christ and the Church, when the Church is Christ Himself manifest in His mystic body? 'For no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church.' The theorist may be unvisited by the sun's warmth while he discusses its nature, or the poet while he describes its brilliancy ; but how can we loose sight of his glorious beams by going forth to walk in the sunshine ? And so long as this Divine principle is kept fully in view, it can hardly fail to soften and elevate those whom it influences. So that if the harshness of party-spirit be not cured, it may at least be abated."—P. 268–269.

High Churchmanship, in this view, is everywhere entitled to respect. The Creed owns it in distinct terms, and it meets us from all sides in the faith of the early Church ; to such an extent indeed that without it there can be no power to understand or appreciate this faith fully in any direction. The inferences which some feel authorised to draw from the idea of the Church in favor of Episcopacy, or farther still in favor of Romanism, are another thing. We have nothing to do with them here, in the way either of favor or opposition. They are at all events not what can be considered first and foremost, either as to evidence or importance, in this great question of the Church. There is a wide field of theological truth beyond them, and back of them in the order of faith, which it is quite possible for us to enter and possess intelligently before coming to their settlement and resolution at all, and which indeed we *must* possess with such preliminary occupation, in order to be at all qualified for this secondary work. For what is a man's faith worth in Episcopacy for instance, as a divine institution, who has not in the first place, as the root and ground of this a firm faith in the idea of "one, holy, catholic Church" as necessarily flowing from the

idea of the Incarnation, and whose mind is not led from this centre out to the other supposed necessary peripheral interest of Christianity, rather than in the reverse order from what is the circumference merely to the centre? And so on the other hand what is a man's rejection of Episcopacy worth, or his rejection we may add of Romanism itself, if it be not supported from behind by any true acknowledgment of the mystery of Christ and his Church, as we find it proclaimed from the beginning in the universal christian Creed? A controversy about Episcopacy between those who have not in their minds the sense of the Church as a divine mystery in the world, under the form of an *a priori* necessity starting in Christ, must ever be a waste of words more or less, on both sides. As such an *a priori* object of faith, then, the idea of the Church offers wide scope for contemplation and inquiry back of this controversy altogether; and in the circumstances of the present time especially, it is of the utmost account that this preliminary ground should be properly regarded and fairly taken into use under its separate character, without embarrassment from any such relations, which after all are of secondary rather than primary account, and even if taken in this view to be absolutely necessary, must still be held to be so in the way of derivation only from what goes before and not as its ground and cause. We like this book of Wilberforce on this account. However much it may aim to serve the cause of Episcopacy, that is not made the front at all of its argument. It starts with the beginning, and not with what at best should be counted only as the end. It plants itself on deeper ground, and throws itself back on the substance of Christianity as something older than Episcopacy, something that must of necessity underlie all its pretensions and claims, if they are to be found in any case worthy of respect. It is an argument for the idea of the Church, as founded on the glorious mystery of the Word made flesh and its perennial force in the world, which all who call themselves christians are bound to own and confess, whether such acknowledgment be felt to involve Episcopal conclusions or not. We may resist these, if it seem fit, and yet allow in full the force of what is involved in the idea of the Church as their supposed foundation. The inquiry here offered to our view, though in Episcopal hands, belongs in truth to Christianity in its most comprehensive character and form; all denominations, that have not formally or informally renounced the Apostles' Creed, may meet here as on common territory; for the question of the Church, as an article of faith, is one in which they are all alike bound to take interest, whatever may be their difference of view in regard to the outward form and order of the Church.

This deserves to be well understood and considered. The question with which we are first concerned in this great case, has nothing to do directly with Episcopacy or any other outward constitution as such ; it regards the being of the Church, and its primary attributes, as an article of faith, in the sense of the ancient world. Is the faith of the ancient Church on this subject, as we find it uttered among the supposed fundamentals of the Creed, to be accepted as something still in force, or is it to be rejected as an empty dream and idle superstition ? Is the Holy Catholic Church, as it once filled the soul of Christendom, a "figment," or is it still as in the beginning a divine fact on which men are required to lean as the very "pillar and ground of the truth" that starts in Christ ? The misery of much of our modern religion is, not just that it differs from this or that particular form of church life, which may be supposed to have distinguished the early Church, but that the Church itself is taken to be a wholly different thing. It is notorious that the Church, according to the universal sense of the ancient christian world, was held to be the repository actually of superhuman powers among men, the medium not metaphorically but really and truly of grace lodged in its very constitution, from Christ its head, for the salvation of sinners. In such view only was it regarded as an object of *faith*. It was identified with the idea of Christ's Mediation, as a perennial fact in the world. The foundation of the christian life was held to be objectively at hand in its institutions, for the use of all who might lay hold of it by their means. Prophetic and priestly functions were felt to belong to it, as the Body of Christ. Its sacraments were regarded as vehicles, by the Spirit, of the high and solemn realities they were framed to represent. The idea of a mystical supernatural force going along with the activity of the Church, was acknowledged in every sort of way on all sides. All this is notorious ; and it is just as notorious, on the other hand, that for much of our modern evangelical thinking this whole conception of the Church has gone entirely out of authority and date. A painful chasm holds here between much of our modern religious habit and the religion of the ancient Church. It becomes accordingly a great question, and the *first* we need to settle in relation to ecclesiastical order, (without clear and full answer to which it is vain to agitate any other questions in regard to it,) whether in this issue the ancient faith, or the modern variation now noticed, is to be taken as the true sense of Christianity. Church or No-church ; that is the point which first requires to be settled. And to do this, it is not necessary to proceed empirically, or in other words to be ruled by mere out-

ward observation. Back of all *Lo here*, or *Lo there*, in this case, is the necessary constitution of the Church itself as an article, not of sight, but of faith. That starts in Christ; and according to the view we have of Christ, in the end, will be and must be our view also of the Church. We come to the true conception of the Church through a true and sound Christology, (as in the Creed,) and in no other way.

J. W. N.

MEMORIALS OF JOHN BARTRAM AND HUMPHRY MARSHALL.

Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall. By William Darlington, M. D., L. L. D. etc., with illustrations.—pp. 585. Lindsay and Blakiston, Philadelphia.—1849.

To rescue from oblivion the existing memorials of John Bartram, founder of the celebrated garden, near Philadelphia, which bears his name, and Humphry Marshall, author of the “*Arbustum Americanum*,” the first treatise on plants ever written and published by an American,—men of Quaker descent and of native Pennsylvanian growth, who, while our country was yet new and filled with hostile savage tribes, while the study of Natural History, even in Europe, was yet in its infancy, before the star of Linnæus had risen to its full height, with no advantages of education beyond those afforded by the common school, which, at that day, must have been few indeed, and without the aids of fortune, led by natural taste, ventured forth into the wilderness, to explore and gather the vegetable treasures of so vast a region, travelling by manifold journeys, unprotected amid a thousand dangers, along the whole eastern slope of the Alleghenies, from the shores of the St. Lawrence to the swamps and everglades of Florida,—was a task that no one could execute half so well as the learned editor of the “*Reliquiae Baldwinianæ*.” He deserves the hearty thanks of “the lovers of Botany, on both sides of the Atlantic,” to whom he has been pleased to dedicate this superb volume.

The value of the work is greatly enhanced by an article on the progress of the Science on this continent, judicious notes, and biographical sketches of Bartram, Marshall, and their botanical contemporaries. But it owes its bulk to letters to and from distinguished naturalists and philosophers at home and abroad,

among whom were Linnæus, Franklin, Logan, Clayton, Catesby, Gronovius, Sir Hans Sloane, Fothergill, Miller and Dillenius.

Bartram's chief correspondent, however, was Peter Collinson, a wealthy merchant of London, and a member of the Society of Friends. His memory is well preserved in the beautiful genus *Collinsonia*. The letters, which passed between them, during a period of thirty-four years, from 1734 to 1768, by reason of the absence of scientific terms, the quaint simplicity of the style, the honest enthusiasm everywhere manifest, and the frequent allusion to interesting political events of the time, must charm any one, who has even but a general knowledge of our indigenous plants and animals.

To the editor, eminently fitted, as he is, by long and thorough acquaintance with the Flora of the Atlantic States, north and south, it must have been a rare pleasure to trace out and identify the plants, described by Bartram in common language, and known to him mostly by their vulgar names. We coincide with his decisions in all cases, save two, where he seems himself to have been in doubt.

The "waggish *Tipitiwitchet* Sensitive," which made the Frenchman "ready to burst with laughter" (p. 243), and was so highly esteemed by Friend Peter, that he would spare Linnæus only a *single leaf*, as he says (p. 251): "O, Botany, delightfullest of all sciences! There is no end of thy gratifications. All botanists will join with me in thanking my dear John, for his unwearied pains to gratify every inquisitive genius. I have sent Linnæus a specimen and *one leaf* of *Tipitioitchet* Sensitive: only to him would I spare such a jewel. Pray send more specimens. I am afraid we can never raise it. Linnæus will be in raptures at the sight of it—"this pretty *Tipitiwitchet*," alluded to also on pages 241, 245, 248, 249, and 275, cannot be the *Schrankia uncinata*, Willd., as may be seen at once by comparing Claytons two letters on pages 408 and 411. In the first he writes, "I intend sending you some seeds of *our thoray Sensitive Plant* (*Schrankia?*)" (most probably the *Schrankia uncinata*, Willd., which grows in Southern Virginia, where Clayton resided), and in the second, "I should be glad of a little seed of the *Carolina Tipitiwitchet* or Sensitive Plant. I dare say, my friend Mr. Franklin would be kind enough to frank a small parcel of seeds from you to him." The *Tipitiwitchet* was not, then, found in Virginia, but came from Carolina, and accords so well with the *Dionaea muscipula*, Ellis, that we cannot help thinking it must be the plant meant. John Bartram had a brother living at Cape Fear, N. C., in the midst of the circumscribed

locality of the *Dionaea*, and his son William, ten years after Collinson received the Tipitiwitchet, bears the following testimony: "Observed likewise in these Savannahs' abundance of the *ludicrous* *Dionaea muscipula* (*Dionaea*, Ellis. epis. ad Linneum, miraculum naturæ, folia biloba, radicalia, ciliata, conduplicanda, sensibilia, insecta incarcerantia.—Syst. vegetab. p. 335). This wonderful plant seems to be distinguished in the creation, by the Author of nature, with faculties eminently superior to every other vegetable production; specimens of it were first communicated to the curious of the old world by John Bartram, the American botanist and traveller, who contrituted as much, if not more, than any other man towards enriching the North American botanical nomenclature, as well as its natural history."—(Travels, p. 470).

The other case in which we differ from the worthy editor occurs on page 422, in a letter from John Bartram to Moses or William Bartram, at Cape Fear, N. C.—"Next day he lent me his horse to ride over the Congaree, seventy miles, to Georgia. In this ride, I found a wonderful variety of rare plants and shrubs, particularly a glorious evergreen, about four or five feet high, and much branched, in very small twigs growing upright. The leaves are much like the Newfoundland Spruce, rather smaller, and grow around the twigs close, like it. The seed is very small in little capsules, as big as mustard (Cyrilla racemiflora, L.?)". Now *Cyrilla racemiflora*, J., has lanceolate leaves, and was known to Bartram as the "plumed Andromeda" (v. p. 549). Without doubt, this "glorious evergreen," should not be set down as *Cyrilla racemiflora*, L.?, but certainly as *Ceratiola ericoides*, Willd., which abounds on the hills north of Augusta, Ga., the point where Bartram would be most likely to strike the Savannah, and agrees precisely with his graphic description.

Reluctantly do we close our brief notice of this entertaining volume, which in every way reflects honor on the State, and hope that the author will continue his labors in this field of history and record the bloodless triumphs of other men of science, who have lived and died within our borders.

Mercersburg, Pa.

T. C. P.

* Savannahs just south of Wilmington, N. C.

ISLE ROYALE.

[At a time, a few years since when the Copper fever had reached the crisis of delirium, happened the truthful incident recorded in the following lines. A 'company' had secured a 'location' on the southern shore of Isle Royale in Lake Superior. In order to maintain a Squatter's claim to their territory,—the lands being then, as they yet are, governmental possessions,—a hut was reared upon the premises, and a man, Charles Mott by name, together with his wife, Angelica, carried thither and left. Stores were supplied thought to be quite sufficient for the ample maintenance, through the long winter at hand, of the solitary two ; but the event proved otherwise. The Island, full of loneliness as it is, is all loneliness. Of birds, away from those of prey, and water fowl, there are almost none, save of one species, about the size of a sparrow, and of a voice, that is singing day long and all night, clear as a lark's, and musical as a nightingale's ; but they abound. The miners call this bird the Pe-dee. Of beasts a stray fox, or a deer, travelled perilously on the ice from the Canada Shore, are only ever seen, and that rarely. Unable, consequently, when their provisions were exhausted, to have them renewed by such resource, the Squatter and his wife were driven to the worst extremity of destitution. The earlier life and habits of the latter, (she was Indian-born, and forest-bred,) qualified her for sterner endurance than the other, and she yet lives at the Saut Ste. Marie to testify of that time, and of its trials.]

By the fair heaven it is a sight
 That thrills one's soul to see !
 Oh, laughing lake ! oh, leaping light
 Oh, crystal sky, and pearly tide,
 Where sunshine seems a curtain, thrown
 Abroad the sea and air, to hide
 Some purer lustre not its own !
 Where cliff and crag with clouded brow,
 Upon the dancing waves below,
 Look stern and frowningly ;
 And sombre pines, thick clustering,
 Abroad their veiling shadows fling,
 Mellowing the gleam to softer hue,
 They seek, but vainly, to subdue !
 Oh, for a home mid such a scene
 Of wilderness and evergreen !

Where limped streams with silvery song
 Speed music as they trip along;
 Where sparkling dews from dawn to dawn
 Unwasting, pearl the jewelled lawn;
 Where wet with mists they latest drank,
 Gay-tinted flowers illume the bank,
 And mosses throw their fettered links
 O'er rocky juts and water-brinks!
 Sure skill of elf or fay ne'er wrought
 The dream-work of a lovelier spot!—
 “Aye, gentle sir, ‘twere sooth you say,
 Did sunshine rule each changing day:
 But winter clouds fill summer skies,
 And fair winds fall when gales arise.”
 It was the *Voyageur* that spoke,
 As, pausing mid the paddle-stroke
 He leaned upon his oar.
 “Now, mark,” quoth he, “while I would tell,
 Of what in yonder glade befell,
 Hard by upon the shore.”
 Fairly within a sheltering bay
 Our breasting bark had borne its way,
 And then, the favoring harbor won,
 The boatman thus his theme began.

RIME OF THE VOYAGEUR.

’Tis midnight over land and lake,
 And by the tempest’s cry,
 There’s tumult in the air awake,
 And terror in the sky!

The clouds are drifting wild abreast,
 And far, with swollen sail,—
 The dun clouds from the bleak nor’west,
 Sped by the rushing gale.

’Tis morn: the blast maintains its wrath,
 But frownless opes the day,
 And mounting high on glittering path,
 Ascends the dawning ray.

“Throw wide the door! let in the sun!
 There needs no thirst of light,
 To bar the beams that waste and run,
 And starve the famished sight!

"It is enough to bear the pang,
 That wrings the frame so sore,
 Of hunger's rankling venom-fang—
 Too much to make it more.

"Let in the light! let in the light!
 And go, ANGELICA,—
 A sail can ride through storm and night,
 Perchance—go look, I pray."

The hutman said, and feebly leant
 Upon his wasted arm,
 And watched the waves that sped and spent,
 And heard their hoarse alarm.

The winter cold, unpityingly,
 Had dealt with cruel hand;
 Its icy armor girt the sea,
 Its snows o'erlaid the land.

Alone upon that island rude,
 Long months of weary tide,
 Had dwelt and loved, through ill and good,
 Carl and his Indian bride.

Ill fared they in the fruitless waste,
 For as the dull time wore,
 Perished the guarded crust at last,
 That formed their final store.

Then famine came!—Stranger pray God,
 So thou may'st never know
 The pains that gnaw—consume—corrode—
 That brought that strong man low.

Inured to want, her threatening lot
 The forest-wife withstood,
 While pithless fare in misery sought,
 Supplied a scanty food.

And day by day the hours rolled on,
 And shrivelled, shrank and wan,
 A gaunt and ghastly Skeleton
 There lay the grieved hutman.

"Speak wife; what hope doth morning bring?—
 Say'st thou a sail!—a sail!"

"—It was a sea-gull's flashing wing,
That darted thwart the gale!"

"Stay, heard'st thou not high o'er the jar
Of waves that shrilly cry?"

"—An eagle's scream echoed afar,
That swept careering by!"

"The bark! the bark!—its creaking mast—
The dashing of its prow
I heard, as bounding free and fast—
Hark! hark! I hear it now!

"It is the brave crew's mingled shout,
And gallantly 'tis sped;—
Haste, fling the tattered signal out!—
Bread, holy Virgin, bread!

"Was it a treason of the brain?
Hath sense so learned to err?
I pause to meet the sound again,
And now there's none astir.

"It must be so!—Cease, cease my heart,
Lie still within thy cell!
Now light, and love, and hope depart,
Now life, my life, farewell.

"Farewell!—it was *their* parting word,
And, oh, it grieved me sore,
That home-adieu, the last I heard
When parting from the door.

"My father! did thy soul fore-fear
Aught boding else than well,
As on my palm in thine, a tear,
What time thou blest me, fell?

"Sister! a dimness palls my brow,
My pulse runs strangely wild,—
Come, throw thine arms around me now;
God bless thee, gentle child.

"Say, hang the ripe fruits, Ellie, mine,
Upon the garden tree?—
The purple clusters on the vine?—
And are they not for me?

"But now my weary head needs rest:
 Mother!—how fades the light!—
 Here, let me dream upon thy breast,
 And so—good night—good night!"

"A sail! a sail! ho, Carl, awake!
 Lo, 'tis no treacherous guile;
 It glides swift bounding o'er the lake,
 It steereth for our isle!"

"Arouse! arouse!"—aye when the blast
 Of judgment-time is sped!
 Then shall the sleeper wake at last—
 Christ shield him—Carl is dead!"

* * * *

"How say'st thou, stranger?"—urge thine oar,
 Good *Voyageur*, and prate no more.
 To-night my dreams shall thither roam—
 To-morrow guide our bark for home!"

Pittsburg, February, 1850.

R. P. N.

THE REFORMED CHURCH.

[The following article forms the *Introduction* to an unpublished work, entitled "The History of the German Reformed Church in its origin and Progress," by the late Rev. Dr. LEWIS MAYER. It is generally known that this distinguished and excellent man had devoted himself, particularly after his retirement from the place so long honorably occupied by him in the Theological Seminary of the G. R. Church, to the task of preparing such a work, with reference especially to the rise and progress and present state of the Reformed division of the German Church in America. The feeble character of his health, added to the difficulties of the undertaking itself, led to much interruption and delay in its execution; and we are sorry to find now, since his decease, that the work as a whole is too incomplete altogether to be given to the world in a printed form. A part of it however, it is believed may yet appear in this way; being of sufficient interest and importance to justify its publication in such separate form, as well as in a state of proper preparation for the press under the author's own hand.]

The title Reformed Church, in its most comprehensive sense, designates all those professing Christians, who, embracing the

general system of doctrine which was taught by the Reformers, have rejected Luther's theory of a corporeal presence of Christ in the elements of the Lord's supper, and hold, in this particular, the belief of Zwingli, or that of Calvin. These christians constitute several distinct communities, each of which has its particular bond of union and differs from every other in some peculiarities which are sometimes of no little importance. They agree in few things about which they differ from Luther and his followers, except in their view of the Lord's supper. These communities are therefore so many distinct churches, and instead of calling them the Reformed Church, we must call them the Reformed Churches.

The title *Reformed*, was first assumed, in France, by those who separated from the Romish communion, and was adopted from them by their brethren in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, &c. In England it is used to denote all the churches which have embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and thus includes the Lutheran. On the continent it is the distinctive title of those Protestant communities which are not Lutheran, exclusive of Socinians and Anabaptists.

The French Protestants, were by their adversaries called Huguenots. The derivation of this term is somewhat uncertain. It is, however, very probable that it originated in a corrupt French pronunciation of the German word *Eidgenoss*, softened into *Eidgenott*, and then corrupted into *Huguenot*. The word *Eidgenoss*, in its plural *Eidgenossen* signifying *confederates*, or rather *partakers of the oath*, was originally the designation of the thirty-three Swiss confederates, who, in the night of the seventh of November 1307, bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend the liberties of their country against the Emperor ALBERT I. It became subsequently the distinctive title of the confederated Cantons which were parties to a perpetual league for the common defence and safety, and, in common parlance, was used to denote the people of those Cantons individually.

In *Germany* the Reformed were denominated, by their opponents *Zwinglians* and *Calvinists*, and in derision *Sacramentarians*. English writers speak of the two principal Protestant denominations on the continent as the Lutheran church and the Calvinistic church. This, however, is an erroneous distinction. The Reformed churches on the continent are not all Calvinistic. In some parts of *Germany* they never received Calvin's doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation; and the writer is not aware that it is, at this time, made a term of communion anywhere in the Reformed church of that country. This doctrine,

which constitutes the principal feature of the system to which name *Calvinism* is given, was taught in the Christian church long before Calvin, has always had adherents who, were not in connection with the Reformed church, and was held by Luther Melancthon, &c., themselves. The term *Zwinglians* is equally inappropriate. Zwingli held some opinions, both in doctrine and in church government, which were at no time generally received in the Reformed church, and in some of which he had few followers even in his own country.

As members of the Reformed church we are not pledged to receive and defend the system either of Calvin, or of Zwingli, or of any other man, except so far as it is in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. We acknowledge no master on earth; one is our master, even Christ. To his authority we submit with humble and cheerful acquiescence; we set at his feet in the character of learners, and receive his instructions as the teaching of God. He only is the Lord of conscience, and only his decision can limit the right of private judgment, and the freedom of enquiry. The memory of those great men who were instrumental in restoring the light of truth and the blessings of religious liberty is justly held in high veneration, and their faults are forgotten in the grateful remembrance of the benefits which they have conferred; but we do not forget that they were fallible men, and that God never could design to liberate us from the domination of one earthly master that we might be subjected to that of another.

The principal divisions of the Reformed church are the Helvetic or Swiss Reformed, the German Reformed, the French Reformed, the Dutch Reformed, and the English Reformed. The Waldenses and the Bohemian brethren are of the Reformed persuasion; and there are also many Reformed churches in *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Transylvania*, and other countries of *Europe*. The Reformed churches of *Switzerland* and of *Germany* may be taken as one, and comprised under the general designation of German Reformed, inasmuch as they use the same language, and differ in nothing that is of importance.

The English Reformed Church is subdivided into the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational or Independent, which have embraced different theories of church government. Dr. Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of the state of the Reformed church in the eighteenth century, says, "The Church of *Eng'land* is now the chief and leading branch of that great community that goes under the denomination of the Reformed Church." He means the established church of *Eng-*

land, which is the Episcopal. This representation differs widely from the impressions which are common in this country. It is imagined here, that the two great English churches, the Episcopal and the Presbyterian, must correspond to the two great German churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed; and it is common to speak of the Episcopal church as the English Lutheran, and of the German Reformed as the German Presbyterian. This is an error which ought to be avoided. The Episcopal church, which disallows the ordination of all other churches that are not governed by bishops, and, so far as the rigid party in it are concerned, does not allow that they are Christian churches at all, differs more from the Lutheran Church than the Lutheran differs from any other of the Reformed churches. Though the Presbyterian Church and the German Reformed are both members of the same family, they are not one and the same member, any more than is the Episcopal or the Congregational. The difference of language is not the only difference, nor the most important one, subsisting between them. The German Reformed Church is governed by Elders and Deacons,¹ both of which are elected for limited periods; the Presbyterian Church is governed by Elders only, and these are chosen and ordained for life. The Reformed Church observes the festivals of Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsuntide, in commemoration of the birth, the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Christ, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles; the Presbyterian rejects all holy-days except the Lord's day, on the ground that all others are of human appointment, and thus disallows the principle which other Christians hold, that the Church itself may set apart sacred seasons for the purpose of particularly commemorating the great leading facts of the Christian history, and contemplating the manifestations which they give of the riches of divine grace in our redemption. The German Reformed Church, like the Lutheran, considers the Lord's day a sacred season set apart for the performance of the ordinary public worship of God, and deriving all its sacredness from the service to which it is appointed; the Presbyterian regards the day as intrinsically holy. Presbyterians consider it the Sabbath enjoined by the fourth commandment, but modified by our Lord as to the day, and the penalty of its violation, and derive its sanctity from the fact that the seventh day is the day of God's resting from all his work. The

¹ In Switzerland it has neither lay-elders nor deacons.

Reformed Church admits the use of a liturgy in the worship of God and the administration of the sacraments; the Presbyterian rejects all set forms in its sacred ministrations as inconsistent with the spirituality and the freedom of Christian worship. The Presbyterian Church is strictly Calvinistic in her creed, and pronounces Arminianism, and all approaches to it, heresy, which it refuses to tolerate in its communion; the German Reformed Church indulges greater liberty of conscience to her members, and cherishes equally the Calvinist and the Arminian in her bosom. There is, therefore, as much difference, and of as much importance, between the German Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church, as there is between any two other Protestant churches, except, in some respects, the Episcopalian; and it is consequently a great mistake to imagine that the languages which they use constitute all the difference between them.

The terms Episcopal, or Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational, have respect to the form of Church government in the several Churches to which these designations are respectively given. *Episcopal*, from the Greek *Episcopos*, a bishop, denotes a government of the Church by bishops, in the modern sense of this title. In this sense the bishop is the head of a diocese, and has under his jurisdiction two other orders of inferior clergy, namely, the order of priests, and, below this, the order of deacons. Each of these orders has its appropriate functions, and all are subject to the bishop's directions. *Presbyterian*, from the Greek *Presbyteros*, an elder, designates a government of the Church by elders. There are preaching elders or ministers of the word, and ruling elders. They constitute the several judicatories by which the Church is governed, which are essentially the Session and the Presbytery. The Session consists of the minister and the elders of a particular congregation. It manages the internal concerns of the congregation; but an appeal may be taken from its decision to the Presbytery. A Presbytery is composed of the minister and an elder from each of the congregations within certain bounds. It administers the external relation of the congregations within its bounds, and has an appellate jurisdiction in matters of internal interest. A Synod is an assemblage of several Presbyteries. The General Assembly is a delegated body composed of the representatives of all the Presbyteries, and deriving all its authority from them. An appeal can be taken from the Presbytery to the Synod, and from the Synod to the General Assembly, which is the court of final judicature: but neither the Synod nor the Assembly is essential to Presbyterianism. Congregational denotes a form of government which considers each particular congregation a perfect and independent commu-

nity within itself. "Every Christian society formed upon the congregational plan is strictly independent of every other religious society." It transacts all its own affairs, decides every question without appeal, and acknowledges no binding authority in the decisions of any number of congregations acting by delegates in an associated capacity.

The German Reformed Church differs from all these. She is essentially Presbyterian in her church government, as she holds the principle of the purity of all ordained ministers; but the form of her government is not in all respects the same as that of the Presbyterian Church; neither do her judicatories possess the same coercive power. The Dutch Reformed Chnrch is, in this respect, more like the Presbyterian; the German Reformed more like the Lutheran.

"The nature and constitution of the Reformed Church," says Dr. Mosheim, "which was formerly denominated by its adversaries after its founders Zwingli and Calvin, is entirely different from all other ecclesiastical communities. Every other christian church has some common centre of union, and its members are connected together by some common bond of doctrine and discipline. But this is far from being the case of the Reformed Church, whose several branches are neither united by the same system of doctrine, nor by the same mode of worship, nor yet by the same form of government. It is farther to be observed that this church does not require from its ministers either uniformity in their private sentiments, or in their public doctrine, but permits them to explain in different ways several doctrines of no small moment, provided that the great and fundamental principles of Christianity, and the practical precepts of that divine religion, be maintained in their original purity. This great community, therefore, may be properly considered as an ecclesiastical body composed of several churches, that vary, more or less from each other in their form and constitution; but which are preserved, however, from anarchy and schisms, by a general spirit of equity and toleration, that runs through the whole system, and renders variety of opinion consistent with fraternal union."

"This indeed," the same author continues, "was not the original state and constitution of the Reformed Church, but was the result of a certain combination of events and circumstances, that threw it, by a sort of necessity, into this ambiguous form. The doctors of Switzerland, from whom it derived its origin, and Calvin, who was one of its principal founders, employed all their credit, and exerted their most vigorous efforts, in order to reduce all the churches, which embraced their sentiments, under one

rule of faith, and the same form of ecclesiastical government. And although they considered the Lutherans as their brethren, yet they shewed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favored the opinions of Luther, concerning the *Eucharist*, the *Person of Christ*, *Predestination*, and other matters that were connected with these doctrines ; nor would they permit the other Protestant churches, that embraced their communion, to deviate from their example in this respect. A new scene, however, which was exhibited in *Britain*, contributed much to enlarge this narrow and contracted system of Church communion. For when the violent contest concerning the form of ecclesiastical government, and the nature and number of those rites and ceremonies that were proper to be admitted into the public worship, arose between the abettors of Episcopacy and the Puritans, it was judged necessary to extend the borders of the Reformed Church, and rank in the class of its true members, even those who departed, in some respects, from the ecclesiastical polity and doctrines established at Geneva. This spirit of toleration and indulgence grew still more forbearing and comprehensive after the famous Synod of *Dort*. For though the sentiments and doctrines of the Arminians were condemned in that numerous assembly, yet they gained ground privately, and insinuated themselves into the minds of many. The church of *England*, under the reign of Charles I. publicly renounced the opinions of Calvin relating to the divine decrees, and made several attempts to model its doctrine and institutions after the laws, tenets, and customs, that were observed by the primitive Christians. On the other hand, several Lutheran congregations in *Germany* entertained a strong propensity to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of *Geneva*; though they were restrained from declaring themselves fully and openly on this head, by their apprehensions of forfeiting the privileges they derived from their adherence to the confession of *Augsburg*. The French refugees also, who had long been accustomed to a moderate way of thinking in religious matters, and whose national turn led them to a certain freedom of inquiry, being dispersed abroad in all parts of the Protestant world, rendered themselves so agreeable by their wit and eloquence, that their example excited a kind of emulation in favor of religious liberty. All these circumstances, accompanied with others whose influence was less palpable, though equally real, instilled, by degrees, such a spirit of levity and forbearance into the minds of Protestants, that at this day, all Christians, if we except Roman Catholics, Socinians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, may claim a place among the members of the Re-

formed Church. It is true, great reluctance was discovered by many against this comprehensive scheme of church-communion ; and, even in the times in which we live, the ancient and less charitable manner of proceeding hath several patrons, who would be glad to see the doctrines and institutions of Calvin universally adopted, and rigorously observed. The number, however, of these rigid doctors is not very great, nor is their influence considerable. And it may be affirmed with truth that, both in point of number and authority, they are much inferior to the friends of moderation, who reduce within a narrow compass the fundamental doctrines of Christianity on the belief of which salvation depends, exercise forbearance and fraternal charity towards those who explain certain doctrines in a manner peculiar to themselves, and desire to see the enclosure (if I may use that expression) of the Reformed Church rendered as large and comprehensive as possible."

What this learned writer says of the Reformed Church collectively is not equally applicable to all the several communities that are comprehended in it, nor of all the same communities in every period of their existence. These different communities have but little connection with one another ; and their agreement on those points in which they differ from the Roman Catholics, or from the Lutherans, cannot prevent their disagreement about some other things which, in their estimation, are of equal or of greater moment : neither can it wholly prevent the indulgence of those feelings which controversy among themselves has a tendency to excite and to nourish. But upon the whole, and as applied to the Reformed church in general, the author's remarks are just ; and as far as they are just, they do it great honor. It is only to be regretted that they are not applicable without modification, or without exception : for nothing certainly can be more in unison with the spirit of the Gospel, and with the mind of its divine author, than that, as we cannot all agree about every shade of doctrine and of worship, we should agree to differ without an interruption of fraternal harmony and of christian love.

The remark of Dr. Mosheim, That the Reformed shewed no marks of indulgence to those who openly favored the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, the person of Christ, or predestination, implies that Luther did not hold the doctrine of predestination, and that it was exclusively a doctrine of the Reformed Church. This is incorrect. Luther held the doctrine of predestination as rigidly as Zwingli or Calvin. There was no controversy on this point between the reformers, nor between the

two churches for some time after Luther's death. In departing from this doctrine, the Lutheran Church became a follower, not of Luther, but of Melancthon, who himself had been, for many years, a strenuous predestinarian.

Another remark, That the Church of *England*, under the reign of Charles I. publicly renounced the doctrine of Calvin concerning the divine decrees, is also inaccurate. "Though many members of that church, with Archbishop Laud at their head, taught the doctrines of Arminius, and propagated them in that reign, there was no public act of the Church by which it renounced the sentiments of Calvin, and adopted those of Arminius."¹

A complete separate history of the Reformed Church has not yet been published. It was undertaken by Abraham Schultet of the Palatinate, and brought down as far as his own time, in his *Annales Evangelici Norinati*, the greater part of which is lost. Among the works which have appeared in this department of literature are the following:

Histoire de la religion des Eglises Reformees depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'a present, par Mons J. Basnage, 2 vol. 1 to. 1721. "This work is not a regular history of the Reformed church, but is designed only to shew that the peculiar doctrines of this church were not new, but were taught and professed in the earliest ages of christianity."

Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformees au Royaume de France, depuis l'an 1521 jusqu'en l'annee 1533. 3 vol. 8 vo. By Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin at Geneva, and N. Galassius.

Histoire de l'edit de Nantes. By L. Benoist, preacher of the Walloon church in Delft. 3 vol. 4 to. This work embraces the whole Reformed church from 1570 to 1576.

J. H. Hottinger *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Part IX—J. J. Hottinger's *Helvetische Kirchen-Geschichte*. 2 vol. 4 to Theil. III, which brings the history of the Swiss church to the year 1700. Abraham Ruchat *Histoire de la Reformation de la Suisse*, 6 vol. 12 mo.

Neuere Helvetische Kirchen-geschichte von der Reformation bis auf unsere Zeit; von Ludwig Wirz; fortgesetzt von Melchior Kirchhofer 2 vol. 1 vo. 1815-19. This is the fourth and fifth volume of a larger work entitled *Helvetische Kirchen-geschichte*, von Lud. Wirz, in 5 vol. The history is brought only to the year 1522.

¹ MacLaine's Mosheim.

Ursprung, Gang, and Folgen der von Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich bewirkten glaubens—Verbesserung und Reformation. Von Solomon Hess. Zurich, 1819. 4 to.

Schichsole der Protestantenten in Frankreich, von —— Rambach, 2 vol. 8 vo. Halle, 1795.

Historische Nachricht von dem ersten Anfang der Evangelisch Reformirten Kirche in Brandenburg und Preusseu, &c. Von D. H. Hering.

Besides these many other works containing portions of the history of the Reformed Church in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the several German States, have been published. A brief general account of the Reformed church is contained in the several works of general ecclesiastical history which have been written ; and many notices of it are interspersed in the civil history of the several countries in which it is professed.

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THE ANABAPTISTS IN SWITZERLAND.

[From the unpublished History of the Reformed Church by the late Lewis Mayer, D. D.]

From *Germany* the spirit of fanaticism and misrule penetrated into *Switzerland*. There were not wanting in this country combustible materials that needed only a spark to kindle them into a conflagration. The peasantry, who lived upon the lands which belonged to churches and monasteries, had long groaned under the burden of tithes and rents, and of fees that were paid to these institutions for every spiritual function, and for every act to which a religious aspect could be given, besides other oppressive exactions, and in addition to the taxes for the support of the civil government : and they felt their burdens more, and were more impatient under them, when they observed how their hard earnings were consumed, by crowds of priests and monks, in a voluptuous and profligate idleness, and how they were treated by these insolent ecclesiastics with haughtiness and disdain. Like their brethren in *Germany*, they sighed for deliverance, and were ready to rise against their oppressors, as soon as a prospect of success should appear, or the sanctions of religion should give firmness and vigor to their desire. Intelligence of the German insurrections, and of the new prophets

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who denounced the judgments of heaven upon the seats of power and iniquity, furnished the occasion, and gave the impulse for turbulent risings in the canton of *Zurich*, and other portions of the confederacy, and for clamorous demands of redress. But the prudent measures of government, which instituted investigations of the grounds of these complaints, and brought the authority of religion to bear upon them, the control which the government had already begun to exercise over the clergy and their institutions, and their sincere determination to reform all existing abuses, calmed the violence of the malcontents, and prevented further outbreaks. But the zealots in religious innovation were more troublesome.

A numerous class, which had subsisted under the Papacy, and had conformed to the established worship while the dread of the ecclesiastical power kept them in check, began to manifest their character when the spell of that power was broken, and liberty of thought upon every subject was restored by the reformation. They were restless spirits, men of sanguine tempers, possessing more excitability than intellect, and governed more by their feelings than by reason. These men were discontented with the tardy movements of the constituted authorities in abolishing Popish superstitions, and with the narrow limits within which the reformation was confined. Both the government and the preachers exerted themselves in vain to restrain them from excess. In some instances, as at the village of *Zollikon*, they took the law and the power into their own hands, and abolished the Popish images before the government had come to a decision respecting them. All these men were fit subjects for fanatical excitement, and when once put in motion by some external impulse, were not likely soon to stop.

Munzer came into contact with men of this character at *Waldshut* on the border of *Switzerland*, and kindled in their congenial minds something of his own enthusiasm for a pure church, a theocratic government, and divine inspirations; and from him they received their notions on the subject of infant baptism. Among these converts were Balthazer Hubmeyer, an evangelical preacher and pastor of a church in *Waldshut*, Conrad Grebel, and Felix Mantz, citizens of *Zurich*, who were men of education and of respectability. All these became distinguished leaders of the new sect. They did not at first act out the whole system of Munzer. Their first attempt was to gain over the reformers to their party. For this purpose Grebel, Mantz, and Simon Stump, pastor of the church at *Hoeng*, urged upon Zwingli and Leo Juda the expediency of forming

a church of Saints, into which no sinners should be admitted; where a perfect equality should reign, all things should be common to all, and tythes, rents, and other burdens should be abolished. The reformers replied by showing the inconsistency of such a scheme with the scriptural idea of the church of Christ, and respectfully declined to entertain it; in consequence of which the disaffected began to hold separate meetings, and now first denounced infant baptism, which they represented as a Popish corruption of the Church and an invention of the devil.¹ This was, at this time, the extent of their public dissent from the established order of the Church. Zwingli sought to convince them of their error, and in his conferences with them, the question was only whether infant baptism was consistent with the Scriptures; not whether it was valid where it had been administered to subjects in infancy: but they soon went farther and, carrying out their principle, maintained the necessity of re-baptizing those who had received infant baptism. Hubmeyer still

¹ Zwingli's Aussage von den Wiedertaufern &c., in Füslin's Beiträge zur Reform. Gesch. des Schweizerlandes, vol. I p. 228, and note 45.—Ibid p 197, note.

Grebel and Mantz were previously ill-disposed toward Zwingli, because they suspected him of having thwarted them in their plan to procure appointments in the contemplated seminary in Zurich. The council and the chapter had agreed, as we have already noticed, that the income of some of the canonries should be applied to the support of learned professors, after the decease of the present incumbents. These two men possessed respectable acquirements, particularly in the Greek and the Hebrew languages, and thought themselves, as citizens of honorable standing, entitled to professorships in these departments. But as the funds would not become available for the purpose during the life-time of the incumbents, it was impossible to meet their wishes immediately. On this account a beginning was first made with public lectures, in the summer of 1525, when Ceporinus, who had previously taught Hebrew without a salary, was appointed professor in that department; and Rudolph Collin, who was soon afterward elected Greek professor taught several years without a compensation, and supported himself in the mean time by reading lectures upon Homer to a private class, and by working at the business of rope-making! Grebel and Mantz would not wait for the convenient season, but would have several of the useless canons removed, and themselves put in their places, that they might enjoy both the dignity and the revenues of the canonships, and wished Zwingli to exert his influence in the council and in the chapter to have such an arrangement made. This he declined to do; and, as they thought the proposed arrangement practicable, and, probably, esteemed it right also, they hated Zwingli for refusing to second their ambitious project. This hostility to the reformer seems to have transferred itself to his reformation, and to have the more pre-disposed their minds for the reception of Munzer's opinions on baptism, or any thing that was opposed to Zwingli's system.—See Füslin's Beiträge, &c., vol. I p. 191-194, note 86.

considered infants members of the church, agreeable to Math. 19, v. 13, 14, and received them as such, when he refused to baptize them.¹ His own account of the matter is this: "Instead of baptizing them, I convene the church, bringing in the infant, and, in the vernacular tongue, expound the gospel: 'Little children were brought to him, &c.' Thereupon, the name being given, the whole church kneel and pray for the little one. But if the parents are yet infirm, and insist upon having their offspring baptized, I baptize it. In practice I am weak with those who are yet weak, until they be better informed; but in doctrine I do not yield the smallest particle."²

The practice of re-baptizing was introduced by Conrad Grebel at *Zurich*; for although the doctrine of re-baptism was taught by Munzer in *Germany*, the practice of it had its origin in *Zurich*, where Grebel was the first that baptized anew; and the first subject of the repetition of the rite was George Blaurock of *Coire*, who styled himself "George of the house of Jacob of Coire." Afterwards many were baptized in *Zollikon* by Blaurock and Mantz, and the practice became general.³ This practice now was the badge of the new sect; and they were hence called *Anabaptists*, that is, *re-baptizers*. The rite was at first performed by sprinkling or affusion; which appears from the document published by Füslin in his "*Beiträge*." Immersion was also introduced by Grebel. Its first subject was Wolfgang Ulman of *St. Gall*, who insisted on being baptized in that mode, and was accordingly immersed by Grebel in the Rhine at *Schaffhausen*.⁴ The sect had no separate order of ministers: every one who chose, might teach and administer baptism to those who desired it.⁵

Zwingli, anxious to reclaim them, appointed a weekly conference for amicable discussion; but after the second meeting they declined any farther attendance. At the outset they were distinguished by a strictly moral and religious deportment, avoiding vicious associations, and bearing a loud and impressive testimony against every form of sinful pleasure. Their apparent rectitude and sanctity procured for them much favor with the people. Many were induced to receive their doctrines and their baptism; and among these were respectable citizens and ministers of the gospel in good standing. But their enthusiasm grew with their

¹ Gieseler's *Lehrb. der Kirch. gesch.* vol. 3 p. 210, note 60.

² Ibid.

³ Füslin, &c., vol. 2 p. 238, &c.

⁴ Hettinger, &c., p. 265.

⁵ Füslin, &c., vol. 1, p. 270, note 57.

success, and quickly degenerated into a ridiculous and frantic fanaticism. They were particularly numerous in the parish of *Zollikon*, the pastor of which was a certain John Brödli, a ranting extravagant. From this place a raving crowd rushed into the capital, being covered with sacks, in imitation of the ancient prophets, and girt about their loins with cords or withs, professing to be urged by the divine spirit. They filled all the public places with their prophesying, denouncing Zwingli as the old dragon, and his associates as the dragon's heads, preaching righteousness and innocence, urging the community of goods, and holding forth the judgments of God to those who would not obey. They perambulated the streets of the city crying wo—wo—wo to *Zurich*! and some of them, imitating the prophet Jonah, declared that in forty days *Zurich* would be destroyed!

Great excitement and confusion arose in the city; the multitudes were alarmed, and the rulers perplexed, and none could tell where the disorder would end. The preachers of the reformation were indefatigable; but, so far as the fanatics were concerned, their exertions were unavailing; their reasonings appeared to them as the errors of unenlightened minds or the suggestions of the devil. The infatuated crowd were satisfied as to themselves that they were actuated by divine inspiration, imputed their wildest freaks to the spirit of God, and every thing that crossed them to the devil.

Such men were not to be reasoned with: confinement and a rod seemed to their co-temporaries better adapted to cure their madness than argument. They were, nevertheless, treated by the government, in the beginning, with tenderness and forbearance; comparatively mild measures only being pursued to repress the disorder and to reclaim the wrong-headed errorists. A public discussion on the subject of baptism, in the presence of the councils, was appointed, in order that the truth on the matter in question might be demonstrated to every one's satisfaction. The seventeenth of January was appointed for that purpose. The meeting took place, and Grebel, Mantz, and William Röubli, formerly pastor of the parish of *Wytikon*, defended the cause of the Anabaptists against the reformers. The result was a complete discomfiture of the sectaries. Their doctrine was thereupon declared to be erroneous, and the leaders were admonished to renounce their errors, and to submit to the authority of the word of God as already expounded. On the following day the

¹ Gieseier, &c., vol. 3, p. 210, note—Füstlin, &c., vol. 1, p. 198, note 37.

government published a mandate, ordering that all those who had withholden their children from baptism, by reason of the erroneous opinion which had recently arisen, should cause them to be baptized within eight days, and such as refused obedience should depart with their families and goods from the city and the canton.¹ These measures proved wholly ineffectual : the leaders of the sect said : " We must obey God rather than men," and, in despite of the government, not only continued their previous course, but resolved to organize their followers into a separate Church. Their determination was first carried into effect in the parish of *Zollikon*, where they sought to realize their visionary theories, and established in their community of saints a community of goods, and, if Hottinger be not mistaken, a community of wives!²

Such an act of schism, so contrary to the spirit of the age, and characterized as it was by contumacy and bold defiance, was more than the age could tamely bear. But it gave unity and strength to the sect, while it nourished their zeal and fed their extravagance. As the evil grew continually, and the sectaries alledged that they were sustained by the authority of God, the government appointed another public discussion to take place on the 20th of March. It was held accordingly ; and as the champions of the schismatic party only repeated their former arguments, which, in the judgment of the council, the reformers had already refuted, they were now told that they must retrace their steps, and abandon their new organization, or suffer the penalty of disobedience. They refused to obey ; in consequence of which some of them, and of their disciples, were arrested : foreigners were sent into banishment, citizens who promised submission were set at liberty, but the obstinate were detained in prison ; which we may suppose to have been a prudent precaution against further agitation in the excited state of the public mind. But a number of these prisoners broke from their confinement and escaped, and going abroad proclaimed wherever they came that God had sent an angel who had delivered them, as he once did St. Peter, from their imprisonment ! Their story, asserted with boldness, was believed by the ignorant, and drew numbers to their party ; and the evil was thus rendered worse by the measure that was intended to be its remedy.³

¹ See the document in *Füsslin, &c.*, vol. 1, p. 189-901.

² Hottinger, &c., p. 223.

³ Hottinger, &c., p. 284. Füsslin, &c., vol. 1, p. 249, note 53.

Brödli and Röubli being driven from *Zollikon*, went to *Schaffhausen*, and thence to *Waldshut*, were they rebaptized the converts. Hubmeyer, hitherto hesitating, and lingering in the ancient customs, was borne away by the current of their enthusiasm, and received baptism at the hand of Röubli, and with him above a hundred other persons; and so rapid was now the progress of the sect, that, at the Easter festival, Hubmeyer administered baptism to about three hundred converts.¹

Many of those who were set at liberty upon a promise of submission, resumed their former course on returning to their brethren. The disturbance increased, and, in addition to the former mischief, the ringleaders were now charged with entertaining designs against the government and the existing order of things. They tampered, it was said, with the discontented peasantry, who were encouraged to hope for a deliverance from their burdens, and a community of goods; they talked of striking off the heads of priests, and of resisting the civil authorities by force of arms; they said that Christians had no need of earthly rulers and courts of justice, and that no Christian could be a member of the secular government. These seditious principles, so well adapted to nourish insubordination, spread a general ferment among the peasantry, in some instances produced actual risings, and in not a few caused assemblies of the people, and applications to the councils for a release from their burdens. The dissatisfaction was greatest with regard to the payment of tithes, which was represented as an arbitrary imposition, unauthorized by the Scriptures, and unsupported by any principle of equity. This question was, therefore, argued by order of the council, in their presence, by the most learned among the preachers and the citizens, and the result of the argument was that the tithing-system ought not to be abolished. The ground taken by Zwingli and approved by the council was not the authority of the Levitical law, which, he maintained, was a part of the Mosaic dispensation, and expired with it by its own limitation, but the fact that the lands came into the possession of the present holders subject to the payment of tithes, and this condition, therefore, formed a part of the contract, which could not be changed or annulled without the consent of the receivers: or they were conveyed to trustees by benevolent donors for the benefit of religion and education, or the relief of the poor, and therefore could not be turned from that destination, nor freed from the tax which

¹ Füslin, &c., vol. 3, p. 241.

it imposed upon them : and, moreover, if the tithing-system were abolished, there would be a necessity of imposing the same burdens in another form for the same objects. On these grounds the council dismissed the petitions, and issued their mandate commanding the payment of tithes, and warning the disaffected of the consequences of disobedience.

The Anabaptists, nevertheless, continued their offensive proceedings, fomenting discontent, and treating the orders of government with contemptuous neglect. Numbers of them were therefore imprisoned ; and many of these, having been formerly liberated on a promise of amendment, were now treated with greater severity. These arrests furnished new matter of complaint and of mutual encouragement to the sect, who looked upon this treatment as a persecution for righteousness' sake that entitled them to the kingdom of heaven. They raised the outcry, that the government were bent upon executing their pleasure by force and violence, and condemned the innocent unheard ; they clamored for a hearing, and demanded that Zwingli should not be suffered to browbeat their speakers, as they alledged he had done.¹ These complaints awakened sympathy in their behalf and gave new popularity to their cause. The government were therefore necessitated to yield, notwithstanding their reluctance, to what they esteemed an unreasonable demand after the previous conferences, and to grant a third disputation, which they appointed on the 6th of November, 1525. To remove every ground of complaint, and to place the malcontents fully in the wrong before the community, they extended the invitation to all Anabaptists both of their own and of other territories, and gave liberty to every one to plead his cause as he thought best without interruption ; and as the district of *Grüningen* was particularly favorable to the sect, they caused a deputation of twelve men to be sent from that district at the public expense, that they might witness all the transactions of the meeting and attest them to their fellow-citizens at home. The assembly was very large, and the discussions were continued throughout three days. Its result was like that of the two preceding conferences : the leaders of the sect were adjudged to have failed in sustaining their cause on scriptural grounds ; Grebel, Mantz, Blaurock, and others, were admonished to desist from propagating doctrines which they were unable to prove ; and continuing obstinate, they were at first imprisoned, but were soon released, in the hope of their

¹ *Fuslin, &c., vol. 1, p. 279-286 and notes.*

amendment, and dismissed with an assurance of punishment if they continued their disorderly proceedings.¹ The result of the conference was announced in a public edict, the authors of anabaptism were severely reprobated, rebaptism was forbidden and punishment threatened to the disobedient, and parents were commanded to have their children baptized.² The government at the same time addressed a written communication to the people of *Grüningen*, in which, after commenting upon the history of the Anabaptists and their recent discomfiture in the last disputation, and declaring their determination to root out so pernicious a sect, they demanded a speedy answer to the question whether they would take part with the government or with the Anabaptists. The inhabitants of the district were thereupon convened, and after hearing the statement of the twelve who had witnessed the transactions of the late conference, determined to take part with their legitimate sovereigns against the sectaries.³ But the Anabaptists who were numerous in the district had influence enough afterwards to withdraw them again from their allegiance.⁴ As these measures also proved ineffectual, and the fanatical leaders persisted in their course, disregarding every mandate, and acting in defiance of the constituted authorities, the government proceeded ultimately to the last resort, and, in March 1526, published an edict which made the act of rebaptizing a capital offence, and subjected the guilty to the punishment of death by drowning. In November of the same year another edict followed, which was based upon information which the government had received, "That some, in the lordship of *Grüningen* and elsewhere, were holding large conventions, and in the same were transacting, plotting, and contriving measures that were hostile to government, and to the common cause of christianity;" and it extended the penalty of the preceding act "to all who thus combined, and by their preaching in conventicles, and their wrong proceedings, held such assemblies."⁵

The first who suffered under these edicts was Felix Mantz, who was drowned at *Zurich*, January 5th, 1527. He bore his fate with the utmost fortitude. On his way to the place of execution, he thanked God that he was about to suffer death for his truth, and remarked that Christ had predicted that his disciples would suffer for his name's sake and for the truth. He contin-

¹ Ibid, p. 284, note 58.—Hottinger, &c., 271.

² Hottinger, &c., p. 271.

³ Füslin, &c., vol. 1, p. 285, note 58.

⁴ Hottinger, &c., p. 271.

⁵ Ibid, p. 270, note 57.

ed to speak in the same strain, and when the preacher who accompanied him attempted to converse with him, his mother and his brother exhorted him to constancy and firmness. As he fell bound into the water, he exclaimed: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." His brother wept, but his aged mother shed no tear.¹

These harsh measures so far repressed the activity of the sect, that they withdrew from public observation, and held their meetings and propagated their doctrines in secret. But they were not suppressed, and the heroic endurance of death by many of their brethren shed a lustre upon their cause, and furnished materials for a history of martyrs, often embellished with tales of miraculous attestations from heaven, that did them important service, and compensated in a good measure for the severities which they suffered.

From *Zurich* and *Waldshut* this dangerous sect quickly overspread the neighboring countries of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, wherever they were not crushed at once by committing them to the sword or the flames. They were every-where treated by the civil power with more or less severity, especially in Popish countries, where great numbers were put to death, and many of them died at the stake, among whom were Blaurock and Hubmeyer. The cities of *Basel*, *Bern*, *St. Gall*, and *Coire* issued edicts similar to those of *Zurich*. The Imperial chamber of *Spire*, in the German empire, promulgated a decree by which they ordained, "That all and every re-baptizer and re-baptized person, whether male or female, of adult age, should be put to death by fire and sword, or by other means, according to the circumstances of the person, without a previous inquisition of the spiritual courts; and those peace-breakers, ringleaders, vagrants, and seditious instigators of the vice of re-baptism, if they persist therein, or relapse into it, should by no means find favor, but should be proceeded against with rigor according to the statute. Such, however, as confessed their error and recalled it, and were willing to submit to penance for it, and supplicated for mercy, might be pardoned, in consideration of their condition, business, youth, and all the circumstances. Every one also should have his children baptized agreeably to christian order, custom and usage. But whoever should contemptuously omit to do so, esteeming infant-baptism a nullity, shall be considered an Anabaptist, and subjected to the above ordinance."² This example was follow-

¹ Füslin, vol. 1, p. 274, note 57. Hottinger p. 385.

² Füslin, &c., vol. 1, p. 272, note 57.

ed by the emperor CHARLES V., and the several princes of the empire, who expelled the miserable sect from their dominions, not by argument, but by the sword. Their blood was freely shed: and when they were not put to death, they were otherwise punished with fines, imprisonment, stripes, or banishment.¹

It may be truly said that this was a cruel persecution, and particularly ill became Protestants who contended so earnestly for the rights of conscience. But it was not without its apology, both in the spirit of the age and in the principles and the conduct of the sufferers. It was not easy for men just emerging from the darkness of Popery to open their eyes at once upon the light in the fulness of its blaze, and to see the falsity and the wickedness of the principle so long held and granted, *That errors in religion, obstinately persisted in, were crimes which christian rulers ought to punish.* The Anabaptists themselves also furnished sufficient cause to identify them with Munzer and the revolted peasantry, whose enormities had kindled a feeling of extreme bitterness in the minds of the secular rulers. Their tenet, *That among christians there should be no secular government, and that no christian could hold such an office,* was leveled against all existing governments: it implied that every secular ruler was an infidel, and, as such, unworthy to preside over a christian people; and the dissemination of such a doctrine among the multitude could not fail to be of injurious effect. The odium which this tenet every-where brought upon them, and the vengeance which it armed against them, at length opened their eyes, and taught them to purge it from their creed. To the church they were not less offensive by their fanatical excesses, and their scurrilous denunciation of institutions which all the christian world revered as holy and divine. They reviled, in the most indecent terms, the existing churches and their ministry, and denounced infant-baptism as an invention of the devil, and a useless ceremony, comparing it with the washing of a dog or other beast. It was not in the spirit of the times to tolerate such profane railing; and it is not to be wondered at if those whom they thus angered sometimes treated them worse than they deserved.

To the Reformed Church the rise of this sect was particularly fraught with danger. The light of truth had but recently been brought again from its long concealment, and was still in doubtful conflict with darkness. Some of the Popish abuses had been

¹ Fuslin, &c., vol. 1, p. 273.

abolished, and the way was cautiously preparing for the removal of the rest. The christian world was anxiously expecting the result. Enemies without assailed the nascent reformation, one while with alluring promises, and another with threats; whilst enemies within were looking out for coming events, eager to lay hold of any thing wherewith to crush it in its birth. The whole ground upon which the reformers stood was the principle, *That the Bible is the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice, and for the right understanding of it we need no other than its own light.* In the midst of the conflict the Anabaptists arose like a whirlwind; they pronounced the doctrine of the reformers false and their church an abomination, and professed to teach the true gospel and to form the only true church. The Papists took advantage of this schism to invalidate the fundamental principle of the reformation, to prove the inutility of the Bible as the rule of faith, and to show the necessity of a supreme judge of controversies. The Reformed were thus placed between two hostile forces on opposite sides, and seemed devoted to perdition amid the assaults of both: and to a power and a wisdom far above her own is it owing that the Reformed Church came un-hurt out of these dangers.

The necessity was now imposed upon the reformers to shew that, though the Bible was sufficiently clear, their adversaries gave a false representation of its meaning, and that the doctrine which it teaches was that which they themselves had taught. Hence were the repeated public discussions of which the Bible was made the basis, and hence the writings of the reformers on this subject.

The first of Zwingli's works in this controversy was published May 27, 1525, under the title: "Of Baptism, Re-baptism, and Infant-baptism." It was dedicated to the council and citizens of St. Gall, where the sect were become very numerous. His second work: On the Gospel-Ministry, "with an introductory address to his countrymen of the county of Tokkenburg," appeared on the 30th of June. In reply to Hubmeyer, who had put forth a slanderous attack upon his character, he published, in November of the same year, his vindication entitled: On Doctor Balthazar's Tract on Baptism: a true and solid Answer," which contained the argument he employed at the same time in the third public disputation. Another work: "Against the Craft and Artifices of the Anabaptists," appeared in 1527.

Anabaptists have charged Zwingli with instigating the government to the harsh measures that were adopted against them. Hubmeyer was the first, or among the first, who urged this serious

charge. In the dedication prefixed to his published account of his conference at *Nicolsburg* in 1526, which may serve as a specimen of his calumnies, he says: "They wished to convert me to another faith by the executioner, agreeably to Zwingli's sentence pronounced publicly in the pulpit upon me and many other pious persons—men, women and maidens; that we as Anabaptists, ought to have our heads cut off conformably to the imperial laws. This is his gospel, word of consolation, and work of mercy, with which he comforted and visited the christians in prison. Yea, he preached a very singular sermon—and finally too brought it to this, that above twenty persons, men, women, pregnant wives, and maidens, were miserably cast into gloomy towers, and doomed no more to see the light of the sun or moon, to end their days on bread and water, and thus to remain together in the dark towers, the living and the dead, to die, stink, and putrefy, till none survived.—Oh God, what an unheard of, grievous, and rigid sentence upon pious christian people, against whom no ill could be truly said, save only that, in obedience to the strict command of Christ, they had received water-baptism."¹

That this is a grossly exaggerated and false account of the treatment of the Anabaptist prisoners in *Zurich*, is satisfactorily shown by Füsslin in his "*Beiträge*."² But our purpose here is only to vindicate the innocence of Zwingli of a charge so inconsistent with his avowed principles, and so discreditable to his character. "There is not a shadow of truth," says Füsslin in the same place, "in the assertion that Zwingli incited the government to such harsh proceedings. He manifests no little meekness and patience toward them in his first writings. In the dedication of his book "*On Baptism, &c.*" he says: 'I will utter no hard and bitter speeches against them, although I know that they vilify and calumniate me above measure. They assert that I am the cause of their banishment from the city and the country by the council, and of their being in exile; but I can appeal to themselves, that, in their presence, I entreated the council not to adopt rigorous measures against them. At the same time I advised several counsellors in private, that a better course would be to tolerate them in the territory of *Zurich*, than to send them elsewhere; inasmuch as it was well known here to every one, that they have been vanquished in argument on all occasions, and an enemy who is known to be conquered excites no fear. This is my offence; this is the great injury they have received from me. I have always been grieved for their ill and hardship.'

¹ Füsslin, vol. 1, p. 206.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207, &c.

—I have always kindly entreated them to desist from their obstinacy. If they would acknowledge the truth, they would not deny this. From this every pious christian may judge, who has acted more honestly and christian-like.” “In another writing,” continues the same author, “addressed to Conrad Som, preacher and reformer in *Ulm*, he states that, as often as he appeared with the Anabaptists before the council, he had entreated for them, and had thereby obtained that the council proceeded so slowly against them. On another occasion he exercised the same kindness toward them. When one of the exiled ringleaders had published a scurrilous libel on the government of *Zurich*, he took the utmost pains to suppress the defamatory production, lest it should come to the knowledge of the council, and that body should be provoked to resort to more rigorous measures. When, some time afterward, Faber reproached him, in one of his writings, with having caused the poor Anabaptists, as he called them, to be imprisoned and badly used, he complained with much feeling of the injustice of the accusation, and asked: What, I pray, do the calumniators think of the council of *Zurich*? Do they consider them so witless, that they would, on all occasions, ask council of me? Am I the council’s master, that I can prescribe to them what they shall do?” “Finally,” says Füslin still, “what reason had Hubmeyer to complain of him? He had generously saved him from those who had sought his life, and persuaded the council to let him go in peace when they might justly have punished him for his wickedness, and even obtained for him a considerable sum of money to bear his travelling expenses. ‘The council,’ says Zwingli, in a letter to Gynoräus, ‘did not force him to this recantation, if he were willing to leave the city; for they did nothing more to those who would not repudiate Anabaptism than to banish them. In the mean time the Imperial ambassadors arrived and demanded him, that he might be brought to condign punishment. This was refused in pursuance of a law which provides, that a citizen should be tried only for the crime for which he was at first arrested. In this manner the council sinned by him, viewing him as a citizen, and evading the emperor’s demand. * * * He wrote a recantation accordingly with his own hand, which was not copied from any form prescribed by the council, or by any other person; and when he had read it in the church of *Notre Dame*, he retracted it after I had preached, and, thinking he now had an occasion to speak, said many things against infant-baptism and for re-baptism. * * * Upon this he was reconducted to prison, and kept more than a month in confine-

ment. At length he wished to exculpate himself, saying, he had no recollection of doing any thing amiss: if he had spoken otherwise than he had promised, it was the evil spirit that had sported with him. He then wrote another recantation. I went every where to my friends, exhorting them to exercise mercy toward him, and to admit him to a hearing by the council. This was done. When he now offered his recantation of his own accord, they required that he should write it in German, and presently afterward leave the country. I now went immediately to my colleagues, Engelhard, Leo, and Grossman, and besought them to intercede for him, because, if he were compelled to depart immediately after his recantation, he would be exposed to great danger both from confederates and from the emperor. The council yielded, and after his recantation, which he uttered with apparent sincerity, though it was any thing else rather, permitted him to remain concealed in Zurich, until he might depart in safety. Sometime afterward a citizen, who is sincerely attached to the gospel, conveyed him away so privately, that even the citizens knew nothing of it.”¹

Füslein observes in his note: “It does not appear from the records that no ill could be said of the sect, save only that they were re-baptized. Re-baptism would not have amounted to much, if it had not served to add strength to other errors. Their separation from the Church; their disobedience and hostility to government, their suspicious intercourse with the discontented subjects who wished to rid themselves of tithes, rents, and other obligations, and were encouraged in this by their teaching; their doctrine of matrimony, which obliged a believer, that is, an Anabaptist, to separate from his or her consort who was not of the same faith; these were the causes that chiefly armed the government against them.”² It must be confessed, however, that the law made the fact of being re-baptized, or of conferring the rite on another person, the evidence of a participation in the crimes that were charged upon the sect;³ and it cannot be denied, as Füslein himself observes, that their treatment proceeded ultimately pretty much upon Popish principles of religious coercion.⁴ Religious intolerance was the great vice of the age; a vice which the church of *Rome* had nursed and cherished into maturity; which she had raised by her constant practice, and by her solemn decrees, to the honors of the holiest virtue: and it is not to be

¹ Füslein vol. 1, p. 212, note 40.

² Ibid, p. 211.

³ Ibid, p. 210, note k.

⁴ Ibid, p. 196, note 37.

greatly wondered at, if those who had grown up within her pale continued to be fettered by it long after they had left her communion. Zwingli, nevertheless, had not so learned Christ : both he and Luther were, in this respect, far in advance of the age in which they lived.

The Anabaptists did not all adopt all the errors of their brethren ; and it would be unjust to say that there were not among them many examples of sincere piety, though blended more or less with fanaticism. Neither did all their brethren who fell into gross excess adopt the same errors and practice the same fooleries. Mantz taught, it is said, that baptism extinguished all sinful propensities, and the baptized were, therefore, without sin. Others held that those who transgress after baptism commit the sin against the Holy Ghost. Others again, who indulged freely in sinful pleasures, thought that, as they were not in the flesh but in the spirit, such things could not affect them. Lewis Hézzer and his followers rejected the atonement and the divinity of Christ. John Denk and his party taught the ultimate salvation of the damned. Some rejected the Old Testament as of no use to Christians. Some repudiated the whole of the written word as a dead letter that killeth, professing to be taught by the Spirit, the internal word. In their meetings for worship some of them fell suddenly upon the floor, or rubbed their backs against the wall, bent their hands and fingers as in convulsions, distorted their faces, and wrought themselves into profuse sweats. This they called "dying with Christ." When they recovered themselves, they spoke of sublime heavenly things ; and this they called "testifying." Some, who, it was alledged, could neither read nor write, spoke occasionally from the Holy Scripture ; and what they said was taken down in writing by others, and esteemed a word of God.¹ A tragic event, which occurred on the Mülegg, in the precincts of St. Gall, furnished a painful illustration of the nature of the spirit that actuated these enthusiasts, and of the pernicious tendency of a blind confidence in imagined supernatural illuminations, irrespective of reason and the written word of God. N. Shugger, a venerable sire of eighty years, and his five sons, had embraced the doctrine of the Anabaptists. On a Shrove-Tuesday, being the seventh of February, 1526, a large number of the brethren were assembled at his house to celebrate the festival, and were entertained by a feast on a fatted calf by the aged father. The time was spent in various fanatical exer-

¹ Hottinger, &c., p. 268, &c.

cies, and two of the sons; Leonard and Thomas, fancying themselves under powerful divine influences, raved like madmen. In the midst of their phrensy, the former cried out to his brother: Thomas, It is the will of the heavenly Father that you strike off my head! After some frantic fooleries, Thomas exclaimed: Father, thy will be done! He directed his brother to kneel, and, in the presence of the whole assembly, took a sword and struck off his head as he knelt before them. After thanking God that he had overcome, he ran to the house of Vadianus, the burgo-master, in *St. Gall*, and said to him: He will do it no more: I have given it to him. The burgo-master, thinking him deranged, commanded him to be led into the house, but learning very soon the facts of the dreadful tragedy, sent him to prison. In his confinement the miserable man continued to ascribe the horrid deed to the agency of God, acknowledging that he had done it, but maintaining that God had wrought it by him. Three successive trials on the rack could elicit nothing else from him, and he died under the hand of the executioner still affirming the same thing.¹

H. Bullinger, in his history of the Anabaptists, gives the following account of their doctrine.

"They esteem themselves the only true and acceptable church and congregation of Christ, and teach that those, who are received into their society by baptism, must have no communion whatever, either with the evangelical, or with any other church: for our churches are not truer churches of Christ than the Papists or others. They urge in proof of this, that in their churches there is evident reformation of life, whereas in the so-called evangelical churches nobody reforms: all are impenitent, captivated in sins and vices; for which reason it is unbecoming to have fellowship with them."

"There is also a defect in the ministers as well as in the people, both as to their persons and as to their ministry. As to their persons, because they are not rightly called; because they possess not the qualifications described by St. Paul in 1 Tim. 3.; because they do not themselves practice what they teach others; and because they accept salaries and benefices." * * * * *

"There is farther a great defect in their ministry, both as to their teaching and as to their administration of sacraments. As to their teaching, because all are bound to the preaching of one man, although Paul ordained that, if a revelation come to one who sitteth, the first shall be silent, that the other may speak."

¹ Hottinger p. 289.

"The preachers do not abide by the word alone, but expound the Scripture, although the Scripture is not to be interpreted according to every one's exposition."

"The sermons of the preachers are too insignificant; for they teach that Christ has made satisfaction for sin, and that man is justified by faith and not by works; although, in this wicked world, nothing should be more insisted on than good works."

"So also the preachers have taught that it is impossible that a man should keep the law; although the whole Scripture commands the keeping of the law."

"The preachers do not teach aright concerning love, agreeably to which all things should be held in common; for they pretend that a Christian may possess property and be rich, whereas love would rather have all things common among the brethren."

"The preachers mingle together the Old Testament and the New; although the Old Testament is abrogated and of no validity with Christians, and those of the Old Testament, moreover, have no kindred with those of the New."

"What the preachers say of souls, that they pass directly to heaven after the death of the body, is not certain; for they sleep until the day of judgment."

"The preachers grant too much to government, of which Christians have no need, inasmuch as they are wholly passive. A Christian cannot be a secular magistrate."

"Government neither shall nor may take cognizance of religion and matters of faith."

"Christians do not resist violence: therefore they have no need of courts. Neither does a Christian use a court."

"Christians put no man to death. They do not punish with the prison and the sword, but with the ban only."

"Nobody must be compelled to believe by any force or constraint: neither must any one be put to death on account of his belief."

"Christians make no resistance: therefore they wage no war, and in this do not obey government."

"The speech of Christians is yea, yea; nay, nay. They swear not at all: wherefore also they swear no oath: swearing an oath would be sin and wrong."

"The ministry of the preachers is further defective in the administration of the sacraments; because they baptize infants: for infant-baptism is from the pope and out of the devil."

"Re-baptism, on the contrary, is the true Christian baptism, being given unto repentance to those who make a profession, and are instructed, and have understanding."

"The preachers make no distinction, and do not drive sinners from the Lord's supper, and use no ban."

"For all these, and for other similar reasons, the Anabaptists must, as they say, separate themselves from us, and cannot remain with us, unless they would become partakers of our pollution and punishment. Wherefore their own salvation, and their safety from divine wrath, and, consequently, the highest necessity, constrain them to form their own separate Church, and to endure, on that account, whatever God may give them to suffer."¹

There is in this form of doctrine a singular mixture of truth and error. Their fine sentiments on religious liberty would possess more value, if the Anabaptists, instead of being the sufferers, had been in a condition to prescribe terms to the rest of the christian world, and if they had not themselves talked of cutting off the heads of priests. Every sect has asserted the same just principles in its distress, and has forgotten them in its prosperity.

It may be questioned whether the Anabaptists would have adopted their odious opinions on the subject of civil government, if they had been left to indulge their religious opinions and to form their separate organization unmolested. Some of them, at least, professed a willingness to obey the civil authorities, if they did not interfere with their religious convictions. But when the government stood in their way where they thought their duty called them, there was an easy step to the thought, that the government was wicked, an enemy of God, and ought to be abolished. Hostility to secular rulers was, however, a primary principle with Muenzer.

NOEL ON BAPTISM.

Essay on Christian Baptism. By Baptist W. Noel, M. A.
New York: Harper & Brothers; 1850. Pp. 308, 12 mo.

It is generally admitted, we believe, that this work is of no special weight for the controversy in whose service it appears. It presents nothing new, and it repeats but little of the old in any better form than it carried before. The work of a truth is emphatically lean and superficial. Still the highly respectable source from which it proceeds, and the widely public character

¹ *Fuslia* vol. 5, p. 131, &c.

of the occasion to which it owes its production, entitle it to something more than common consideration ; and altogether it may be taken as a very fit and fair opportunity for bringing to trial, in a general way, the theological and religious merits of the popular system to whose defence and recommendation it is so zealously devoted.

We call the system *popular*, with due thought and consideration. Its friends, we know, are fond of harping occasionally on the opposite idea ; as though it needed more than common fortitude and resolution to fall in with the Baptistic theory, in contradiction to the old catholic faith. Mr. Noel evidently looks upon himself as something of a martyr, in the way of sacrifice and self-renunciation, for following his convictions into the bosom of his new communion, as much so as for following them in the first place out of the bosom of the Establishment ; and he is prone continually to resolve the backwardness of others to acknowledge what he holds to be the plain sense of the Scriptures, into the moral cowardice that shrinks from the thought of losing caste, or suffering damage in some outward view, for the sake of an unfashionable and unpopular cause. But it is only in one view, that the system of the Baptists is found to be thus unpopular. It goes against antiquity and the authority of the universal Church ; and in these circumstances it is hard not to feel, that it involves some loss of privilege, and some serious spiritual hazard, which men should not be willing lightly to incur. This however is only the same sort of prejudice which is found to hold, in christian lands, against other forms of religious profession which are regarded as still more broadly opposed to the ancient faith ; Unitarianism for instance or Universalism ; which at the same time are but seldom allowed to carry with them any presumption of truth and righteousness on such account. It requires generally still more nerve in this view, to become a convert to Unitarianism, than it does to espouse the cause of the Baptists. In neither case have we any right to infer from the difficulty any such contrariety to the natural mind of the world, as may be taken for the criterion of divine truth. On the contrary, it requires no very profound examination to see that the system held in both cases falls in strikingly with what may be termed the natural mind of the world, and in such view is exactly suited to gain popularity and credit. The Baptistic theory excludes mystery, and turns religion into a thing of measurable intelligence and common sense. It falls in thus with the tendency of Protestantism to assert the rights of the individual subject in religion, over against the claims of objective authority ; a

tendency which *ought* to be asserted within right limits; while it is particularly liable also, for this very reason, to be carried to an extreme, destructive entirely of what belongs to the opposite interest. It is not to be denied, that such extreme subjectivity or individualism has come to form the reigning character of Protestant Christianity at the present time; and especially may this be said to be the case in our own country, the land of universal toleration and freedom, where the very idea of the Church is in danger of being swallowed up and lost in the distraction of sects as the only true and proper form of the christian life. With this reigning spirit, the Baptistic view of religion stands unquestionably in very close correspondence and affinity. However it may have been persecuted in the beginning, under the mild theocracy of New England, it has long since ceased to be the faith of suffering exiles and martyrs. It has grown into a large world of christian profession, covering the length and breadth of the entire land. This is held together by no bond of unity indeed in other respects; for it belongs to its very nature to be as much as possible unchurchly and inorganic, a mere multitude of men and women following the Bible severally to suit themselves. But taking them simply as *Baptists*, sticklers for immersion and excommunicators of infants from Christ, they form collectively the most numerous religious body in the United States. They have the art of making proselytes, beyond almost all other people. The sect spirit, as it prevails in all parts of the land, has a wonderful propensity towards the Baptistic system; for it is constitutionally unsacramental and rationalistic, and is always inclined to resolve religion into the thinking and working of man, to the exclusion of its mystical power as it lies on the side of God. Hence new sects are apt to take Anabaptist ground; especially where they have their origin, not immediately in some doctrinal interest, but in zeal rather for religious experience. It is but too plain thus that the Baptists have a strong popular feeling on their side, which needs only to be set free still farther from the force of mere outward authority, standing in tradition and custom, to bring the world generally to espouse their cause.

This favorable state of the public mind in regard to the theory of the Baptists is not to be measured simply by their actual discipleship, or the preparation there may be in different quarters to receive in form their particular system; it shows itself also to a large extent in the indifference and want of faith, with which the contrary system is too generally maintained. It is of small account to oppose a system, if the principle of it, that from which it draws its life and strength, be the meanwhile silently allowed

and approved. Opposition, in such case, may be kept up as a sort of outside fashion ; but it will carry with it no real earnestness or power. It is in truth no better than treason at last to the cause it pretends to uphold. Of such character necessarily are all argument and practice against the Baptists, which do not rest truly on the old idea of the Church and its sacraments, but start from the premises of the Baptists themselves with regard to the nature of religion, virtually surrendering in this way the whole interest in debate. Very much of our existing fidelity to the old church practice, it is to be feared, labors under this grievous defect. It is a matter of outward form and ceremony, more than of true inward faith and conviction. It makes common cause with the general scheme of the Baptists in regard to religion and the Church, and is obedient only to its own tradition in refusing to carry out this scheme to the same consequences. In these circumstances, no great account is made of the variation in which the system stands from the proper church practice. So far as it may be considered wrong, it is still viewed with the utmost indulgence and forbearance ; the difference is taken to regard a mere circumstance in religion, without reaching at all to its main substance ; and the only cause for regret and complaint in regard to it is, that the Baptists themselves should be disposed to lay so much stress upon it, as they generally do, in the way of uncharitable exclusiveness towards others. Mr. Noel's transition to their ranks is taken indeed for a mark of some weakness and eccentricity ; but it is still not allowed to qualify materially, in this view, the vast merit which all non-episcopal bodies are expected, as a matter of course, to see in his previous abandonment of the English Establishment. It is but too plain from the way in which the subject is frequently noticed, that for a large part of this interest among us, the acknowledgment of a churchly and sacramental religion is something altogether worse than the virtual renunciation of the sacraments as it holds among the Baptists. Noel the Baptist, to this system of thinking, is much more respectable and every way intelligible, than Noel the Episcopalian. The difference which has place in the first direction, is regarded as small and comparatively immaterial. The great matter is, that such a man has been able to leap the far more broad and serious chasm that yawns on the other side. Baptists and Paedobaptists, of the unchurchly stamp, have here common and like cause for gratulation. It is felt to be at last substantially one and the same gospel to which the illustrious convert has been won in either connection, and both unite accordingly in wishing him God-speed on his chosen way. For these who

consider it rightly, this is something very significant and instructive. It was not so always. The Baptistic system, in the beginning, was held to be at war with Protestantism no less than with the faith of the ancient Church. Its deviation from the old church theory was felt to be something far more than a mere circumstance. How does it happen then that it should now be met with such easy toleration, as a thing of mere outward fashion and form? For the reason simply, beyond all doubt, that the view taken of the Church has undergone a material change. The sense of sacramental grace has to a wide extent passed away; and along with this, of course, the doctrine of infant baptism is to the same extent necessarily shorn of its proper meaning and force. The Baptistic principle has come to prevail far and wide among those who are not Baptists; and in this way the opposition even which is made to their cause is found to be in truth too often but little better than a feint and a sham. The controversy is transferred to false and untenable ground, and so carries in itself the necessity of defeat from the beginning. It yields at the outset the main substance in dispute, and makes but a vain show of battle afterwards for its mere name and shadow. Here it is precisely that the Baptists of the present time have the greatest advantage. Their premises and principles are allowed extensively by the opposite side; and all that they need, in such circumstances, is to show that these principles and premises carry in them by necessary consequence the sense of their own system. Without faith in the Church, no consistent or effectual stand can ever be made against their pretensions.

The Baptistic controversy, it is well known, falls mainly into two questions, the first regarding the *mode* of baptism and the second its proper *subjects*. The only valid mode, according to the Baptists, is by immersion. The only fit subjects, they tell us, are personal believers. Sprinkling they take to be of no force for the rite; and the application of it to infants they hold to be no better than a solemn farce.

It is truly unfortunate, in the case of the first of these questions, that the advocates of the present reigning practice have been led so commonly by polemical zeal to place themselves on extreme ground; furnishing thus in the end an advantage to their opponents, which they would not otherwise possess. When it is pretended to show immersion an abuse, and sprinkling the only legitimate mode of baptism, from the force of the original terms employed in the case, the general evidence of the New Testament, or the practice of the early Church, more is undertaken a great deal than can be accomplished, and more at

the same time in all respects than the argument properly requires; by which means harm only is done to the truth, and the cause of the opposite party made to seem far stronger than it is in fact. It needs but ordinary scholarship, and the freedom of a mind unpledged to mere party interest, to see and acknowledge here a certain advantage on the side of the Baptists. The original sense of the word *baptize* is on the whole in their favor. It corresponds with the idea of immersion much more than with that of sprinkling. This idea moreover undoubtedly lies at the bottom of the New Testament practice; although it would seem to be equally clear, for a candid inquirer, that this practice was not actually confined, under all circumstances, to the mode of immersion, in the literal and full sense. The allusion in Rom. vi. 4, and Col. ii. 12, to the form of going under the water and rising out of it again, as being at least the primary and fundamental character of the rite, is too plain to be misunderstood by any unsophisticated mind; and it is only a melancholy exemplification of the power which theological prejudice has over the best men, when otherwise able and faithful commentators of the anti-Baptist order are found vainly endeavoring, in modern times, to torture the passages into another meaning. The practice of the early Church too, as far back as we have any notices on the subject out of the New Testament, must be allowed to lie prevailingly in favor of the same view. The most that can be said with regard to it, which however is a great deal over against the exclusive doctrine of the Baptists, is that the form of immersion was not considered indispensable to the validity of the sacrament. This is sufficiently shown by what is termed the *clinical baptism* of the ancient Church, aside from all other evidence. Clinical baptism was employed in the case of the sick, who were confined to bed or otherwise unfit to endure the rite of immersion. It consisted of a partial application of water, in the way of substitute for this, by a more or less plentiful affusion or aspersion. Persons thus baptized, if they afterwards recovered, were not considered eligible to any sacred office, as their profession might seem to have been forced upon them by sickness and so to be of doubtful sincerity; but no deficiency was held to attach to their baptism itself, and it was never felt necessary or proper accordingly to baptize them over again in a more full way. On this point, the testimony of Cyprian is well known and conclusive, showing at once the fact of such baptism by aspersion in the early Church, and the acknowledgment of its sufficiency, as resting on the view that the application of water, in the sacrament, is efficacious not according to surface and quan-

tity, as in common washing, but according to the accompanying grace of the Holy Ghost. "In sacramentis salutaribus, necessitate cogente et Deo indulgentiam suam largiente, *totum credentibus conferunt divina compendia.*" It is not to be disguised at the same time, however, that this allowance and apology for the validity of clinical baptism goes directly to show the general prevalence of baptism by immersion; and also the general feeling that it was regarded as the regular and proper mode, from which only in cases of urgent necessity it was considered lawful to depart. Cyprian's plea for it is worded with great caution and reserve, and treats it throughout as something in broad exception to the reigning practice. In the Oriental Church this practice has been preserved without change down to the present day; and the completeness of baptism is made to depend absolutely on its being performed by immersion, and not by any less universal application of water. In the Western or Latin Church a more free conception of the sacrament has prevailed; and from the thirteenth century particularly we find the practice of affusion or plentiful sprinkling gradually supplanting more and more generally the earlier method. The change seems to have grown to a considerable extent from the preponderance which the baptism of infants gained over that of adults, as the nations became generally christian, and the main use of the ordinance was transferred thus from heathen converts to the offspring of parents already in the Church. It was natural to extend the allowance of the so-called clinical baptism in favor especially of very young infants, who might be regarded as infirm by reason of their infancy itself, and so rightly entitled to the privilege; and this way of thinking, once introduced, appears to have worked in no great time a general revolution in the practice of the Church. The Reformation, in the sixteenth century, found the Roman Church generally, (with the exception of the Church of Milan which still adhered to the old form,) no longer in the exclusive use of immersion, but allowing also in place of it, when preferred, a partial application of water only, by affusion on the head or some other prominent part of the subject baptized. The symbolical sense of the application was held to be the main thing; and this was supposed to be as fully secured by its being poured upon the head, or shoulders, or breast, as though it were made to circumfuse in full the entire body. The force of the symbol was not measured by its outward quantity.

The Reformers were disposed to prefer the ancient custom; not from any superstitious regard to the mere letter of the institution; but out of respect for antiquity, and from the feeling also

of a certain congruity between the letter or form here and its proper inward sense. They questioned not the sufficiency of baptism by aspersion, but held the use of immersion to be on the whole more suitable and significant. Luther says, in a sermon on Baptism (Walch x, p. 2593): "Though it be the custom, in many places no longer to dip the children whole in the font, but only to pour water on them from it with the hand, it were better still and fit, according to the sense of the word *baptism*, that the child, or any one else who is baptized, should be entirely sunk into the water and drawn out again. * * This would suit the signification of the thing, and furnish a fully complete sign." Both of Luther's formularies for baptism, accordingly, that of 1523 and the revision of 1524, include the rubric: "Then let him take the child, and *dip it in the font*"—with clear reference to immersion. Calvin allows also indirectly a certain priority of worth to this mode, with full assertion at the same time of the proper freedom of Christianity in favor of the other practice. "Whether the whole person be immersed," he says, Inst. iv. 15, 19, "and this be once or thrice, or the water be merely poured on by aspersion, is of little account, and ought to be considered free to the churches according to their different regions. Though the word baptize does itself signify to *immerse*, and it is known that the rite of immersion prevailed also in the early Church." Several of the earlier Protestant church services call for dipping. In the first English Reformed Liturgy, a. 1547, a *trine immersion* of the child is prescribed, cases of infirmity only excepted; and it was not till the beginning of the 17th century that sprinkling gained the upper hand, for reasons of convenience and health. Gradually the usage of all the Protestant Churches settled down upon the same practice which had already begun to prevail in the Church of Rome; with the exception only of the Anabaptists; who however rested their view on a different theory altogether of the nature and force of the sacrament itself, and for this reason were not regarded as any part of the Church, either Catholic or Protestant.

The freedom exercised, in this case, by the Western Church generally, we hold to be in full harmony with the true idea of Christianity; as the want of it on the side of the Greek Church is an evidence of its having lost the proper life and spirit of its own original faith. It has been throughout the lively apprehension of the spiritual realness of the sacrament, as the presence actually and truly of an inward grace under an outward form, which has enabled the Church of the West, whether as Catholic or as Protestant, to make an *ā dū à p o o v* of the mere circum-

stances of the symbol, while continuing to hold fast with becoming reverence and faith the substantial matter of the symbol itself. This is something far more than either a rationalistic rejection of the rite on the one hand, or a slavish adhesion to the outward letter of it on the other. These two extremes might seem to be sufficiently far apart, the one forming the exact contrary of the other. And yet it is not so in fact. They start from substantially the same false posture, in regard to the christian faith ; and they come in the end to substantially the same result. Either may claim to be, and has often claimed to be in fact, not only Christianity, but this also under its highest and most perfect style. In one view thus we have the spiritualism of the Quaker; in another view the spiritualism of the Anabaptist. Their affinity is shown strikingly by their tendency to flow together at particular points, both in the earlier and later stages of their history. Both are constitutionally rationalistic, notwithstanding the high wrought temperature of their first life, or rather for this very reason one may say , and sooner or later this defect is found working itself into view with clear historical evidence and proof. Quakerism runs naturally into Hicksite infidelity, and Anabaptism just *as* naturally into lifeless mechanism and form, the corpse of religion deprived of its living soul. The common principle of both is the want of faith in the true and proper *mystery* of the sacraments. The Quaker places religion wholly in the sphere of thought, the naked spirit of the subject, and so will have nothing to do with the letter and sign. The Baptist places it there too, but makes a merit at the same time of honoring the letter and sign in a purely outward way, in token of his mental respect for the authority by which it is prescribed. In both cases, the grace and the sign are completely sundered. The Baptist turns the sacrament into a powerless ceremony as truly as the Quaker. Only he chooses to exercise *his* spirituality and rationalism, by squaring his practice in the case to the outward rule which God has been pleased to prescribe as the *test* of his pious obedience. In such view, of course, all turns on the letter ; and the more precisely circumstantial this can be made, the more satisfactory it is taken to be as a trial of christian character. The Baptist, in this way, becomes a Jew.

A right appreciation here of the old church faith, as holding in a living way between these two abstractions, while it leads us to do justice to the free practice of the Western Church within proper limits, will prevent us at the same time from approving such freedom beyond these limits. It cannot be denied that there is a strong tendency with our later Protestantism, especially

under the Puritan form, to run the liberty of sprinkling, as it may be called, into actual licentiousness, by reducing the quantity of water used in baptism to the narrowest practicable measure. The force of the symbol does not indeed turn on the amount of the water employed; but something is still due to the reality and the original sense of the service in this view; and it is very certain that a true sacramental feeling must always operate, where it prevails, to produce a due regard to the mystical idea of the holy ordinance as joined with the water, which will not allow it to be stripped of its proper outward honor in the divine transaction. The old Church, in allowing a partial use of water, still required always that it should be in its measure plentiful and free. So also the Protestant Church of earlier times, in sanctioning the change from immersion to affusion. It marks no improvement on this in our own day, that the application is so frequently reduced to a few drops; the minister simply dipping his fingers in the water perhaps, and flinging some particles of what adheres to them into the child's face, instead of taking up as the old formularies prescribe at least his hand full of the element, and so pouring the same on its head. We have witnessed the service with pain performed in this style, where it was some relief to be sure that only a solitary drop reached the face of the infant, so utterly careless did the officiating priest show himself to be of anything more than the mere ceremony of going through the outward motions of the solemn rite. Now we know it is easy to say, that all depends on the Spirit, and that a single drop of water may be just as efficacious in his hands as all the rivers of Damascus, and Jordan along with them; but it is just as easy to go a single step farther also, and to affirm that the mere motion of the hand in imitation of the act of sprinkling would carry with it all the virtue and force of baptism, even if no water whatever were employed in the case. When it comes to this, of course, all faith in the sacrament as such is gone; the only religious reality owned in it is the *thought* of a certain spiritual work of which it is taken to be the emblem and sign; and it is hard to see why this might not be just as complete with the sign wanting altogether, according to the view of the Quaker. This disposition to rest in the merest minimum of the outward symbol, is something very different from the old sacramental faith, and may be taken always as the sure mark of its comparative if not total absence and failure. Hence it is, that it lends likewise powerful help always to the Baptist cause; not simply as it serves, like all ultraism, to bring reproach on the interest it affects to represent, but as it actually involves also the very spirit

itself by which this cause is actuated. It argues an unsacramental habit; indifference or insensibility to the mystical import of the symbol employed in the transaction; and where this prevails, the only proper alternative is, no water baptism at all or else slavish confinement to it, as a purely outward law, after the Baptist fashion.

In this case we have a double cause for regret. First, that the question of *mode* should be made to seem the main point at issue, and be so managed at the same time as to array the practice of sprinkling or affusion against immersion, as though the last must be shorn of all right in order to justify the other; in consequence of which we have a great deal of false argument on this side, which only rebounds at last in favor of the opposite interest. Secondly, that the defence of sprinkling is too often based on so low a view of the sacrament as amounts well nigh to indifferentism itself, and thus in reality betrays the interest in whose service it appears. Any vindication of sprinkling which proceeds on the assumption that baptism in any shape is a mere ceremony, and that *therefore* no stress should be laid on the mode, must be regarded as a virtual surrendry of all that is material in the controversy, from the start.

The great question in truth however, in this Baptistic controversy, is that which relates to the proper subjects of the ordinance, and which is concerned particularly with the right of *infants* to be comprehended by means of it in the communion of the Christian Church. It is here, still more strikingly than in the other case, that we learn the distinctive character of this unchurchly system, and are brought to face in full at the same time the monstrous consequences to which it leads. Mr. Noel's book is occupied mainly with the lawfulness of infant baptism. He finds it a superstitious corruption, contrary to the Bible, contrary to reason, and contrary to primitive Christianity; and only wonders that all sensible and sober men, in so plain a case, should not long since have come to look upon it in the same light.

Mr. Noel professes great reverence for the authority of the Scriptures. He has thrown himself, he tells us, entirely on their guidance; carefully avoiding indeed all communication with Baptist writers, that his judgment might be formed in this way solely by divine teaching. He claims accordingly to be an original witness in the case, fresh from the fountain of all truth in the Bible. "Not having read a single Baptist book or tract, I publish the following work as an independent testimony to the exclusive right of believers to Christian baptism" p. iv. The

book itself too shows the use of the Scriptures almost on every page. It abounds with quotations and texts. In this respect however it is only a striking exemplification of the vanity and nonsense of the pretension, on which it is thus ostentatiously made to rest. Mr. Noel affects to come to the Bible like an empty vase theologically, leaving behind him all other education and tradition, in order to be filled purely from its gushing contents ; and yet it comes only to this at last, that he divests himself of the old universal church faith, the substance of catholic thought as we have it embodied in the Creed, and brings along with him another different habit of his own, which after all is the result too of education, and in this respect as far removed at least from independence as the most sound church feeling. It is perfectly idle for him to pretend, that he has studied the Bible without prejudice or pre-occupation. His study has been throughout from a given theological standpoint, carrying in itself from the start the necessity of just such views and aspects as it is found then to offer to his eye. Another standpoint would clothe it with a very different sense ; and it is sheer impudence, when *such* private judgment undertakes to make its observations of universal value, as the very mind of the sacred volume itself, and requires all other judgment, however widely and long established, to fall respectfully into its wake. Allow the premises of the Baptist, grant him his theory of Christianity to begin with, (as Puritanism is prone always to do, holding in truth too generally the same theory as its own,) and it becomes a comparatively easy thing for him to establish his favorite conclusions and also to find them satisfactorily reflected from many passages of the Bible. The universal necessary first condition for the right understanding and right interpretation of the Scriptures, is sympathy with the general fact of Christianity, and a living comprehension in its true catholic mystery as it has stood from the beginning. Without this, the more independent and single the expounder may be, the more empty and jejune ordinarily will be the character also of his expositions. Mr. Noel, we are sorry to say, furnishes no exception to this rule. His piety has no power to redeem the impotency of his false position. The use of the Bible in his hands is superficial in the extreme. We have text upon text, and quotation on quotation ; the *sound* of the Bible forever ringing in our ears, from one end of the book to the other ; but it is the Bible for the most part turned into mere commonplace and outside talk, with almost no regard whatever to its interior substance and sense.

The book exemplifies again the vanity of the pretence, that

the unsacramental system is more favorable to religious spirituality than the catholic. The Quakers and Baptists both claim to be more spiritual than the Church generally ; and they try to make good this claim, by reducing religion as much as possible to the actings of individual mind and will, in the case of those who are its subjects. But spiritualism, in this form, is not true Christian spirituality, when all is done. On the contrary, it is just the reverse of this, and left to itself is sure to end in rationalistic misery and starvation. Without faith in catholic realities, there can be no true Christian spirituality. Mr. Noel's book affects to move in the highest region of experimental piety ; and all the world knows him to be a truly pious man ; but we find no quickening, elevating spirit whatever, in what he has here written. It is an irksome, insipid task, to follow him in his views of religion ; so dreary and dry is the region through which they carry us ; so cold and cheerless the results to which they bring us as their necessary end. The freshness and depth of a truly spiritual mind form no part of this plea for "believer's baptism." On the contrary, it is altogether mechanical and outward in its spirit. We feel ourselves surrounded, in reading it, with the atmosphere of rationalism. We seem to be feeding on husks, or vainly endeavoring to satisfy ourselves with the substance of the east wind.

The fundamental controversy in this case lies quite back of all Mr. Noel's argument. The question of the proper use of the sacraments, must depend in the first place on the true idea of their nature. The difference of the Baptists from the old catholic faith begins here ; and unless it be properly met where it thus begins, it is of comparatively small account to make it the subject of contention at any other point. The controversy regards the existence of the sacraments themselves. The Baptists allow no sacrament at all *in the old church sense*. Mr. Noel's book proceeds throughout on the assumption, that baptism is no such sacrament, but a mere outward rite of divine appointment, carrying in it a different import altogether. Allow the old idea of a sacrament to retain its force, and his argument would be at an end. The great question then, and it is one of the very highest solemnity, resolves itself into this : Is baptism a sacrament, as the Church catholic has always believed, or is it only an outward law and sign ?

A sacrament in the true church sense is not a mere outward rite, made obligatory by divine appointment. It carries in itself a peculiar constitution of its own. It consists, according to the old definition, of two parts, one outward and the other inward,

a visible terrene sign and an invisible celestial grace; not related simply as corresponding facts, brought together by human thought; but the one actually bound to the other in the way of most real mystical or sacramental union, causing the last to be objectively at hand in one and the same transaction with the first. Dissolve this mystical bond, and at once the old conception of a sacrament is gone at the same time. You may still retain a rite or ceremony which you dignify with this venerable name; but you will not have what the Church, from the beginning, has understood herself to possess in the holy mysteries of baptism and the Lord's supper.

Now Mr. Noel acknowledges no such bond whatever, in the ordinance of baptism. It is for him purely an outward institution, the whole sense and value of which turn on its giving the believer an opportunity to show his obedience to the authority by which it has been appointed. It is very significant, that the Baptists generally are so prone to speak of the ordinance as a rite or law; showing themselves to have no sense of its being anything more, in this view, than an outward rule imposed by Christ. The "law of baptism," as they are fond of styling it, sinks into a full parallel with the services of the Old Testament, and due regard for it is then made to stand, naturally enough, in an exact compliance with all that may be supposed to belong to the letter of it in such view. The idea of a living power in the ordinance itself, seems to have no place at all in their minds.

Mr. Noel appears never to dream of the possibility of any such objective grace in baptism. It is for him mainly an act of mere profession on the part of the believing subject. "A true faith must manifest itself, and baptism is one appointed mode of its manifestation" p. 45. "Since faith is said to save us, because it is the instrument through which God saves us, so baptism is said to save us, because it is the necessary expression of true faith" p. 46. "Baptism is the profession of faith, the public confession of Christ, without which confession there is no true faith and no salvation" p. 97. "If baptism be simply a profession of repentance and faith, then the expression, 'Repent and be baptized for the remission of sins,' is equivalent to, 'Repent and believe for the remission of sins.' Remission of sins attends baptism simply because it attends faith" p. 101. Could language well make the thing more explicit? The religious force of baptism is purely and wholly subjective; it is nothing save as it serves to represent and manifest a certain state of mind in the believer; the idea of any other power belonging to it as a Divine act is wholly excluded, as being no better than vision.

ary superstition. In this way it ceases to be a sacrament altogether; for a sacrament carrying in it no objective grace, is a contradiction in terms. To abjure the idea of baptismal grace, is to break with the old idea of baptism throughout, and to treat it as an idle dream.

A certain relation to grace, indeed, the system is still willing to allow. But this is taken to be wholly outward. Baptism signifies something spiritual; only however in the way of suggestion to the human mind. No inward, necessary, present bond is allowed to hold between the sign and the thing signified. The transaction outwardly considered enters not at all as an essential factor, into the constitution of the fact which is consummated by its means. It is merely appended to this as an accidental badge. So Mr. Noel takes it throughout. But this is not the form in which baptism, from the beginning, has claimed to be acknowledged as a sacrament. Most clearly in the New Testament, it is made to enter efficaciously, as a divine act, into the mystery of the new birth. Whatever of difficulty may attach to this conception, we have no right to thrust it violently aside for the purpose of accommodating a different theory. The letter of the Bible is too plain, and the sense of it too awfully solemn, to bear any such spiritualism as that. Baptism here is no mere sign, no simply outward adjunct or accident. It is the washing of regeneration; it saves us; it is for the remission of sins. The mere ceremony of course is not this *per se*; but it goes actually to complete the work of our salvation, as the mystical exhibition in real form of that divine grace, without which all our subjective exercises in the case must amount to nothing. Such is the doctrine of the New Testament; and so accordingly the whole ancient Church believed. We have this faith formally proclaimed in the Creed; for the article there affirming the *remission of sins*, as may be easily shown, refers to this as a fact accomplished in the Church by baptism. The objective presence of such supernatural grace in the mystical transaction, is the very thing which faith is required to embrace; as without it indeed there would be no room for its exercise. That the Church otherwise attributed such grace to the sacrament, universally and at all times, is too well known to admit any dispute. Mr. Noel then, and the Baptists as a body, are completely at issue here with primitive Christianity; and the difference is one of vast magnitude and moment. It regards not simply the mode of baptism and its proper subjects, but its essential nature and constitution. Whether agreement in other respects can or cannot be shown, is after all comparatively immaterial; the grand

discord, and that which must forever mar all harmonies besides, lies here at the very bottom of the entire subject. What the primitive Church owned and saw in baptism, Mr. Noel neither owns nor sees in it at all. It is for him no **SACRAMENT** whatever, but only a rule or sign dignified with such title.

He has one chapter devoted to the "effects of baptism," which sets this in the clearest light. Christianity, he tells us, stands in the pardon of sins through Christ for such as trust in his grace, and a life of subsequent consecration to his service. It is meet, in this case, that the believer should openly profess his faith. The Church too, "the society of Christ's disciples," needs some public guaranty of right behavior, on the part of those who are admitted to its fellowship. "Both these objects are secured by the appointed rite of baptism" *p.* 264. It works well besides on the subject himself, on the congregation he joins, and on spectators generally. The subject of so public and solemn a rite, by proclaiming his faith to the world, is laid under bond to follow Christ truly, and by such decision gains strength for the duty. "A thousand checks to sin and a thousand aids to godliness are that day assumed; faith, hope, and love are likely to be confirmed" *p.* 266. The sight is edifying to the church; as it serves to revive and quicken old associations. Witnesses, on the outside of the church, may be affected by it also in the way of salutary reflection. The rite serves the purpose of a key moreover, in the hands of a church, to lock out the world from her communion, *p.* 269, 270. These good effects however belong only to the ordinance as applied to actual believers. Infant baptism works very differently. It sets aside the other practice, with all its connections so admirably suited for *effect*. "Through the baptism of unconscious infants, the solemn, affecting, and salutary baptism of repentance, faith, and self-dedication to God, has nearly vanished from the churches" *p.* 272. And what benefit has been gained by the substitution? Mr. Noel can find none whatever. Under the Mosaic economy, circumcision admitted its subject to great privileges from which the uncircumcised were excluded. But Christianity owns no such exclusion. The child, baptized or unbaptized, occupies the same ground. Parents too derive no help from the rite. "Pious parents do not need this new inducement to educate their children well; ungodly parents cannot feel its force" *p.* 273. The churches themselves regard it with no interest; "except as far as superstition has invested it with imaginary spiritual power, it seems to have dwindled into a formality." Even in this view however it works mischievously, as fostering always the notion

of a saving relation in some way to Christ, in the case of all its subjects. Still worse, it runs naturally into the figment of downright baptismal regeneration.

Our object in this sketch of Mr. Noel's theory of what belongs, and what does not belong, to the efficacy of Christian baptism, is not to make it the subject of formal trial; but simply to show, how completely it excludes every thought of anything like grace or power, mystically present in the ordinance of itself; how it nullifies, out and out, the idea of its objective force as Christ's act, and resolves it wholly into a thing for effect, in the way of pure subjectivity, on the side of men; how, in one word, it overthrows its character as a *sacrament* altogether, in the old church sense, and mocks us in place of this with a rationalistic shadow played off in its name.

Such a view of baptism is inseparably joined with a corresponding view of the Church. This is no longer the living revelation of Christ in the world, the mystical body of which he is the glorious Head, but takes rather the character of an abstraction, signifying merely the general faith and union of those who embrace the gospel. This involves again a corresponding view of Christ's person, and so in the end of the whole system of Christianity. All has a tendency to quit the form of concrete fact, and run into the form of abstract thought.

Where theology comes to be of this sort, we have a dry mechanical separation perpetually between the objective and subjective factors of the christian salvation, which has the effect in the end of thrusting the first out of the process altogether. Redemption is made to be a plan or device, over which God presides precisely as the mind of man may be said to rule a machine; and Christ comes in simply in the way of outward instrumental help, to carry out the scheme. The objective side of the salvation is wholly beyond the world, in the Mind of God; the subjective side of it holds in certain exercises brought to pass in particular men, in view of God's grace and by the help of his Spirit; Christ serves only to make room, in some way, for the ready communication of one world in such style with the other. One of the worst results of this way of looking at things is the notion of a *limited atonement*; according to which Christ is taken to have come into the world and died, not for the race as a whole, but only for a part of it, the election of grace as it is sometimes styled, culled out from the general mass beforehand by divine decree. Where Christ is made to stand on the outside of our salvation, and this is felt to have its principle in God's purpose and will touching men in a direct way, it is not possible

indeed to avoid this consequence; unless by swinging over to the other extreme of such an indefinite atonement, as either turns Christ's work into a Pelagian show or lands us in the error of Universalism.

The only full refuge from these false abstractions is found in the right sense of Christ, as being himself the sum and substance of the salvation he has brought in the world, and in this view the organic comprehension from the start of its whole compass and extent. The new creation is complete in him as a boundless whole, bringing our human life in full into union with God, independently of its triumphs in particular believers. So it comes before us in the Creed. Here are no abstractions. The world is saved in Christ; and this salvation is, in its own nature, as wide as the world. It challenges our faith and homage, as a power of redemption really and truly present in the Church, and fully commensurate in such form, at the same time, with the entire tract of our general human misery and sin.

Here it is now that we reach the grand argument for infant baptism. It lies not in the letter of the Scriptures, but in the life of Christianity itself, the true idea of the Church, the mystery of Christ as the Second Adam, in whom redemption and salvation are brought to pass for the race. Let it be felt that Christianity is a new order of life constituted by the Fact of the Incarnation, and that men are saved only by being comprehended in it in a real way; and it will be felt at the same time, that it must be, in this form, fully commensurate with the fact of humanity itself as a whole. The conception of a partial Christ, a Mediator representing in himself thus a part only of our general manhood and not the whole, strikes directly at the realness and truth of the whole mystery. What a gross imagination it would be, for instance, to limit and bound the capacity of this Mediatorial constitution, by any merely chronological or geographical line in the history of the race; allowing it to be of force for one certain tract of time, but not for another; restricting it to one country or continent with the exclusion of the whole world besides; making it a sufficient source of redemption for Caucasian blood, but not for that of the Negro or Malay! But can it be any more tolerable to right Christian feeling, we ask, to limit and bound the force of this salvation by a line sundering in fancy and childhood from riper age, and to make it of real effect on one side of this line only and not on the other? Humanity is not merely our mature human life, but all the stages also through which this is reached. It includes infancy and childhood as a necessary part of its constitution; a large proportion of it exists

always under this form ; nearly one half of it perhaps is cut off by death before it comes to any higher state. Now the question is not simply : Can such infants be saved if they should happen to die ? but this rather : Is there any real room for them, living or dying, in the concrete mystery of the new creation, in the communion of Christ's Mediatorial Life, in the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church ? Does the nature of the Second Adam take in one half of the necessary life of the race only, while it hopelessly excludes the other ? Such a thought goes at once to undermine the whole fact of the Incarnation. Christ must be of the same length and breadth in all respects with humanity as a whole, in order to be at all a real and true Mediator. He must be commensurate with the universal process of humanity from infancy to old age, as well as with its mere numerical extent. This is implied in the manner of his incarnation itself. His manhood was a process, starting in the Virgin's womb ; and in this character it took up into itself, as a power of redemption, the entire range of our existence. He sanctified infancy and childhood, says Irenæus, by making them stages of his own life. This expresses a just and sound feeling. It grows forth from the true doctrine of Christ's Person. It lies involved in the Creed. It filled the heart of the ancient Church ; and it found its natural, we might say almost necessary expression, in Infant Baptism.

This is more than any merely outward rule. The Baptist is forever harping on the letter of the law ; and insists that a case which is not provided for in express terms by this, must be taken to be without force or right. We hold however that there is monstrous falsehood, as well as miserable Jewish pedantry, pretending to get Christianity like so much clock-work from the text of the Bible, in such purely outward and mechanical style. Christianity has a life and constitution of its own, in the bosom of which only, and by the power of which alone, the true sense of the Bible can be fairly understood ; and in this view it is, that the practice of infant baptism by the universal Church from the beginning comes to its full significance and weight. We not only infer from it the authority of express precept and example going before, in the age of the Apostles ; but we see in it also, (and this is its main value,) the very soul and spirit of Christianity itself, actualizing and expounding in a living way the sense of its own word. If it could be clearly made out that the household baptism of the New Testament included no infants ; nay, if it were certain that the Church had no apostolic rule whatever in the case, but had gradually settled here into

her own rule ; we should hold this still to be of truly divine authority, and the baptism of infants of necessary christian obligation, as the only proper sense and meaning of the New Testament institution, interpreted thus to its full depth by the christian life itself. in this way too the analogy of the Jewish covenant, embracing as it did infants as well as adults, and the analogy we may add of our universal human society, organized everywhere after the same law, bring with them at last their true force. On this subject Mr. Noel is exceedingly superficial and flat. True, Christianity is not a secular institute ; its sphere is the spiritual world ; its privileges are for the soul mainly and not for the body. But still, is it not a perfectly *human* order ; nay, the absolute end and perfection of humanity ; and must it not, in this view, show itself proportional and true throughout to the actual organization of man's life in its universal character ? Make it an unearthly system, playing into the world's economy without any regard to its natural structure as this holds in other spheres, and you do as much as you well can to turn it into magic. As such a human constitution in Christ then, the new creation, with all its spirituality, must of necessity take up into itself the entire compass and power of the old creation ; not destroying its constituent elements and laws, but fulfilling their inmost sense rather and raising them to their highest power. In harmony with the principle that underlies the covenant of nature, as well as the Jewish covenant, binding the state of children to that of their parents even in the lowest and most outward temporal interests, Christianity too, the end of all other covenants, in order that it may be found to be such universal truth in fact and no lie, must show itself able and willing to embrace children as really as adults in its bosom, thus covering with its grace the whole extent of our nature as it lies defiled and defaced by sin. If infants were not comprehended in the law of sin, there might be some reason for holding them to be also shut out from the law of life in Christ Jesus. To make them participant of the curse, and yet incapable of having part really in Him by whom it is removed, would be absolutely monstrous. Every such view is in full contradiction to Rom. v. 12 -21 ; where we are plainly taught, that the grace of the Second Adam is, in its own nature, more than commensurate with the ruin of the First. The economy of salvation must necessarily be so framed, as to make room at least for every necessary class and state of our general life. Like its antitype in the days of Noah, the ark of the Church must be able to save infants and children, as well as persons of higher age. So the Church felt

in the beginning ; and on this ground, with the fullest right and reason, proceeded to incorporate infants into her communion by the initiatory seal of holy baptism. Not to have done so would have been to belie the profoundest instincts of the christian life itself, and to jeopardize at the same time all firm and constant faith in the objective mystery of her own constitution.

Here we see the lean and abstract misery of the Baptist system. Christianity, according to its apprehension, has no power to take up infants, (a large part of the world at any given time,) in a direct and real way, into its constitution. It has to do immediately and properly only with believers, personally conscious subjects. Are infants then incapable of salvation ; or do they need no salvation ? The Baptist is not prepared to rest in either of these alternatives. Infants he holds to be naturally sinful and unregenerate. Those that die in infancy moreover, he tells us, are saved. How ? By the fiat of the Almighty changing their bad nature, as he might bid stones to become children of Abraham. And so it is allowed, that he may in rare instances regenerate also infants that do not die. In both cases the regeneration is *for Christ's sake*, so far as motive is concerned in the Divine Mind ; but in neither case can it be said at all to fall within the actual scope of the christian salvation, strictly so called, as we find it going forward in the Church. This is for believers only, and has no power to reach children in any natural organic way. If saved at all, they are saved out of Christ, and beyond the Church, by a grace for which he may be considered in some sense the occasion, but of which he is in no sense either the medium or source. And so as a general thing infants have no part or lot in his kingdom, no right, or title, or power, to be incorporated into his family. That saving grace of which baptism is the sign and seal, cannot be made in any way to come near to their fallen estate, or to fold them lovingly in its merciful embrace. They have no power yet to think, to understand, to repent, to believe, to accomplish in full the subjective side of this salvation ; and so there is no room to conceive of their being set in any real connection with it under its objective view. They are by their very nature inaccessible to all its provisions and powers; as much so as though they had no part in the life of humanity whatever. They are disqualified constitutionally for *christian* salvation.

We see no escape from this conclusion, on Baptist premises. If children may not be baptized, they cannot in any way be gathered into the bosom of the Church. Then it cannot be said that Christ has room for them at present in his arms. His

grace may have regard to them prospectively ; but where they are just now, by the fearful disabilities of childhood, it cannot reach them or touch them in the way of help. Their only hope is in the " uncovenanted mercies of God," and his power at pleasure to save *without Christ*.

Dreadful, terrible thought ! It is truly wonderful, that it should ever be endured at all by the heart of any Christian parent. The old catholic faith, with its ideas of sacramental grace and educational sanctification, the powers of heaven underlying and supporting the process of piety in a real way, through the Church, from the hour of baptism onward to the hour of death, as compared with this, may well seem like the land of Beulah, full of green pastures and springs, in contrast with a wilderness of sand.

Infant baptism belongs essentially to the theory of Christianity, as this stood in the beginning, and as we find it uttered in the Apostles' Creed. This is generally admitted by such learned men as Augusti, Neander, Gieseler, &c.; who at the same time are found sanctioning the opinion, that it did not come into actual practice probably before the third century ; and to whose authority accordingly the Baptists are now in the habit of appealing triumphantly, as in some sense settling the historical argument on their side. They run away with what is thus granted to them as a bare fact, without the least regard to the form and inward reason of it ; and at once construe into a plump innovation and abuse, what these authorities take to be intelligible only as the fair and legitimate outbirth of the christian life as it went before. Allow that infants were not generally baptized before the third century, and the cause of the Baptists is still by no means made out. The question returns, How came such baptism *then* into quiet general use ? Was it in full antagonism to the genius of Christianity as it stood before ; or did it spring spontaneously out of this, in the way of natural and necessary derivation ? In the last view, the fact is intelligible, and offers no offence to historical criticism. So it is taken by the learned men, Neander and others, to whom we have just referred. This however suits not at all the object of the Baptists. They insist on the other view, as the only one that deserves to be considered correct. Here however they part from their authorities altogether, and set themselves at the same time in broad and open conflict with the truth of history. They assume that the Church started with a theory of Christianity identical with their own, and that the practice in question crept in consequently in opposition to this as a gross downright corrup-

tion. But with the Baptist theory to start from, such as we now find it, not only in regard to infant salvation, but in regard also to the whole constitution of the Sacraments and the Church, it is fairly inconceivable that in the course of a single century any such change as this could ever have come to pass. The Baptist theory is root and branch unchurchly and unsacramental, spiritualistic, rationalistic, and opposed to all thought of mystical objective efficiency in the means of grace outwardly considered. How then could it generate in so short a time the idea of infant baptism? This would be, in such a case, no growth or development in any sense whatever, but direct contradiction and revolution; as much so as though we should fancy the doctrine of transubstantiation springing from the dry loins of Quakerism itself. It is most amply clear however that this whole most unnatural and unphilosophical hypothesis of the Baptists, is an *assumption* purely and nothing besides. However infant baptism came in, it never had a theory of Christianity behind it like that which stares upon us from Mr. Noel's book. There is not a trace of it to be found in the primitive Church, unless among the Gnostics. If anything in the world be plain, it is that the entire genius and faith of the early Church, from the very age of the Apostles, lay in the direction of this practice, and fell towards it with natural gravitation, instead of looking or leaning in any other direction.

But, says Mr. Noel, the Church fell also into the practice of infant communion, and continued it for centuries; which however has since come to be acknowledged universally an abuse; and this must neutralize completely the force of the view now presented. Not at all, we reply. It only goes to show it more certainly true and correct. With the Baptist theory to start from, so easy and general a lapse of the early christian world into this practice must be counted still more inexplicable than the rise of the other superstition; as it must go still farther also to strip ancient Christianity of its last title to rational sympathy and respect. Allow however in the mind of the Church from the beginning the presence of a different theory, including the sense of an organic power working objectively in the christian communion, and concentrating itself especially in the mystery of sacramental grace, and it is no longer difficult to comprehend how it was possible to extend the use not only of the first sacrament, but of the second also, to infants as well as adults; while the judgment is still approved as wise and right, by which in the end a distinction was made between the two cases, and infant communion disallowed while infant baptism was suffered to remain in

force. The Baptistic theory could never have made any such distinction ; just as little as it could have had power to originate either the one side of it or the other. Sympathy with the sacramental faith of the early Church, will enable us to apologize here for this excess in her practice ; while at the same time we have no difficulty in seeing and allowing it to have been an excess ; and are not for this reason tempted at all to resolve the just conception from which such excess grew, and by which only it is made intelligible, into a baseless figment of superstition ; as little precisely, we may say, as we are tempted to part with the whole mystery of Christ's presence in the Lord's supper, because it has been carried by some to the manifest extreme of transubstantiation. After all, even infant communion, properly set aside as it has been by the christian world, is far nearer to the first life of Christianity, and less revolting we will add to the sensibilities of a sound church faith, than the error which will not suffer infants to come to Christ in the Church at all, but by refusing them the sacrament of holy baptism virtually places that whole age, by physical calamity, beyond the pale of his redemption.

We do not allow however, in the view of the matter now presented, that the practice of infant baptism came in only with the third century. The concession as made by Neander and others would not save the cause of the Baptists, if it were true ; for it rests on an entirely different view of early Christianity from that which *their* use of it requires. But the concession itself, we are well satisfied, goes altogether beyond the line of justice and truth. The most that can be allowed is, that infant baptism in the beginning was overshadowed, and thrown out of sight to a great extent, by the far more prevalent and prominent use of the sacrament for full grown converts ; and that no strict rule prevailed, making it of binding authority and necessity as in later times. That it was in actual use however, under such secondary and free aspect at least, even from the age of the Apostles, seems to admit of no serious question. It went hand in hand with the doctrine of native depravity, and gathered force more and more in proportion as this grew into distinct statement, and carried along with it the sense of its necessary counterpart in the doctrine of a real objective remedy for this ruin in Christ.

As presented to our view in the third century, the practice of infant baptism, as all scholars know, is no new or rare thing, but a fact of general and seemingly long established force. Origen never thinks of vindicating it as something lately introduced, but on the contrary appeals to it as an acknowledged church

usage, of apostolical derivation, in support of other truth. He does not argue from the doctrine of native depravity to the necessity of infant baptism; but from this last rather, as a sure and solid ground at hand in the universal sense of the Church, he draws proof for the certainty of that doctrine. "As baptism is given for the remission of sins" he says *hom. viii. in Levit.*, "the grace of it must seem to be superfluous when extended to infants also, as it is by the usage of the Church, if they have nothing in them that calls for remission." Again in *Luc. evang. hom. xiv.*: "Little children are baptized for the remission of sins. Of what sins? When have they sinned? Or how can any use of the laver apply to their case, unless in the sense of what we have just said, that no one is clean according to Job xiv. 4. And because by baptism the pollution of birth is removed, little children also are baptized. For except one be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." Again, on *Rom. v. 6*: "The Church received from the Apostles a tradition, to baptize little children also. For they knew, as stewards of the divine mysteries, that there existed in all the true stain of sin, which needs to be washed away by water and the Spirit, whence even the body itself is styled a body of sin." Such is the clear testimony of Origen. That of Cyprian, in the same age, is if possible still more explicit and overwhelming. He indeed sets before us a dispute in relation to infant baptism. But this did not turn at all on the lawfulness or fitness of the thing itself. That was granted on all sides. Nobody then dreamed, it would appear, of calling it in question. The only doubt was, whether it was necessary to observe the analogy of the Jewish rule, fixing circumcision to the eighth day. Must infants wait at least that long for the sacrament, or might they be baptized at any time after birth? What a question this for the theology of our modern Baptists! Cyprian, supported by the unanimous voice of a whole council at Carthage a. 256, most distinctly affirms the latter view. The grace of God, he says, should be considered open and free to all, as it is needed by all; and we are bound accordingly to bring all, if possible, within its saving scope. If even grievous sins in the case of adults form no bar to their gracious acceptance in this holy sacrament, "how much less should the infant be debarred, which being recently born has not yet sinned at all, save as being naturally born from Adam it has contracted in its first nativity the contagion of original death, and which is the better prepared more easily to receive the remission of sins, for the very reason that the sins to be remitted are not of itself but from abroad, (non propria sed aliena.)"—*Epist. LIX ad Fidum.*

Origen and Cyprian, it will be borne in mind, belong to the first half of the third century. Their testimony then makes it clear, not only that infant baptism was in use at that time, but also that it was no partial nor new thing brought in a short time before. They refer to it as of general, everywhere acknowledged authority, and treat it as part and parcel of the ecclesiastical tradition handed down from the age of the Apostles. Now in these circumstances, it could not possibly have taken its rise only in the latter part even of the second century. Such a state of things of itself implies, that no memory ran to the contrary of it in the Church, and so that it must have started historically with the rise of the Church itself; and it is a strange judgment certainly which Suicer is quoted as uttering, when he says: "For the first two centuries none were baptized, save such as were instructed in the faith and imbued with the doctrine of Christ, because of those words, '*He that believeth and is baptized;*' afterwards the opinion prevailed, that no one could be saved without baptism." With the practice of Origen's time before us, and the quiet faith that prevailed in regard to it, we need no very explicit testimony to assure us of what had place during the century before. It is enough, that no opposing voice is heard, that the positive presumption already secured is met with no contradiction under a different form. The Baptists affect to make light of the historical authorities quoted from the second century in favor of infant baptism; they are so few and of so little force. Mr. Noel cites them from the pages of the learned Bingham, with two marks of admiration in every case, (thus !!,) in token of his profound surprise, to find so vast a superstructure made to rest on pillars so very slender and slim. But it should be remembered in the first place, that we have but little patristic literature to quote from in the second century, on any subject. And then it should be remembered again, in the second place, that the *onus probandi* here, the burden of citing witnesses and authorities, lies on the Baptists themselves, and not on the advocates of infant baptism; who have the clear practice of the universal Church on their side at the going out of the second century, and most full right accordingly to take the same thing, for granted of the century throughout, unless cause to the contrary can be shown. The paucity and leanness of proof, in this view, fall wholly to the side on which Mr. Noel himself stands. All turns at last on a single passage from Tertullian; and this so little pertinent to the purpose it is employed to serve, that we might well bestow all Mr. Noel's marks of admiration upon it singly and alone. In the passage referred to, as is well known,

(*de bapt.* c. 18,) Tertullian takes occasion, on a view of his own, to recommend a delay of baptism in certain cases and states. Children in particular, he tells us, should wait till they are able to come on their own profession. Unmarried persons too he recommends to use a similar procrastination. And what now, we ask, follows from this strange oracle of the African Father? That infant baptism was a new thing in the Church, or of only narrow custom and use? Just the reverse. We know from the testimony of Origen and Cyprian, who join hands with him in time, that the fact was quite otherwise; and the same thing is implied most clearly in this passage itself. Tertullian offers no objection to infant baptism, as being an innovation, or a thing against common rule; which he would have done most certainly, if there had been room for objecting to it in this way. He tacitly allows its general ecclesiastical authority, and simply sets over against this his own private speculation, resting on the danger of post-baptismal sins. Strange theology too he makes of it, in order to carry his point. "Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum?" The passage besides is as much against the baptism of the unmarried, as it is against the baptism of infants; and in this way, if it proves anything at all for the Baptists, it must be taken to prove vastly more than they want. Plainly, Tertullian stood here against the Church; and his voice passed off accordingly, almost without echo, in the progress of her subsequent history.

It is not necessary here to notice specifically the authorities back of Tertullian, that are brought forward by Bingham and others in favor of infant baptism. They are readily acknowledged to be somewhat vague and uncertain in their character; and taken simply by themselves they would be by no means sufficient to establish its practice. But we have no right so to take them by themselves. They must be taken in connection with the light thrown back upon them by the known practice of the Church at the close of the century, as well as from the theory of sacramental grace answerable to this practice which we find in the Church from the beginning; and so taken, we have no hesitation to say, they are altogether relevant and full of force.¹

It has been sometimes said that the practice of infant baptism gained credit and became general finally, through the influence particularly of Augustine's dogma of original sin. This how-

¹ See the subject well presented in the work entitled: *Das Sakrament der Taufe nebst den anderen damit Zusammenhangenden Akten der Initiation:* By J. W. F. Höfling. vol. 1, p. 98-123.

ever is altogether unhistorical. The necessity of it was not felt to lie in any relation to the special view of Augustine on this subject, but in the pressure of the universally acknowledged need of regeneration, as affirmed by our Saviour, John iii. 5 ; as we have had opportunity to see already in the quotation from Origen and Cyprian. Augustine himself moreover, like Origen argues not from his doctrine to the necessity of infant baptism, but just in the reverse order. Infant baptism stands, in the controversy between him and his opponents, for a given sure and certain fact, of apostolical credit and force ; and on the ground of this broad *datum* he plants one of the main pillars of his doctrine. The mystery must be taken, here to be fallacious he says, and not trustworthy, when infants are baptized for the remission of sins, if there be in them no sin to remit. Pelagius and his party felt themselves sorely embarrassed with this argument ; but they never ventured to quarrel with the fact on which it was built. On the contrary, they allowed it also in its full length and breadth, showing plainly thus their sense of its impregnable settlement in the previous history of the church back to the time of the Apostles. For nothing certainly would have suited their cause better than to have been able to show the whole thing a superstitious corruption and abuse, brought in a few generations only before, *against* the universal practice of the primitive Church, and without mention till the time of Tertullian ; as all this has now come to be clear and plain, in this age of telescopic vision, to the eyes of such men as Mr. Noel, looking back through a vista of more than fifteen centuries to the same period.

In this controversy with the Baptists, all depends on taking right ground. It regards not simply the difference of practice with which it is immediately concerned in an outward view, but falls over as we have seen on a difference back of this, and of far more inward and profound character, touching the nature of the Sacraments themselves and the true idea of the Christian Church. The true issue in the end is : Church or No-Church; sacrament or mere moral sign. The rejection of infant baptism turns on a full renunciation of the theory of Christianity, out of which the practice grew with inward necessity at the beginning. The modern Baptist is inwardly at war, in the whole posture of his faith, with the true sense of the Apostles' Creed. He has given up the whole idea of sacramental grace as an obsolete superstitious figment. What the ancient Church took to be the sense of a sacrament, and what in this view the Reformers also felt themselves bound to hold fast as a necessary part of Christi-

anity, he most deliberately gives to the winds. A sacrament is for him another thing altogether. This it is, we say, that forms the real significance and the true deep solemnity of this controversy ; and on this ground should it be made always to rest. It is of little account to contend with the Baptists, and the contest is likely always to have but small success in the end, if its true ultimate sense be not felt and asserted firmly in this way.

It is not to be concealed, however, that no small amount of the opposition which is made among Protestants to the system of the Baptists, at the present time, is not planted on the great ultimate issue here noticed at all ; but on the contrary takes side in regard to it with the interest opposed, as though that primary issue were fully antiquated and no longer of any force whatever ; in consequence of which all such defence of the truth, (the outward shell of it only forsaken of its proper soul,) is found to be more or less powerless and vain. It is a poor business to contend for infant baptism, if all the principles on which it rested in the beginning and that of right still lie at the ground of it, be in the first place rationalistically surrendered. Of such practical treason, secretly aiding and abetting the very enemy with which it outwardly makes show of battle, we have melancholy exemplifications on all sides. It is lifting itself into view continually among all our sects, as far as the Puritan principle has been able to gain onesided and separate supremacy at the cost of the Catholic. It fights the Baptists ; but in doing so grants them all their principal premises, and so leaves nothing to fight about that deserves any true zeal. It eviscerates the sacraments of all objective force ; denies their mystical character altogether ; turns them into simple signs and ceremonies, that have no inward connection whatever with the spiritual realities they represent. What are we to think of a Presbyterian minister for instance, taking pains at the Lord's table, without the fear of Galvin or the Westminster Confession before his eyes, to guard his people against the danger of fancying any *mystery* at all in the transaction ; or carefully reminding them, over the "laver of regeneration," that they must not dream for a moment of any *grace*, exhibited or conferred through the holy institution. And all this too, in token of his zeal for evangelical spirituality, poor man, as contrasted with the far off mummeries of Puseyism and Rome ! When it has come to this, the defence of infant baptism is indeed reduced to bad plight ; for its outworks are gone, and its main garrison is virtually delivered into the enemy's hands. It cannot be defended any longer as a sacrament, as the thing it was counted to be in the beginning ; and so its defence

cannot be made to rest on the grounds and reasons which originally brought it to pass. It is changed into a new sense. It has become a mere outward rule. It carries another relation altogether to the true and proper life of Christianity; and by such shifted position it is in fact shorn of its stays and props, whether in the form of testimony from the Bible or as offered in the voice and practice of the early Church.

Such unsacramental Paedo-baptism labors, in truth, under a threefold fatal defect, in its war with the Baptists. *In the first place*, it puts a hammer in their hands to break its own head with, by yielding their false principle that the Bible *per se* must settle, in purely outward and mechanical style, this and all other points of christian faith and practice. That is not the way in which the Bible is to be used. It is not constructed on any such mechanical plan, and never offers itself so to our faith. Such slavery to the letter is Jewish, not Christian. By consenting to it, in the case before us, the unsacramental advocates of infant baptism kill their own cause at once. It is perfectly vain, to think of making out a clear plea for it from the letter of the Bible. It never came into practice that way at first, and there is no such foundation for it to rest upon now. Recourse is had accordingly to indirect and circuitous proof always, based more or less on analogy, inference, and presumption; and to crown all, the subsequent practice of the Church is lugged in as a sort of supplemental voucher. But here the Baptist falls in with a loud protest; and he has fair right to do so, on the *common* ground occupied by the parties. "The text, the text, and nothing but the text; no gloss, no hypothesis, no tradition; nothing less than a direct *Thus saith the Lord* can be entitled to confidence in so grave a case." Thus runs the everlasting watchword, and the mouth of the adversary is fairly stopped. He may talk on indeed; but his talk is to no purpose, unless it be simply to reveal the nakedness of his own self-contradictory posture.—*Secondly*, the advocacy in question is still farther at fault in the use it allows itself to make, supplementally, of Christian antiquity. The practice of infant baptism in the early Church grew forth, organically we might say, from a certain theory of Christianity itself, which stands out more or less clearly to view in all the doctrines and institutions of the Church at the time. It was no separate fact merely, resting on naked precept and tradition; it belonged to the life of the universal system in which it had place; its proper significance and force stood in its relations, its theological connections, its ecclesiastical surroundings. But now, in the case before us, no sort of regard is paid to this most obvious

and simple thought. Puritanism as a general thing, if we may believe at least *some* of its witnesses, owns no agreement or sympathy with the mind of the early Church, as this meets us in the Apostles' Creed, considers its theory of Christianity superstitious, and repudiates especially out and out its imagination of grace in the Sacraments. And yet, in controversy with the Baptists, this same Puritanism appeals to the practice of the early Church in favor of infant baptism, and tries to eke out its *Bible* argument, otherwise most impotent and lame, by the convenient help here offered in the way of tradition! But this is unfair, and may be justly charged with practical equivocation. It is like the trick of arguing from the mere sound of a text in the Scriptures, without any regard to the sense required by its context. What right have those who refuse the ecclesiastical context of infant baptism, as it stood in the early Church, to go thither in quest of testimonies and authorities in favor of it, as it now happens to be in authority among themselves under a wholly different view? They pervert in such case what they are pleased to cite and quote, by sundering the fact in question from its necessary connections, and forcing it to stand in other connections altogether, that actually make it to carry a new sense. When Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, &c., are pressed into service as witnesses, by this unchurchly and unsacramental school, they are always of course turned more or less into the character of wire-worked puppets; and the shrewd Baptist may well be excused for his smile of sarcastic triumph, as he charges home on *such* adversaries the double inconsistency, first of calling in the aid of any tradition whatever, and then of wresting this tradition out of all its living articulations to make it fit for their own use.—And this brings into view finally the *third* defect belonging to the school. In thus refusing and disowning the connections out of which infant baptism sprang in the beginning, it shows itself insensible also to the true interior sense and reason of it in its own nature. Only in the character of a grace-bearing sacrament, according to the view taken of it by the early Church, and only in connection with the idea of an objective salvation in Christ commensurate with the entire tract of our human life from infancy to old age, can baptism be vindicated rationally as the proper privilege of infants. Renounce this old theory of Christianity, and it is no longer possible to make any satisfactory stand here against the plausible reasonings of the Baptists. If baptism be a mere outward confession on the part of the subject, or if it be a sign simply of certain things which must be brought to pass by human thought and will, no good

reason certainly can be assigned for employing it in the case of infants. Those accordingly who deny baptismal grace, making the rite thus to be in reality no sacrament at all but only an outward law or rule of Divine appointment, show themselves unable always to meet the demands of this controversy, and in truth betray it, as we have before said, into the hands of the Baptists. As a mere sign, infant baptism has no authority in the Bible, no sanction in ancient church practice, and no apology in reason or common sense.

Where such low view of the sacrament has come to prevail, paedo-baptism falls necessarily into the character of a simple ecclesiastical tradition, and is looked upon as a sort of outward custom only, which it is not becoming to make the subject of any very earnest zeal one way or another. No special stress accordingly is laid upon it in a practical view; no special regard is had to it in the subsequent training of children. Pains are taken rather to make it of no effect for the purposes of Christianity. It is treated as a nullity. All faith in it as Christ's act, is carefully discouraged; and the first object oftentimes would seem to be to smother and crush in the baptized child all sense of privilege on the score of such adoption into God's family, and to substitute for it the sense of membership only and wholly in the family of Satan. We have heard a Presbyterian minister say publicly on this very subject: That he would consider it a calamity to have his children make any account of their baptism in this view. The sacrament to his mind palpably had no force whatever, except as the thing signified by it might be brought to pass subsequently, from a wholly different quarter and in a wholly different way; in order to which, the more it could itself be kept out of sight, in the meantime, the better. How is it possible, where practice thus gives the lie to all the mystery should mean, to show any proper zeal, or constancy, or ability, in its defence? Infant baptism, like the question of sprinkling, becomes a mere circumstance, lying on the outside of the "evangelical system," in which all spiritual christians, be they Baptist or Pædo-baptist, may still join happily with one and the same mind; provided only they have grace enough not to fall out by the way, over a matter of such subordinate worth. No wonder in these circumstances, that the cause of the Baptists, should eat like a cancer, and send its rationalistic roots forth far and wide into the life of the Church. No wonder that the *ceremony* of baptizing infants, even among those who are still nominally its friends, should seem to grow more loose and rickety always in actual practice; though we confess we were not pre-

pared for some astounding results on this subject, which have been lately brought into view from an examination of the statistical reports published by the last O. S. Presbyterian Assembly. The Episcopalians quote the fact in proof of a sad falling away from sound church feeling: while the Baptists echo it triumphantly, as a lively illustration of the variance which exists between the piety of the age and the force of this old tradition, as well as a pleasing evidence that it is destined soon to pass away entirely in the universal prevalence of their own truly rational faith. In any view it deserves attention.

Infant baptism taken as a mere abstract rite or usage, can never maintain its ground. As it grows from the church system, so it can never thrive or prosper truly save in the bosom of this system. It is properly but the initiative of all that is comprehended in a true church life, as a process of preparation for heaven. Take away the idea of this process, as something needed to carry forward and complete what is thus begun, and the true sense of the sacrament is gone. Infant baptism assumes the possibility of educational religion, under the special appliances of the Church, and looks to it as its own necessary complement. The idea of *confirmation* is required to bring it to its true and full sense. Where faith remains at all in its character as a sacrament, it will be felt to carry in it a demand for such personal acknowledgment and response on the part of its subject, at the proper time, under the hand of the Church; which in such case will not be viewed as a new and independent transaction, however, but rather as the natural and suitable close of the baptismal act itself. Let the idea of confirmation, on the other hand, be strange to the mind of any part of the Church, and the continuity lost sight of thus that should hold of right between the beginning of infant baptism and its proper end, and it will be found that to the same extent the institution itself is shorn of its significance and turned into an empty form.

Mr. Noel advocates free communion, as it is called, in opposition to the more strict practice generally observed among his Baptist brethren. His liberality in this respect rests, consistently enough, on the low view he takes of the sacraments. They are both for him mere acts of profession appointed by Christ, which have their whole use in the opportunity they give for "fulfilling righteousness" or complying with a rule of duty. Christianity itself, standing in the work of the Spirit and a corresponding experience in the believer, has place before and beyond all such profession, when it is sincere, and is just as complete without it as with it. Baptism ought indeed to precede the use of the

Lord's supper. But still a good profession may be made under this last form alone; and in the case of really pious persons, baptized in infancy, or rather according to this system not baptized at all, but afterwards self-devoted to Christ at the Lord's table, Mr. Noel thinks the rule in regard to the first sacrament, (or *sign*,) may safely be overlooked, in favor of Christian brotherhood and peace. And over against the strict theory as held by Baptists, this way of looking at the matter strikes us certainly as very reasonable and right. For what can well be a greater contradiction, than first to sunder the sacraments completely from the life and substance of Christianity, making them to be in truth no *sacraments* at all but only signs or statutes; and then to make the use of them under a given form notwithstanding the rule and measure of all full Christian communion, to the exclusion of a large proportion of the actually acknowledged piety of the world. To make at once so little of the sacraments, and yet again so much, is no better than letter-stiff pedantry of the most thoroughly Jewish type. We once heard a Baptist minister take great pains, on a communion occasion, to strip the service of every sort of mystical sense, setting it in full parallel finally with the Monument of Bunker Hill; and yet when all was done we were not allowed to come nigh it, although just before invited to participate in the services of the pulpit in front of which the monumental transaction took place. We felt it a real relief however to be thus excluded; for so utterly shorn of all true sacramental character did the altar appear in our eyes, that we could hardly have felt at liberty in our own mind to approach it as an altar at all. Strange and absurd exclusiveness, we felt at the time and still feel, which *includes* for its central mystery so poor a shadow!

We do not like the system of the Baptists. It overthrows the true idea of the Church. It makes the sacraments of no effect, and virtually destroys them altogether. It turns the whole gospel thus into a form different from that which it had in the beginning. The mystical side of Christianity is made to perish under its hands; while in every direction a cold calculating rationalism is offered to us in its stead. We do not wonder that it found so little favor in the eyes of early Protestantism; and the change which has come over much of our later Protestantism in regard to it, we hold to be an occasion for anxiety and alarm rather than for congratulation.

In all this article, it will be observed, we have carefully restrained from the question, What specifically is the power of baptism in the case of infants? This question is now moving the

Church of England to its very foundations; and it is one undoubtedly of the most profound and far reaching interest, for the general theology and church life of the age. But we meddle not with it here, any farther than to assert the fact of grace objectively present in the sacrament under *some* form. Allowing this, there is room still for a difference of view in regard to its precise nature; just as there is room for a similar difference also in regard to the specific power of the Lord's supper. All such difference however comes of right *after* the question, whether there be any such mystic force at all in these solemnities *under any form*. It is with this first general question only, that we have been here concerned. The Baptists, and a large class besides whom we may style Crypto-baptists, as agreeing with them in principle while opposing them in form, most deliberately and distinctly empty the baptismal laver of all mystical sense, see in it only common water, and acknowledge in it no power or force whatever aside from the mental exercises of the baptized subject; which of course turns it into idle mummery as applied to infants. This sweeping and wholesale judgment it is, as it meets us in Mr. Noel's book, that we wish to protest against as unscriptural and false. It is at war with the Bible, with the true idea of the Church, with all Christian antiquity, and with the proper voice of the Reformation. We know that there are great difficulties attending the subject of baptismal grace. But let us not think to escape these, by throwing ourselves into the arms of Rationalism. Whether we can solve them satisfactorily or not, we are still bound, in the way of preliminary faith, to accept the mystery of such grace itself; since the only alternative to this, is to give up the doctrine of the holy sacraments altogether, in the old church sense, and so to bring in another gospel.

J. W. N.

THE OLD PALATINATE LITURGY OF 1563.

(Continued.)

Under the impression that the summary of the Catechism, named in the former article upon this subject, consisted of extracts from the "*Compendium*," attached to some of our English Hymn Books, (as also to those of the Reformed Dutch

Church), it was our intention to pass it by, and proceed at once to a translation of the more devotional portion of the Liturgy. Upon examination however we find, not only that this summary is something different from any thing known to us in English, but that the *Compendium*, hitherto regarded as a translation of that contained in another part of this Liturgy,¹ is something essentially different from this admirable original. Reserving the translation of this old original compendium for its proper place, (in the form of Confirmation), we shall therefore give a specimen of the summary before passing on to the Second general division of the Liturgy.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE CATECHISM.

What is necessary for man to know in order to be saved?

Three things: First, how great his sins and misery are. In the next place, how he may be delivered from his misery. Thirdly, how he may thank God for such deliverance.

I Of the misery of Man.

1. *In what does the misery of man consist?*

In his being a poor sinner, and meriting, on account of sin, eternal damnation.

2. *Whence may sin be known?*

Out of the ten commandments of God, which no man can keep, because they require not only an outward, but also an inward perfect obedience of the entire man.

(Here follow the 10 commandments.)

3. *How may we know that we are condemned on account of sin?*

From the curse of God, threatened against all transgressors of the ten commandments, as it is written: Cursed is every one, that continueth not in all things, written in the book of the law, to do them.

4. *But whence comes this misery, that we are such poor sinners?*

From the fall and disobedience of our first parents, Adam and Eve in Paradise.

¹ It constitutes a part of the form of Confirmation. The No. of questions is precisely the same with that of our Compendium, and many of them correspond exactly, but others are totally different.

II. *Of man's deliverance.*

5. How are we delivered from this misery?

God gave His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, to be our Redeemer and Saviour.

6. Is there but one God?

Yes, there is but one only God, yet in three distinct persons, namely, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as the articles of our christian faith teach.

What are these articles of our christian faith?

(Here the twelve articles of the Apostles' creed are inserted.)

7. Who is Jesus Christ?

He is the only-begotten Son of God, and the Son of Mary, as stated in the above articles : that is, He is very God, and very man in one person.

8. Why had he to be very man?

That He might suffer death for us.

9. Why was it necessary for Him to be very God?

That He might conquer death, and give us eternal life.

10. From what then hath He delivered us?

From sin, and all the power of the devil, and from eternal death, so that He hath procured for us, on the other hand, righteousness, the Holy Ghost, and eternal life.

11. How did He procure this redemption?

By His sufferings, death, and resurrection.

12. How are we made partakers of this redemption?

Alone through true faith.

13. What is true faith?

It is a certain assurance and hearty confidence in the promise of God, that for Christ's sake He will be merciful unto us.

15. Whence may we derive this assured confidence?

From the promise of the gospel : He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.

16. Since then we are made partakers of Christ, and of the redemption He procured for us, by faith alone, of what use are the sacraments?

They serve to strengthen our faith.

17. How many sacraments are there in the New Testament?

Two, holy baptism, and the holy supper of our Lord.

18. What are the words of the institution of Holy Baptism?

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned." This promise is also repeated, where the scrip-

tures call baptism the washing of regeneration, and the purging away of sin.

19. *What are the words of the institution of the Lord's supper?*
(1. Cor. 11: 23-30 and i. Cor. 10: 16, are here cited.)

III. Of Thankfulness.

20. *How may a christian show his gratitude to God for his salvation?*

By a christian life, and by believing prayer.

21. *How may christian life be led?*

By doing good works.

22. *What are good works?*

Such as God has enjoined, and are done in true faith, and to the glory of God.

23. *Why are good works necessary?*

Not that we may thereby be saved, but that thus we may prove our gratitude to God, since He hath enjoined them, and they are an evidence of our faith.

24. *How must we show our gratitude to God by prayer?*

By calling upon Him in all times of need, and thanking Him for all His benefits.

25. *But how should we address God in prayer?*

As our Lord Jesus Christ hath taught us: 'Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, &c.'

Of the "Scripture passages applicable to every condition in life," with which this division of the Liturgy closes, it says introductory: "The Holy Scriptures not only teach *in general* how we may lead a godly and christian life, but also direct each one, in every particular station, age, and calling, how to conduct himself in the path upon which God has placed him. The most important passages are therefore collected in the following table, that every one may the better know how to conform his conduct to the word of God." This table embraces the following topics, under each of which the passages indicated are quoted in full.

Of Kings and Princes.—Deut. 17: 19, 20. Ps. 2: 10, 11.

Of Councils, Officers, Counsellors, and Judges.—Ex. 18: 21, 22.

2 Chron. 19: 6, 7.

Of Subjects.—Rom. 13: 1, 6.

Of Preachers, Elders, and Deacons.—Ezek. 3: 17, 19. Acts. 20:

28. 1 Peter 5: 1, 4. Rom. 12: 7, 8.

Of hearers.—Deut. 17: 10, 13. Heb. 13: 17. Coloss. 3: 16, 17.
1 Tim. 5: 17.

Of Schoolmasters, and Schoolmistresses.—Mtth. 18: 5, 7. Mark 9: 37.

Of Scholars.—Prov. 8: 10, 11. Prov. 12: 1.

Of married persons in general.—Heb. 13: 4.

Of Husbands.—Eph. 5: 25. Coloss. 3: 19. 1 Peter 3: 7.

Of Wives.—Eph. 5: 22, 23, 24. Coloss. 3: 18. 1 Peter 3: 1, 6.

Of Parents.—Deut. 6: 6, 7. Prov. 23: 13, 14; 13: 24; 19: 18,

Of Children.—Prov. 1: 8, 9. Eph. 6: 1, 3.

Of Masters and Mistresses.—Coloss. 4: 1. Eph. 6: 9.

Of Servants and Handmaids.—Eph. 6: 5, 8. 1 Peter 2: 18.

Of the Aged.—Titus 2: 1, 5.

Of Youth.—1 Peter 5: 4, 5. Ps. 119: 9. Isaiah 3: 16, 17.

Of the Rich.—1 Tim. 6: 6, 9, 17, 19.

Of the Poor.—Prov. 28: 6. James 2: 5.

General Passages.—Mtth. 7: 12. John 13: 34, 35.

II. OF PUBLIC PRAYER.

Before the morning sermon, especially on Sabbath, Holy-days, and Fast-days, the following prayer shall be used, in which the christian congregation is emphatically reminded of the misery of man, and the saving grace of God is implored, so that the heart is made humble, and more desirous of the word of grace.

Prayer before Sermon.

Confession } *Heavenly Father*, eternal and merciful God ;
 } of sin. } we acknowledge and confess before Thy divine
Majesty that we are poor miserable sinners, conceived and born
 in sin and corruption, prone to all evil, and unfit for any good.
 By our sinful life, we have continually transgressed Thy holy
 commandments, provoked Thy wrath against us, and incurred
 Thy just judgment unto eternal death. *But, O Lord*, we re-
 sorrow } pent in sorrow that we have thus offended Thee,
 for sin. } we condemn ourselves and our iniquities, and im-
 plore Thee mercifully to help us in our wretchedness and wo.
 1. Prayer for } *Have mercy* upon us, therefore, O most gra-
 } pardon. } cious God and Father, and pardon all our sins,
 for the sake of the holy sufferings of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ
 our Lord.

2. For sanctification. } And vouchsafe unto us, henceforth, the grace
of Thy Holy Spirit, that He may teach us
heartily to know our unrighteousness, and make us so to abhor
ourselves, that sin may be slain in us, and we may arise to new-
ness of life. Thus shall we produce the perfect fruits of holiness
and righteousness with which, for Christ's sake, Thou art

3. For a saving apprehension of the word of God. } well pleased. Grant also, that we may
rightly understand Thy holy word, according to Thy divine will, that we
may learn from thence to withdraw our confidence entirely from
the creature, and to put all our trust in Thee. And may our
old man, with all its lusts, be daily crucified more and more, that
we may present ourselves unto Thee, as living sacrifices, to the
honor of Thy holy name, the edification of each other, and the
furtherance of our salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who
hath also taught us to pray saying :

Our Father, &c.

[On Sabbaths after the morning sermon, and especially after the preparatory sermon, the minister shall say :]

Beloved in the Lord, Whereas we see in the commandments of God, as in a glass, how great and manifold our sins are, by which we merit temporal and eternal punishment, therefore let each one of us heartily confess the same unto our faithful Father, and sincerely say with me :

Confession of sin } I poor sinner, acknowledge before Thee,
before God. } my God and Creator, that I have grievously and in manifold ways, sinned against Thee, not only with gross outward transgressions, but much more with inward natural blindness, unbelief, doubts, despondency, impatience, pride, evil covetousness, secret envy, hatred, malice, and other sinful affections,—as Thou my Lord and God well knowest, and I alas! cannot deeply enough deplore.—But I repent of these things, and am sorry for them, and heartily beseech Thee for mercy, for the sake of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ.—Amen.

[Then shall the minister declare unto penitent believers the forgiveness of sins, and unto the impenitent the judgment of God, and say :]

Hearken now unto the comforting assurance of the grace of God, promised in the gospel to all that believe.

Declaration of Divine Grace to the penitent. } *Thus saith our Lord Jesus Christ,—John 3: 16, For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that all who would believe in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life.*

Unto as many of you therefore, Beloved Brethren, as abhor yourselves and your sins, and believe that you are fully pardoned through the merits of Jesus Christ, and resolve daily more to abstain therefrom and to serve the Lord in true holiness and righteousness, I declare, according to the command of God, that they are released in heaven from all their sins, (as He hath promised in His gospel), through the perfect satisfaction of the most holy passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The sins of the } **But** as there may be some among you, impenitent } who continue to find pleasure in your sin and retained. } shame, or who persist in sin against their conscience, I declare unto such, by the command of God, that the wrath and judgment of God abides upon them, and that all their sins are retained in heaven, and finally that they can never be delivered from eternal damnation, unless they repent.

And inasmuch as we doubt not, but that our prayers are sanctified by the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and therefore acceptable to God, let us heartily call upon Him, and say :

Our Father, &c.

Prayer for Sabbath after the morning Sermon.

Thanksgiving, } **Almighty God, Creator of heaven and for bodily mer- } earth, we give Thee most hearty thanks, that cies.** } Thou hast created us, and hast preserved, fed and sustained us and our children hitherto, and art still willing to keep and govern us. But especially do we thank Thee, that

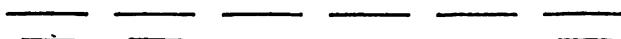
2. For spiritual } Thou has given us to know Thy Son Jesus mercies. } Christ, and dost pardon our sins for the sake of His bitter passion and death.

PRAYER :

1. For spiritual } We beseech Thee to renew us in the image mercies promis- } of Thy Son Jesus Christ, by the preaching of ed through the } Thy word, and the power of the Holy Ghost, ministry of the } that so we may, both in soul and body live word. } with Thee, to praise Thee, for which we were originally created. Defend us against the malice of Satan, lest he pluck thy holy word out of our hearts, as he did unto our first parents Adam and Eve.

2. For the civil } And whereas Thou hast ordained civil au- Authority. } thorities, by which Thou dost govern us, we beseech Thee, who hast the hearts of rulers in Thy hands, for

* * * * *



Grant unto our governors grace and peace, that they may direct their authority to that end, that our Lord Jesus Christ, unto Whom all power in heaven and earth is given, may reign over them and their subjects, so that the people, who are the creatures of Thy hands, and the sheep of Thy pasture, and for whom the Lord Jesus shed His blood, may be governed in holiness and righteousness; and that we may, for Thy sake, show unto them all becoming honor and faithfulness, and thus, under their protection, lead an honest, peaceable and christian life.

3. For the } *Grant* Thy blessing and favor also upon the fruits of the } fruits of the earth, that we may thus know Thee earth. } as our Father, and the fountain of all mercy and blessing. Preserve us also from war, famine, and the swift-

4. For all } spreading pestilence. *Neither* pray we for our men. } selves alone, but for all men in the whole world, that Thou wouldest graciously have compassion upon them.

5. Especially for } *And especially* for those who have fellow- our persecuted } ship with us in the Body of Jesus Christ, Brethren. } and who suffer for the truth's sake. Be pleased, O Father of all Grace, to restrain the wrath of Thine enemies, who persecute thy Son Jesus Christ, in His members, and strengthen the persecuted with victorious steadfastness, and the power of Thy Holy Spirit, that they may joyfully receive these sufferings from thy hand, and in the midst of tribulations experience that peace which passeth all understanding.

6. For all afflicted persons. } *Comfort* and sustain the poor, the sick, widows and orphans, all prisoners, and such as are with child, with all troubled and tempted souls, and grant unto them Thy peace, through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to His assured promise: Verily, verily I say unto you, all things that ye shall ask the Father in my name, will He give unto you; and who hath farther instructed us to pray:

Our Father, &c.

OR THIS:

Prayer for spiritual and bodily mercies, after the plan of the Lord's prayer, which is briefly explained.

1. Hallowed be Thy name.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who hast promised certainly to grant unto us those things which we ask for in the name of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ: we beseech Thee to work in our hearts by Thy Holy Spirit, that we may rightly know Thee, to sanctify, adore and praise Thee in all Thy works, in which Thine Omnipotence, Wisdom, Goodness, Mercy, Justice, and Truth shine forth. Grant also that we

may so order our whole life, all our thoughts, words and works, that Thy name may not be profaned, but adored and praised through us.

2. Thy kingdom } And so govern us, by the sceptre of Thy
 come. } word, and the power of Thy Holy Spirit,
 that we and all men, may daily more subject and yield ourselves
 to Thy Divine Majesty.

Preserve and extend Thy Church, and confound all the works of the Devil, and all evil and malicious designs devised against Thy holy word. Put Thine enemies to shame by the might of Thy truth and righteousness, that every power which exalts itself against Thy glory may from day to day be more completely rooted up and destroyed, until the perfection of Thy kingdom shall be consummated, when Thou shalt manifest Thy glory in Thy people at the last day, and be forever all in all.

3. Thy will } *Grant also, that we and all men may re-*
 be done. } *nounce our own will, and all the lusts of the*
 flesh, and obey, without contradiction, Thy good and perfect
 will, that each one may as faithfully and cheerfully fulfil his
 duty and calling, as it is done by the angels in heaven.

4. Our daily } *Provide for us also, all things needful for our*
 bread. } *bodies, grant us peace and a wholesome gov-*
 ernment, that so we may learn to know Thee as the only foun-
 tain of all good, and our faithful Father, who carest for Thy
 children, without whose blessing neither anxiety nor labor, nor
 yet Thy mercies will avail; so that withdrawing all confidence
 from the creature, we may put our trust in Thee alone.

5. Forgive } *And we beseech Thee, for the sake of the shed-*
 our debts. } *ding of Christ's blood, reckon not against us poor*
 sinners our iniquities and sins, neither the corruption that still
 clings to us, inasmuch as we have this evidence of Thy grace
 in our hearts, that we forgive those that trespass against us, and
 desire to promote their welfare.

6. Lead us not in- } *In ourselves, O Lord, we are so weak*
 to temptation. } *that we cannot maintain our integrity for*
 a moment, but are continually exposed to the temptations of our
 enemies, the devil, the world, and our own flesh. We entreat
 Thee therefore to preserve and strengthen us, by the power of
 Thy Holy Spirit, that we may steadfastly withstand these foes,
 and not be overcome in this spiritual warfare, but remain firm,
 until we at length obtain the victory, and reign forever in Thy
 kingdom, with Thy Son, our Lord and Defender Jesus Christ.

7. For Thine is } *These things we humbly ask, that thereby*
 the kingdom. } *not we, but Thou mayest receive eternal*

praise. And all this we know Thou canst do for us, since Thou art Almighty God, and art willing to do, for Thou art a faithful Father, as certainly as we sincerely desire them, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Our Father, &c.

Praise ye the Lord with your song.

[After the singing let the minister say:]

The Lord bless thee and keep thee: The Lord make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. Amen.

Prayer to be used after the Sermon on the Catechism.

The true God whom Christians address } Almighty and only true God, the eternal Father of our Savior Jesus Christ, described. } Thine only begotten Son, together with the Holy Ghost, Creator of heaven and earth, angels, men, and all creatures, Thou art allwise, gracious, righteous, true, pure, merciful, and bounteous.

Confession and re-pentance of sin. } I confess alas! that I am a poor sinful man, and heartily repent that I have displeased Thee.

1. Prayer for pardon. } But I beseech Thee graciously to pardon all my sins, and clothe me with righteousness, for the sake of Thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, who offered Himself a sacrifice for our sins, and died upon the Cross, arose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and liveth for ever, that through His unspeakable wisdom and mercy, He might be our Mediator, Propitiation, Intercessor and Savior.

2. For sanctification } Grant also, for His sake, and through and guidance. } Him, more and more to sanctify me, by the Holy Ghost, unto eternal life, and to reign in me, so that I may know Thee the only true God, ever call upon Thee in true faith, serve Thee with hearty obedience, and be kept from falling into sin.

3. For all conditions in life. } Gather and preserve unto Thyself, in our beloved country, a true holy Church, grant us a happy government, and all needful sustenance, and ever protect us and our poor children, in soul and body. Multiply in them Thy grace, that they may grow up in Christ Thy Son, the Head of the Church, until they attain unto the age of perfect manhood, in all wisdom, holiness and piety.

Do this, most merciful Lord, for the sake of Thy dear Son, who heareth our sighs, and intercedes for us, through Whom we

believe our supplications are acceptable unto Thee and not made in vain, saying as we do with that humble suppliant of old, Lord I believe, help Thou mine unbelief : Amen.

Our Father, &c.

Next to these follow "two prayers to be used after the sermon on working-days," and one for special days of fasting and prayer (of which a very good translation, with a few additions, may be found in the Reformed Dutch Liturgy, under the title "A prayer on the Lord's-day after sermon"), with a second for a similar occasion to be used according to circumstances. But as the insertion of all these would swell this article beyond proper limit, we pass on to give a specimen or two of the prayers appointed for the festival days of the Church.

Prayer for Christmas, after the Sermon.

THANKSGIVING { Eternal, and Almighty God, we give Thee
 1. For the plan } most hearty thanks, that in Thy great love,
 of redemption. } Thou didst graciously pity us, who were doomed
 to eternal death for our sins, and ordained Thine only begotten Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, to be our
 2. The promise. } Mediator, Atonement, and Savior ; that He
 } was promised unto our first parents in paradise, after their deplorable fall, and at the appointed time was
 3. His mission } sent into the world, that He assumed our flesh and incarnation. } and blood, became our Brother, and in all things like unto us, sin excepted. We praise Thee, that by His death He destroyed him who had the power of death, the Devil,
 4. The redemption } and delivered us, who must otherwise
 He effected. } have spent our whole life in bondage to the fear of death, from the thralldom of Satan and darkness, and translated as into the kingdom of light and eternal happiness.
 1. Prayer for the } We heartily beseech Thee to fill us with saving knowledge of } Thy grace, that we may rightly know this Jesus Christ. } Thy love and mercy, and Jesus Christ Thy Son, Whom Thou hast made unto us for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and so love and honor Him, as wholly to surrender ourselves up unto Him, to confide in Him, and esteem everything in the world as dross and dung, for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ. And may we cling unto this Savior with true faith, who forgiveth all our sins, and healeth all our diseases, that we may rejoice in all the tribu-

lations of this life, and sing with the heavenly host : Glory to God in the highest peace on earth, and good-will toward men ! and finally attain unto the end of our faith, even the salvation of our souls.

2. For the civil. } We entreat Thee also for all the govern-
government. } ments of the world, for * * * * *
- * * * Grant unto our Rulers grace and peace, that they govern those placed under them in Thy fear, and with Thine approbation, that righteousness may be promoted, and iniquity be checked and punished, that we may fulfil our days in quietness and peace, as becometh christians.
3. For feeble and } Confirm all weak and disconsolate spir-
troubled souls. } its, and send down upon us Thy peace,
through Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath taught us to pray :
Our Father, &c.

[The prayers for Newyears-day and Good-Friday, which next follow we omit.]

Prayer for Easter-day, after the Sermon.

Almighty and most mercifnl God, we render Thee praise and thanksgiving, that Thou gavest Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, to die for our sins, and rise again for our justification, to overcome for us all our enemies, death, sin, the world, and the Devil, and restore unto us righteousness, and life. We beseech Thee by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, to awake us more and more from the death of sin, unto newness of life, that we may rightly experience in our own souls the power of the resurrection of Christ Jesus, and be each day more completely incorporated into Him, until finially our mortal bodies shall be waked up from the dust of the earth, reunited with their spirits, be made like unto His glorious Body, and dwell forever with Him in eternal joy and glory.

Grant Thy blessing also unto the preaching of Thy holy gospel ; destroy all the works of the Devil ; and strengthen all the ministers of Thy Church, and Rulers of Thy people. Wherefore we also pray for *

[The closing paragraphs of this prayer are the same as the above.]

Our Father, &c.

Passing by the prayer for Ascension-day which is next in order, we shall conclude these translated extracts with the

Prayer for Whitsuntide, after the Sermon.

Our heavenly Father, inasmuch as Thou hast so loved us, as to give Thine only-begotten Son to be our Savior and Mediator, but we wretched sinners are nevertheless unable rightly to know Him whom Thou hast sent or truly to call Him our Lord, without the help of Thy Holy Spirit; we beseech Thee, according to Thy promise, richly to pour out upon Thy servants and hand-maidens, Thy Holy Spirit, that He may lead us into all truth, increase and confirm in us true faith, renew our hearts more and more unto a hope of eternal life, and kindle in us ardent love, the spirit of fervent prayer and confidence, peace and joy of heart and conscience, steadfast and ever enduring consolation, together with all gladness and assurance of soul, and so seal us unto the day of our final redemption, when Thou shalt be all and in all.

Clothe the Servants and Rulers of Thy people also with strength, that they may preach Thy word in faithfulness and with perseverance, and handle the sword of civil authority with justice and temperance.

Wherefore we entreat Thee on behalf of

Defend us against all deceit and treachery, and confound the evil and malicious counsels which may be devised against Thy word and Church.

O Lord, take not Thy Holy Spirit from us, withdraw not Thy saving word, but imbue us with true faith, patience, and steadfastness. Awake to the help of Thy Church, and deliver her from all oppression, contempt and tyranny. Confirm all feeble and sorrowing Spirits, send them and us Thy peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath given us this assurance: Verily, verily I say unto you, whatsoever, &c.

Our Father, &c.

This part of the Liturgy concludes with two daily prayers, for the appointed morning and evening devotions.

Several remarks, suggested by these good old prayers, are reserved for another opportunity.

III.

OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY SACRAMENTS.

Of Holy Baptism.

Grounds of infant baptism. } Whereas the children of believers are included in the covenant of God (Acts. 2: 38),
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they shall also be partakers of holy Baptism, as the sign and seal of that covenant, and thus be distinguished from the children of unbelievers. Besides it is certain, that children, as well as adults, may receive the Holy Spirit, Who plants faith in the heart; for if any have not the Spirit of Christ, saith the Apostle, he is not his.

But nothing can prevent those, who have the Spirit of God, from being baptized, as is written in Acts. 10: 47. Children moreover are by no means the smallest portion of the Christian Church, which Church with all its members is redeemed by the blood of Christ, and purged by the baptism of the Word. For these and other reasons it is clear, that young children are by no means to be excluded from Baptism.

Preachers of the word alone to baptize. *Of the persons who are to baptize, our Lord hath given us this commandment in the last chapter of Matthew: Go ye into all the world, teaching all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* In these words the Lord enjoins it upon those alone to baptize, who are called to preach His holy word, and so includes preaching and baptizing in one command and office. Wherefore it is not proper that any one should sunder this command, and commit the office of Baptism, to a person who is forbidden to preach.

Baptism shall be administered in the Church after the Sermon. *Whenever therefore it is requested in a becoming way on behalf of children, and they are brought into the Church to the ministers of the Word, they shall baptize them.* This shall be done especially on Sabbaths, or Holy-days, or otherwise at public week-day service, after the sermon, in presence of the congregation, so that every one may be reminded of his own baptism, and they may unitedly call upon the name of the Lord on behalf of the child.

It shall be the duty of the father of the child, or in his absence, of one of his nearest friends, to apply to the Minister for baptism, and to inform him who are to be the Sponsors, before they have engaged, so that he may not only know who they are to be, but that in case there should be any unfitness in them (viz, either the father or sponsor) he may have an opportunity of previous conversation with them.

In this matter special care shall be had, that none but worthy and godly persons be invited and permitted to present themselves, and by no means frivolous persons, who know and care but little for the christian religion, such as are mere Epicureans, or given

to open vices, nor such as, either on account of their youth or ignorance, are unacquainted with the christian doctrine; but let such be admitted as know and understand at least the principal points of the Catechism, so that the holy sacrament of Baptism may not be profaned by the ignorance or unworthiness of the sponsor, neither the child be neglected by such in its christian instruction and nurture.

At the same time however Baptism should not be delayed, either through contempt, or erroneous views, or other causes; neither should the trifling dainties prepared for the occasion, lead to the assemblage or admission of an undue number of persons to the Baptism.

Furthermore, the father of the child, shall attend to its baptism—for the following reasons: First, that he may thank God, for his own creation and that of his child, and for the redemption purchased by the blood of Jesus Christ, which is sealed unto the child in holy Baptism, and call upon God for grace to train up the child to His praise and glory.

Then, that the Minister may record the name of the father, mother, and sponsors, in the book which every Church shall procure and keep for that purpose.

And should a child be illegitimately born, whose father's name may not be known at the time, the name of the Mother, the Sponsors and the Child shall be recorded, the child be baptized, and thereupon the proper authority be informed of the case, that suitable christian discipline may be exercised upon it.

FORM OF BAPTISM.

Ps. 121: 2. } Our help is in the name of the Lord, who.
" 124: 8. } made heaven and earth. Amen.

John, } Our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, except a man be
3: 3, 5. } born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. He thus clearly signifies to us that our nature is totally

Our misery. } depraved, and accursed and exhorts us therefore
to humble and abhor ourselves before God; and
thus prepares us to desire His grace, by which all the guilt and
condemnation of our old nature may be removed. For we are
not capable of receiving the grace of God, unless all confidence
in our own strength, wisdom and righteousness be first eradicated
from our hearts, and we be led totally to condemn ourselves.

Comfort and } But after that Christ hath thus placed our
redemption. } misery before our eyes, He also comforteth us

through His mercy, by promising to us and our children, that He will wash us clean from all our sins, that is that on account of the shedding of His blood, they shall not be imputed to us, but that our natures shall be renewed in His image, by His holy Spirit. And in order to confirm this promise to our weak faith, and to seal it upon our own bodies, He hath commanded that

Matth. 28: 19 } we should be baptized in the name of the Father, of
 } the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The engagement } *Wherefore in the first place*, since He
of God to us in baptism Gen. 17: 2, 3. } commands us to be baptized with water in
 } the name of the Father, He assures us, as
with a visible oath, during our whole life, that God shall be our
Father, and the Father of our children, that He will provide for
us all things necessary for body and soul, and make all things
work together for our good, (since, by reason of the covenant in
which we stand with God, nothing can harm us, but must rather
subserve our salvation.)

In the next place, whereas we are baptized in the name of the Son, He promiseth unto us that all things done and suffered by the Son of God shall be ours, that He will be our Saviour, and the Saviour of our children, and graciously redeem us from all our corruption and sins, by His holy anointing, conception birth, sufferings, and death. (And also, that the curse and condemnation of our sins were nailed to His cross, purged away with His blood, and buried with Him in the sepulchre, so that He hath freed us from the pains of hell, by His resurrection and ascension clothed us with His righteousness, and is our advocate with the Father, and in the last day will present us unto Him glorious and without spot.) *Thirdly*, since we are baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, we are assured that the Holy Ghost will be the Teacher and Comforter of us and our children to all eternity, and make us true members of the body of Christ. (And further that we have fellowship with all His benefits in common with all the members of His Church, so that our sins shall be remembered no more forever, and that the corruptions and infirmities, that still cling to us may be continually mortified and a new life be commenced, which finally in the resurrection, (when our body shall be made like unto the glorious body of Christ,) shall be completely revealed in us.)

Our obligations } *But as in every covenant two parties are
in baptism.* } obligated, we, on our part, promise unto God
the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that by His grace we will acknowledge and confess Him alone, as the only true and living God, free to Him alone in every distress, and show ourselves

obedient children, as is required by our regeneration, which consists in these two points: (First, that in true repentance and sorrow for our sins, we deny ourselves and our lusts, and subject our mind and will to that of God, that we heartily abhor and forsake our sins; and secondly, that we begin with delight and love to live in all holiness and righteousness according to the word of God.)

Comfort under surprisals of sin. And should we sometimes fall into sin through infirmity, we must not continue therein, or despair, or seek forgiveness by any other means excepting through Jesus Christ, but ever be reminded by our baptism of our duty to abstain therefrom, and firmly to believe that for the sake of the shedding of the blood of Christ God will no more remember it: (inasmuch, as Holy Baptism is an undoubted witness, that we stand in an everlasting covenant with God, and that we are baptized in the living fountain of the eternal mercy of the Father, and the most holy passion and death of Jesus Christ, by the power of the Holy Ghost.)

Grounds of infant baptism. And although our young children do not understand these reasons, or this mystery, and are much less capable of confessing the same, they are nevertheless not to be excluded from Holy Baptism; for they are called unto the divine covenant, which God made with Abraham, the father of all the faithful, and to his seed, and also with us and our children. "I will," saith the Lord (Gen. 17: 7), "establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant; to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee."

Now our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world, not to diminish the grace of God, but rather to extend the covenant of grace in which the people of Israel were previously included over the whole earth, and hath appointed Baptism in the place of circumcision, as a sign and seal of this covenant unto us and our children. The Apostle Peter expressly teaches this confirmation of the covenant in Acts. 2: 39—"Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

Moreover our Lord Jesus Christ himself commands them to bring their infants unto Him, and assures them, by word and deed, of the kingdom of heaven, as it is written (Mark, 10: 13, 14): "And they brought young children unto Him, that he should touch them; and His disciples rebuked those that brought them.

But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And He embraced them, and laid His hands upon them and blessed them."

From all this it is evident, that our children are also included in the kingdom and covenant of God, and should therefore receive Baptism, as a seal of the covenant, although they may not understand its holy mysteries; even as those infants were blessed by Jesus Christ, in word and deed, and in the Jewish Church children were circumcised on the eighth day; although neither the one nor the other was understood by them.

Wherefore let us call upon God and say:—

Almighty and eternal God, we beseech Thee, of Thine infinite mercy, graciously to regard this child (or, these children), and by Thy Holy Spirit to incorporate it with Thy Son Jesus Christ, that it may be buried with Him in His death, and also arise with Him to newness of life, by cheerfully bearing His cross, and following Him daily, and cleaving unto him in true faith, firm hope, and ardent love, that it may for Thy sake gladly forsake this present life, which is nothing but death, and appear in the last day without terror, before the judgment seat of Jesus Christ Thy Son, who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, lives and reigns forever Amen.

Our Father, &c.

Confess therefore with me, the articles of our old, universal undoubted, Christian faith, into which this child (or children) shall be baptized:

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, &c., &c.

Questions to the Sponsors.

Do you desire, in true faith in the promise of God in Christ, given to us and our children, that He will not only be our God, but the God of our children, unto the thousandth generation, that this child (or these children), may be baptized into the same and receive the seal of Divine adoption? Then answer Yea.

(It is not necessary, here to remove the garments of the child but merely to uncover its head.)

Then the minister shall call upon them to name the child, and thereupon sprinkle it with water, and say:—

N.—I baptize thee in the name of God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Thanksgiving.

Let us thank the Lord our God.

Almighty and most merciful God and Father, we render Thee praise and thanksgiving, that Thou forgivest us and our children all our sins, through the blood of Thy dear Son, and hast received us, by the Holy Spirit, as members of Thine only begotten Son, and therefore as Thy children, sealing and confirming this grace unto us in Holy Baptism. We pray Thee therefore, for His sake, evermore to govern this child by Thy Holy Spirit. Cause it to be trained in a christian and godly manner, to grow in the Lord Jesus Christ, and increase in His knowledge; that it may acknowledge Thy Fatherly goodness and mercy which Thou hast displayed unto it, and us all; and live in all righteousness under our only Prophet, Priest, and King Jesus Christ, courageously contending and prevailing against sin, the devil and his entire kingdom; and thus may it forever praise and glorify Thee, and Thy dear Son Jesus Christ together with the Holy Ghost, the only true God. Amen.

Address.

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, inasmuch as you have assumed the care of this child, remember that our God is a faithful God, and requires us to serve Him in truth. Wherefore you who are the friends and relatives of this child, but especially ye parents and sponsors, should use all diligence, that this child, when it reaches years of understanding, be rightly instructed in the proper knowledge and fear of God, according to the articles of our christian faith, revealed by God from heaven and contained in the Old and New Testaments; that it be trained up in the Lord Jesus Christ, and admonished, that by the reception of the sign and seal of this divine covenant, in Baptism, it renounced the devil and the world, with all their works and lusts, and surrendered and pledged itself unto the Lord, to be His through life in all holiness, and obediently to serve His holy gospel. And may the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant you grace to do this. Amen.

The Lord bless you, and keep you, &c.

OF PREPARATION FOR THE HOLY SUPPER OF OUR LORD.

The Lord's Supper shall be administered in the larger towns at least once in two months, in other places four times each

year, viz: on Christmas, Easterday, Whitsuntide, and on the first Sabbath in September. Yet as the edification, custom, or want of the Church may require it, it is proper to administer it more frequently.

Whenever it is designed to administer this sacrament, notice thereof shall be given by the minister to the congregation, a week before, with an exhortation to preparation for it. He shall also admonish parents and heads of families, that they meanwhile aid and instruct their children or youth, whom they may intend for the first time to bring to the table of the Lord, and present them on the following Saturday, or some other suitable day, to the minister, that they may make confession of their faith and if it be necessary, receive further instruction and admonition from him.

Thereupon the minister shall ask those who thus present themselves, to repeat, first, the articles of our christian faith, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer, and next interrogate them from the Catechism upon the Lord's supper. But as some may not be able, through bashfulness, to rehearse those points as perfectly as others, yet if they appear sufficiently to understand them, and are otherwise not unworthy, the minister shall carefully remind them of the principal articles of faith, and especially of the design and proper use of the Lord's supper as well as of the necessity of due preparation for it, and of faithful self examination, and then after they have made profession they shall be admitted with the congregation, to the supper of the Lord. And should there be any others in the congregation, who never before communed, desirous of so doing, they shall likewise give the minister previous notice thereof and make confession of their faith.

On the day before the administration of the supper, after the conclusion of the preparatory sermon, (as previously directed to be held), the minister shall request the people to remain, and gather around the table, to receive further instructions, and make confession of their repentance and faith. He shall then come down from the pulpit, and standing before the table, shall read the following form of preparation with a clear and distinct voice.

Form of Preparation.

1. Confession of } The word of God holds forth for our spe-
 our misery. } cial consideration these three points, first,
 our sins, secondly our redemption, and thirdly the gratitude we
 owe unto God for our redemption. Let each one therefore con-

sider the sum of the commandments of God, viz, thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself, in which the whole will of God is set before us. And since we have never fulfilled these commandments, they show us, as in a glass, our sins and miseries, and finally the eternal damnation to which we are exposed. Wherefore I ask you, in the first place, whether you confess these sins with me before the face of God, and abhor yourselves on account of them, and thirst after the righteousness and grace of Jesus Christ ?

In the next place, do you believe that God is not only merciful, but also just, and will not suffer in the promise of the gospel, sin to go unpunished, and (since no mere creatures could have endured such punishment for us) that the only Son of God, through the mercy of the Father, was sent into the world, assumed a true human body and soul, so that he might bear for us in the same, viz, our flesh and blood, the punishment and wrath of God, which we had merited ; and further, that according to the certain promise of the gospel, this perfect satisfaction of the Son of God for our sins, is granted especially to every one who accepts thereof with hearty confidence, and that every one shall receive the forgiveness of his sins, as surely as if he never had committed any, and is thenceforth considered as holy and righteous before God, as though he had fulfilled all that righteousness in himself, which Jesus Christ his Saviour accomplished for him, and bestowed upon him without any personal merit, wholly of grace, notwithstanding his unworthiness thereof, and the many infirmities that still cleave unto him, because these are all covered by the passion and obedience of Jesus Christ, until finally they shall be forever removed.

And furthermore, do you also believe, that Jesus Christ will confirm in every one of you, this redemption, once promised and granted in holy Baptism, by His holy Supper, as by certain letters and signs, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, assuring you first, that His body was as certainly offered for you upon the cross, and His blood shed for you, as you see with your natural eyes, the bread, which He calls his body, broken for you, and the cup of thanksgiving offered unto you. And in the next place, that the Lord Jesus Himself will as certainly feed and refresh your hungering and contrite heart, and weary soul, with His crucified body, and shed blood, by the Holy Ghost, as you receive from the hand of the minister, and orally eat and drink of the consecrated bread, and chalice of the Lord, in remem-

brance of Him ; and that therefore the passion and death of Jesus Christ is as certainly your own as if you had endured all in your own body, that the Lord suffered in His sacred body for you; and that in order to secure to us this comfort, the Lord Jesus instituted His holy supper, that we might celebrate it with gratitude and joy, until He shall come in the clouds, and fully deliver us from the cross, under which we must patiently follow Him through this valley of tears, and receive us, soul and body, unto Himself in the everlasting kingdom of His Father. Is this your faith ? Then

Answer—Yea.

In the third place, let every one examine his heart to know
 3. Exhortation to } whether he truly desires to prove himself
 firmness of pur- } thankful to the Lord Jesus, for the rest of
 pose, and amend- } his life ; whether also, you heartily renounce
 ment of life. } all envy, malice, and bitterness, forgiving
 your neighbors as the Lord Jesus has many thousand times for-
 given us poor sinners. Whether you resolve as in God's pres-
 ence heartily to hate all profanity, sinful words, and works, glut-
 tony, drunkenness, and all other sins, so that you may, by the
 grace of God, nevermore, in your whole life, commit the same ?
 Is this your firm christian purpose ?

Answer—Yea.

All therefore who find this faith, and these purposes in their hearts, must not doubt that they already possess and certainly receive the pardon of all their sins, through the holy passion and death of Jesus Christ, as long as they persevere in these purposes, notwithstanding the many infirmities that may still remain in them, but which are covered with the righteousness and death of Jesus Christ. Wherefore let every one who heartily desires this, say with me—Amen.

(For the confession and absolution of sins see above.)

Let us now pray as the Lord hath taught us :

Our Father, &c.

After this prayer the minister shall say :

The very God of peace sanctify you wholly : and I pray God, your whole spirit and soul and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it.—Amen.

(Should any person have some special matter upon his mind, in reference to which he may desire to speak with the minister, an opportunity of so doing should by all means be afforded.)

Easton, Pa.

J. H. A. B.

CORRECTION.—On page 92, Jan. No., the name *Isaac* should read *Isaiah*.

OVIDIUS NASO REDIVIVUS.

I do not know when I have been better pleased than I was lately on entering into the school-room of my friend E. S. to observe, seated at recitation, a whole class with one of them standing up and reading aloud, *ore rotundo*, in broad day-light, from the Metamorphoses of Publius Ovidius Naso. Under the quiet, abiding impression had I come into this room that this Latin classic, some time since, had been removed from his literary office, as being a worse than useless manual; that to satisfy the public wrath, which against him had been roused by some over-zealous reformers, on account of his somewhat suspicious morals and occasional lightness, as they said, our teachers had some years ago, been induced to expel him from their schools; so that as a class-book, to all intents and purposes, he was now morally defunct. As, at the same time, some others of our best ancient classics, by these same reformers, were threatened with a similar overthrow, trusting that with one victim their vengeance would be satiated, and fearing lest their mood might not be pacified but chased by any remonstrance, I had felt, no doubt, with others of his friends, on the occasion, disposed to pass over in submissive silence this sudden, untimely removal of our Ovid. Amid surrounding storms I was willing that this unfortunate Jonah, much as I loved him, should be thrown overboard, if thereby would be calmed the waves of discontent and preserved the remaining heroes and wealth of the argosy. On entering into this school room then, under this settled impression, how great was my amazement to hear again the words of my long-lost friend! *Ovidius Naso redivivus!* To see copies of his book held forth by a whole class of aspiring young scholars as their treasured vade-mecum! Not of Arion in the courts of Periander was the appearance more unexpected. Not of John Barleycorn, in summer livery, the standing up again, who had been ploughed down, was to me an event more joyous. From the proffered hand of an obliging, tender stripling how eagerly did I pluck one of these volumes! A well gotten up copy it was, edited by N. C. Brooks, A. M., including, of the Metamorphoses, my joy was a little abated to observe, only four books, but explained throughout by appropriate English notes and set off by pictorial embellishments.

After your common prints I would, by no means, have it supposed that I am apt to be drawn away in gaping admiration. On the contrary, I must say that, in most cases, I am rather chagrined at having my solid reading interrupted by a wood-cut on

every page. Poetry and pictures served up to me in equal proportions in a book are generally not gratifying to my taste. Embellishments of this sort, I feel persuaded, should come in a volume, "like angel's visits, few and far between," and like angels themselves, impressed always with the divine stamp of genius. In the best and longest poems only a few rare passages are seized upon by the inspired artist as proper subjects for his pencil; but on these he bestows all his phrensy. By brooding over these his imagination calls forth pictures well worthy of being studied, and such as are really ornaments to the books in which they are placed. Still, to the illustrators of the ancient classics greater freedom is to be allowed. In such books, even many engravings interspersed, if well designed, are not annoying, but highly gratifying to the student; as on the text they prove often to be the best commentaries, especially when illustrative of ancient manners and customs. Who, for instance, in this way, has not been aided and pleased by the classical designs of Flaxman in Homer's Iliad? Who does not remember with fondness and gratitude the treasured pictures in his old Virgil? In a book like the present too they are peculiarly appropriate. The Metamorphoses of Ovid, as well stated by the editor of this edition, form the most suitable introduction to heathen mythology; and with this essential part of a good education, to make the student familiar, many pictorial designs are absolutely indispensable.

In two or three of these embellishments, however, it struck me that the artist had not fixed upon the happiest moment for presentation. To describe motion or changes in bodies comes not properly under the art of painting. Her scenes may be more actual and vivid, to be sure, being addressed to the eye, than those of poetry, which are addressed to the imagination; but with her sister art she cannot move along, hand in hand, in time. Her figures are immovable and forever confined to a single instant. It is cruel then, I would think, in any artist to seize upon a poor, unfortunate individual, only half transformed, and hold him up to the public gaze forever fixed in this awful plight without any hope of a consummation. A more incongruous monster is in this way produced than is that smiled at by Horace in the beginning of his Art of Poetry. The Midsummer Night's Dream of Shakespeare, as well remarked by Hazlitt, is not adapted for scenic representation. Pleasing as its fancies are to the private reader or the social circle they lose half their interest in being shown as actual things on the stage. The imagination then can no longer delight itself with its own unreal phantasmas. "Bottom's head in the play," says this excellent critic,

"is a fantastic illusion produced by magic spells; on the stage it is an ass's head and nothing more; certainly a very strange costume for a gentleman to appear in. Fancy cannot be embodied any more than a simile can be painted; and it is as idle to attempt it as to personate *Wall* or *Moonshine*." If by scenic representation then this sort of poetry is injured much more must it be by pictorial delineations; which, while they present the same actual objects to the sight, are yet not relieved by the novelty of continual change and progress. How absurd then for an artist, in illustrating the Metamorphoses of Ovid, to show us Lycaon wearing the head of a wolf, Actæon that of a stag, and, worse than all, Ocyrrhoe that of a mare! Less wonderful, to be sure, but certainly more seemly, would their figures have appeared had they been presented to us either immediately before or immediately after their metamorphoses. With how much better taste are Daphne and Syrinx exhibited, each at the water's brink, and Narcissus, hanging over the brook, without, as yet, a single, incipient, vegetable sprout showing itself from their devoted bodies!

Into his notes, I was pleased to observe that the editor had thrown many choice passages from both ancient and modern authors. These, as in his preface he tells us, not only to illustrate the text, has he introduced, but to excite besides in the young scholar a taste for general literature. What a pity it is that the Metamorphoses of Ovid if read at all, are generally handled by the student at a time, when, it is to be presumed, he has as yet made but little advancement in Greek! On this account it is, no doubt, that of the quotations from this language the annotator has given us, for the most part, only translations by modern writers and these not always the most literal. Citations from the ancients too are brought in mostly to explain merely the text or some ancient customs; whereas a modern passage is often lugged in, I am sorry to say it, for little more than to display its beauty. Besides this, though I know the editor is a warm admirer of the ancients, yet he sometimes alarms my fears lest by some of his notes introducing modern verses he may induce the unwary student to surmise that perhaps, after all, the merits of these old classics have been over-rated. While setting forth some choice gem of later poets which, he says, surpasses anything, at any rate, of the same sort, in the old books, I am apprehensive lest he should mislead the young sciolist to infer, from this one instance, perhaps itself over-estimated, a general conclusion, and set it down that, in all its departments, modern poetry is superior. While remarking, for instance, on Daph-

ne's "sideribus similes oculos," on account of this apprehension, I had been just as well pleased had he refrained from passing on Moore that high encomium, on the occasion, which he doth, saying that, although by many former poets these sublunary orbs of female beauty had been compared to those in the heavens, yet for this modern bard it had been reserved to describe the human brilliants as surpassing those above.

"Look out upon the stars, my love,
And shame them with thine eyes."

Again, when poor Ovid, in the simplicity of his heart, while depicting the morning, setteth forth Aurora as the principal figure, which any Greek or Roman poet could not have helped doing, our annotator remarks, I fear exultingly: "The following description of morning by a modern poet far transcends the ancient." Whereupon he gives us some lines from N. P. Willis.

Now, in descriptive poetry, I am willing to admit that the ancients are inferior to the moderns. To depict natural scenery after the plain manner of landscape painting the old Greek and Latin poets were not very ambitious. They issued no such poems as Cowper's Task or Thomson's Seasons, charming as these properly are to a modern ear. In the whole range of Grecian Literature (though that of the Romans is not quite so fruitless) only two or three very brief sketches of this sort are to be met with. But was this owing in them to any want of imagination or love for what is beautiful or romantic in nature? I trow not. It was because, of their respective countries with the bewitching sceneries they were so enamoured that, with describing their mere outward show, they were not satisfied, but they wished, by their creative imaginations, to seize upon the inmost spirits of these and bring them forth embodied into day. That around the objects of nature their warm affections might cling more fondly, to render these, in the first place, more congenial and captivating by assimilation, they personified their beauties. In every clear and secluded fountain they spied lurking a white Naiad; amid the rustling leaves of an old oak they heard faintly uttered the sweet voice of a pensive Hamadryad; and while rambling in the remote glens of the mountains they sometimes came suddenly upon a frolicking, wild Oread; or from underneath the laughing forest-trees of June they startled up at times a whole set of dancing Fans or Satyrs. No wonder then that, in the morning, they were not content with depicting the mere

drapery of the clouds or the dew-besprent foliage, even with the most beautiful imagery, without making any mention of Aurora herself, whom they saw ascending into her golden chariot drawn by pale-red horses, herself arrayed in saffron colored robes, having just arisen from the gloomy bed of old Tithonus.

Nevertheless, to say nothing of their Epos and dramatic and lyric poetry, in which we all know their excellence, even in description of natural scenery, when accompanied with narrative and human incident, they are seldom surpassed. Of this sort some beautiful passages occur in the Metamorphoses themselves and in other Latin works, but the finest, it must be said, are to be met with in the old Greek poets. The Latin language, we know, is admirably adapted for lofty themes, but it is too dignified and cumbersome withal for setting off to advantage the playful or the picturesque. The Greek, on the contrary, flexible and copious, with its various dialects, is suited for all subjects. Of such close application was it susceptible and so perspicuous could it be rendered by the true ancient poets that their images could be shown through it almost palpable and naked, and as captivating to the senses as were the breathing statues of their equally inspired brothers, the artists. Take, for instance, the picture of Hylas and the water-nymphs as set forth by Theocritus. For Hercules waiting on a verdant, rushy spot, amid his argonautic companions, on the unexplored coast of Mysia just landed, being about to partake of their evening meal, the lad has gone forth to fetch some water, when presently he cometh upon a well:

Τ' ΑΧΑ δὲ χράναν ἐνόησεν
 'Ημένω ἐν χώρῳ περὶ δὲ ἔρια πολλὰ πεφύκη,
 Κνάνεόν τε χειλιδόνιον, χλοερὸν τ' ἀδίαντον,
 Καὶ δάλλοντα σέλινα, καὶ εἰλιτενῆς ἄγρωστες.
 'Τδατι δὲ ἐν μέσσῳ Νύμφαι χορὸν αρτίζοντο,
 Νύμφαι ἀχοίμυτοι, δειναὶ δεινὲς ἀγροωταῖς,
 Εὐνείκα καὶ Μυλίς, ἵστρος δὲ ὄρώσα Νυχία.
 'Ητοι δὲ χώρος ἐπείχε ποτῷ πολυχανδέα χρωσσόν,
 Βάψαι ἐπειγομένος τὰ δὲ ἐν χερὶ πύσαι ἐφυσα.
 Πασάνω γάρ ἔρως ἀπαλᾶς φρέας αμφεκάλυψεν
 'Αργειφ ἐπὶ παιδὶ κατήριπε δὲ ἐς μέλαν ὕδωρ
 'Αδρόος, ὡς ὅπα πυροῦς ἀπ' οὐρανῷ ἤριπεν αστήρ
 'Αδροος ἐν ποτῷ.

“ And straight he was aware
 Of water in a hollow place, low down,

Where the thick sward shone with blue calandine,
 And bright green maiden-hair, still dry in dew,
 And parsely rich. And at that hour it chanced
 The nymphs unseen were dancing in the fount—
 The sleepless nymphs, reverenced of houing men;
 Winning Eunica; Malis apple-checked;
 And, like a night-bedewed rose, Nichéa.
 Down stepp'd the boy, in haste to give his urn
 Its fill, and push'd it in the fount; when, lo!
 Fair hands were on him—fair and very fast;
 For all the gentle souls that haunted there
 Were drawn in love's sweet yearning tow'rds the boy;
 And so he dropp'd within the darksome well—
 Dropped like a star, that, on a summer eve,
 Slides in ethereal beauty to the sea."

The reader will remark, in the Greek, how admirably the closing line, all dactyls save the last and no cesura, describes the gliding of a star, hastened seemingly by slight, repeated impulses, but without any pause on its way until at last it drops into the deep. He will observe too that the translation of the whole, which is by Leigh Hunt, catches all its simplicity and beauty from its being a somewhat close rendering of the original.

Though against Ovid prejudices may thereby be again excited, as being an old heathen, and it may be at the risque of bringing about his second downfall, yet I cannot help remarking that I think his editor is disposed to refer too many of his mythological heroes to a scriptural origin. From the sacred record of the cosmogony and the deluge as given by Moses that the profane accounts of the creation and Deucalion's flood may have been partially derived in a traditional way I am willing to allow; but in his zeal to uphold the good fame of Ovid and his fables our interpreter, it strikes me, is sometimes carried away too far in tracing out resemblances. With many of his scriptural quotations in other places, as they serve, if nothing more, to call the student's attention to the high literary merits of the volume from which they have been drawn, I am certainly well pleased; but unless to aid in establishing the authenticity of this divine book itself, which certainly stands in need of no such corroborations, I can see no great advantage to be gained in representing as many as possible of the heathen fables, at any rate, if their descent is somewhat doubtful, as being only corrupt traditions of Biblical truths. With respect then to the editor's opinion that the divinity of Bacchus is a mere blending together of the persons and histories of Adam and Noah, notwithstanding his being supported in it by some eminent critics and com-

mentators, I must own that I am still somewhat skeptical. That Bacchus is styled, in the Orphic hymns the *First born* or *First-become* (Πρωτόγονος) is not to be denied, and many other mystic names besides; but these, I would think, were ascribed to him on account of his having been regarded by his worshippers as the emblematic deification of the great productive principle in nature, and certainly not, as our annotator would persuade us, from his having been identical with Adam. Noah was carried in a ship and so was Bacchus; Noah became afterwards a husbandman and planted a vineyard and so did Bacchus; but it would require a great number of such coincidences in their biographies, to be sure, to show these heroes identical. Of the titles *Liber* and *Lyceus* or *Lystus* applied to Bacchus, the one derived from *libare*, *to pour out*, and the other from *λύειν*, *to set free*, because wine is poured out and setteth free the heart of man from cares, our commentator, with the common acceptations, is not well satisfied, but underneath each of these appellations he discovereth the signification of *rest* or *comfort*, which is contained also in the word Noah. In this way, from the many names of Bacchus, (*πολυώνυμος*; he hath well been styled) a sameness might easily be made out, we would think, between the god of wine and almost any other illustrious hero. The impetuous rushing of the Bacchæ in their mystic rites, with hair disheveled and frantic gesticulations, he fancies was in imitation of Eve when she fled wildly from the gates of Paradise; and their cry *Evoe!* as well as *Evan*, a surname of their god, he conjectures might have been derived from that of our common mother. Strange that in *Evoe!* from whence cometh *Evan*, he did not recognise a natural cry of joy (certainly not of grief) which has no derivation whatever except from the human heart. By Adam in the garden of Eden, it might have been uttered, I am willing to admit, if you wish to be fanciful, when he awoke from his deep sleep and beheld, for the first time, his surprisingly beautiful spouse; and thereafter by the same endearing title he might have been still disposed to call her; but this, of course, would show no intimate connection betwixt him and Bacchus. In the same manner, with the editor in his opinions that Semiramis was a mere mythological emblem of Noah's dove and not the great queen of Babylon, as most persons suppose, and that the golden apples of the Hesperides, guarded by a dragon, were identical with the forbidden fruit in Eden, which, however, was not guarded by the serpent but proffered urgently to our first mother for the mere trouble of plucking, I am not yet fully persuaded to concur.

For my own part, in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid I am pleased perhaps the best with those fables which are purely Grecian; which are not obscured by any foreign admixture or mysticism, but admit mostly of a merely physical interpretation, being the unadulterated creations of the Helenian muse. Of such too the most classic, it seems to me, are those which narrate to us the transformations of fair, disconsolate individuals into suitable trees or vegetables. With having peopled the woods and mountains with charming rural deities the Greeks were not satisfied, but when, in his solitary rambles, some romantic one of them met with some attractive shrub or flower with whose lonely beauty he was deeply struck, to throw around it a still higher interest, he sometimes imagined for it an appropriate, pre-existent, human history. Thus, from observing the lowly laurel, green even in winter, and smiled upon by the sun, though still hiding from his beams, by some wandering poet was conceived the adventure of Daphne with Apollo; thus too from remarking the whispering of the reeds and the love of the shepherd for his pipe composed of these, by some Arcadian dreamer was brought forth the story of Syrinx and Pan; and of forlorn Echo and sad Narcissus' fate, how the tale was suggested first to some musing bard, is best narrated in the words of Keats.

" What first inspired a bard of old to sing
 Narcissus pining o'er the untainted spring?
 In some delicious ramble he had found
 A little space with boughs all woven round :
 And in the midst of all a clearer pool
 Than ere reflected in its pleasant cool
 The blue sky, here and there serenely peeping,
 Through tendril wreaths fantastically creeping.
 And on the bank a lonely flower he spied,
 A meek and forlorn flower, with naught of pride,
 Drooping its beauty o'er the watery clearness :
 To woo its own sad image into nearness :
 Deaf to light Zephyrus it would not move ;
 But still would seem to droop, to pine, to love.
 So while the poet stood in this sweet spot,
 Some fainter gleamings o'er his fancy shot ;
 Nor was it long ere he had told the tale
 Of young Narcissus and sad Echo's bale."

The mythology of the Greeks however, it is well known, was not wholly of domestic growth. Of their deities some had come down to them from former nations, entire; others, though of

native production, yet received, in addition to their own, new rites and ceremonies from abroad; and not a few, with foreign gods and heroes possessed of similar attributes and functions, were wholly amalgamated. Still, this shows not surely that any one of them had floated down through corrupt tradition, merely on the memories of men, from the gates of Paradise, or from Noah's ark. Different nations putting forth spontaneously, without any preconcert on their parts, mythologies somewhat similar, seems to manifest rather that the human race in general, though modified always by outward circumstances and national peculiarities, is still moved throughout by the same natural religious promptings and yearnings. Of that divine image in which man was created and which pervaded his original constitution, from the loss in the Fall, he must ever feel, more or less, in his inmost soul, besides a sense of guilt, an incompleteness and longing after immortality. Regarding then as attempts to regain this lost image and, if possible, to solve the great problem of their humanity the different systems of mythology among the ancients, they become exceedingly interesting. Of these, of course, that of the Greeks is the most beautiful and complete. A fair and noble race brought up under the influences of the most genial clime and surrounded by the richest scenery in nature, they felt not much the weight of original sin, but full of health and cheerfulness, they were almost satisfied with their present existence. Their highest gods were deifications merely of heroes or of the powers of nature. Not like the giants of old by placing Ossa upon Pelion, to be sure, but by educating and refining their own humanities did they think to scale heaven. In this attempt, of course, they failed, but yet under the unerring hand of Providence in history they accomplished in the world an important mission. The Jews, it is true, in a supernatural manner, had been long educated and at length prepared for the glorious advent of our Saviour among themselves; but, as not for them alone, but for the Gentiles at large, was his incarnation intended, it was highly important that some of these also should be properly improved and cultivated. As such the Greeks stood forth pre-eminent. Not to themselves, moreover, were the fruits of their culture confined but into the broad bosom of the Roman Empire had been poured forth the copucopia of their literature. Thus by their human learning were other nations of the earth greatly enriched and ennobled; and, in this manner, in no small degree, was the way prepared by the Greeks, unweetingly, to be sure, for the introduction of the Messiah's kingdom into our world; for the restoration of the divine image through the glorious coming of the Son of Man.

W. M. N.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

The following article is a translation of the first and second chapters of the Introduction to Prof. Ebrard's recently published "*Reformirter Kirchenbuch*." In connection with the third chapter—a translation of which may be given hereafter, it is an able argument in favor of the use of Liturgical prayers, as it obtains in the Reformed Church. The work itself exhibits the author's usual research and industry, combined with a sound discriminating judgment, and at this time of general dissent, and almost endless diversity of opinion in regard to the best mode of conducting public worship, must be regarded as a valuable contribution to the store of materials, for a thorough investigation of the general subject. In this point of view, it will be seen to be of historical as well as scientific importance.

What great evils result from the loose and informal manner, in which, in many congregations, the services of the sanctuary are conducted, is beginning to be very generally felt. With some the sermon is regarded as the only important part of public worship. The prayers are of little account, except as appropriate solemnities—the shorter, the better—to compose the mind, and prepare it for the performances of the pulpit; and at best as suitable forms of invocation for the divine blessing upon the exercises of the occasion. Farther than this, they have no special interest for them. As for the choral performances, they are estimated according to their musical merits, and have place, as agreeable interludes, for the entertainment of the hearers in which they are scarcely expected to take part.

To correct these growing evils, arising as they do from the want of a proper conception of the nature and design of worship, this collection of prayers, by Prof. Ebrard, is admirably calculated. It presents in clear light, the differences in the character and use of Liturgies as they obtain in the Christian church. In some communions, the Liturgical service is a separate and distinct part in the worship of the Sanctuary, and is regarded, perhaps, as the only essential part: In the Reformed it is intended to have its full right; but the sermon, or homiletical service, is still held to be the most important part, with which every other according to its just proportion and value, must be so connected and arranged, as to form a consistent and harmonious whole.

To a Liturgy, so constructed, expressing the pure doctrine of the Church, and intended, not as a help merely to ignorant and heartless worshippers; but to give range and expression to the loftiest aspirations of the believing soul in its approaches to the mercy seat, one would think no one would object. And yet, admitting the existence and magnitude of the evils adverted to, it may, in the pres-

ent state of feeling—I may as well say, the present state of knowledge—in the churches, be difficult to introduce any proper remedy, in many congregations. The subject has received little or no attention. The public mind to a large extent, is filled with prejudices, and would have to be disabused before any favorable impression could be made. This, however, should not prevent the attempt, and as an effort in that direction the views of Prof. Ebrard are submitted to the readers of the Review.

DESIGN OF THE COLLECTION.

The want of a collection of the prayers, introduced into the Reformed Church, is so generally felt, and has been expressed in such a variety of ways in the Church itself, that I may consider it superfluous to refer to it particularly, as to attempt to justify my present undertaking, on the ground of its necessity and design. The mere glance at the numerous analogous collections in the Lutheran Church, prepared in modern, and quite recent times, excites the desire that the Reformed Church should not be behind in an effort, which appears to be so entirely grounded in the character and wants of the age. On the one hand, there is certainly a general tendency in the *present scientific activity* to forsake the path of a rude empiricism, which is always content with that which is nearest at hand, as that exists for the time, and to investigate thoroughly every sphere of theoretical and practical knowledge, in its original depths and universal range; and hence the necessity with a view to the preparation of a Liturgy, that this activity in collecting and arranging materials should be directed to the whole Liturgical stock. On the other hand, this newly awakened *church life*, urges us to this, that we should turn back from the dry lifeless productions of a time, when the barren understanding held sway, and when they were introduced *per fas aut nefas*, to the living powerful prayers of a period of conscious faith, when the spirit of prayer was poured out in richer measure, and that we should no longer allow the Liturgical part of divine worship generally, in a stepmotherly way, to fall in the rear of the homiletical.

This general consideration, one would think, would be itself sufficient to sustain my present undertaking, against the objection of being without purpose. It may be well however to consider the object to be accomplished a little more closely, as it is only in this way, that we can obtain the proper criteria for determining how far the present collection really answers the end for which it is intended. The end, I have in view, is a two fold one, a *practical* and a *scientific*.

To begin with the practical: Not only since my coming to Switzerland, but before and elsewhere also, I have found it necessary often to add to the church services in established use. Many of the provincial Liturgies contain only a few prayers for the current Sabbath and Week-day services, in connexion with the most necessary forms for conducting church transactions, and the want is felt that special prayers for the Feasts of the Christian-church-year should also be introduced. Others, do contain prayers for the Feasts, but only one or two for each Feast; while the case calls for more. In these circumstances we have the choice, either to prepare new prayers, or to take prayers from the Liturgies of foreign Confessions, or finally, to fill up the *Agenda* of the Reformed Church, by borrowing, the one from the other. This last method is altogether easier and more natural than the second, and has many advantages over the first. Not that I would deny to the present age the qualifications for producing a Liturgy (I have myself introduced into this collection much that is new) but amid the present prevailing subjectivity, and the endless diversity of tendencies and tastes, it is certainly no easy thing to produce prayers, simple and plain enough to meet with acceptance in the whole Church, and to be regarded as common property. This is by no means an easy matter, even where the Holy Scriptures are made beforehand the standard of the contents and form of the Church prayers, and every thing is excluded that does not fully correspond with them, or that ingeniously evades what they substantially teach. Experience has taught us this. The most natural way will accordingly be, in the first place, at least to *examine* the Liturgies of sister churches of the same confession, to see whether they do not contain treasures which would relieve us of the trouble of producing them ourselves. To make such an *examination* easy is the first object of their collection.

Its practical object, however, must be considered more *generally*. It is not only that local wants require to be satisfied, or that here and there, something is wanting, in this or that particular prayer; but in the whole Reformed Church there appears to me, and to many others with me, a pressing necessity for an organic enlargement, and more complete development of divine worship. It need not be feared that I will fall in with the trite cant about the "lukewarmness and insipidity" of the Reformed worship. No one, perhaps, has set himself more in opposition to this sort of talk than myself, and for the plain reason, that what is simple is not necessarily poor. There is a majestic simplicity; the Dome of Lausanne, for instance, with its unadorn-

ed architectural beauty, produces a far more elevating impression, than would a Church of the same style, every column of which was hung round with flags, and figures and lamps, and every kind of splendid ornament for sensual gratification. The development and improvement of the Reformed worship which I wish to see, consists not in imitating strange and heterogeneous forms of worship, but in a regular consecutive unfolding of the elements originally and properly belonging to the Reformed Church. Thus, by way of illustration, the Reformed Church has adopted the *church-year* with its cycle of Feasts, and this too, not in just blindly holding on to an old custom, but after a severe conflict, and with the fullest conviction. And yet it is just here that its worship has remained poor inasmuch as it is limited to the Feasts, and no provision has been made for the intermediate periods from one feast to another. Now, it would certainly be an improvement if the Church year were carried forward, not as heretofore in an unbroken series of ordinary Sundays, between which the Feasts appear as isolated and unconnected points; but instead of this, were divided into Feast-periods, such as Advent, Epiphany, &c., each of which would constitute the transition from one feast to the other; and if this relation of the Church year to the annual period of term were expressed in its worship. How this can be done will appear in another place; it is sufficient here to say, that as regards this and many similar points, improvements of the Reformed worship are both possible and desirable, and most likely to be reached besides by means of a general collection of the Reformed Liturgies; in which view of course this collection may claim also a general church use.

To this now, must be added the *Theoretic* and *Scientific* signification of such a Liturgical collection. The time, when a Church will be judged solely by its dogmas, or confessional writings, and not much more by its inward life, is rapidly passing away; but where has this church life expressed itself in more significant memorials than in Liturgies? Canonically considered, the Church symbols are certainly the most authentic expressions of the Church faith; but in respect of its concrete reality, the Liturgy is equally important. The doctrines, which the real congregation acknowledges every Sunday in their prayers, are still much more expressive of its substance, than those which they have only standing upon paper. The Liturgy, accordingly, furnishes the surest standard, by which to determine which of the doctrines set forth in the confessional writings, are really of ecclesiastical importance, and which are only *theologically* sig-

nificant ; and surely it cannot be considered out of place, exactly at this time, when so many eyes are fixed upon Church confessions, to direct attention to the consideration of a Liturgy, as a criterion, by which the church confession should be judged and estimated according to the Church life. But as the Liturgy is the expression of ecclesiastical confessions as they appear in reality, and thus claims to be of *symbolical* importance, so is it also the index, by which the different phases of church development and declension may be known, and this is its *historical* importance. It is one thing for a church faithfully to preserve and adhere to the use of her old prayers; another thing, owing to theological pressure, to have suffered her old prayers to fall into disuse ; though only through private self-will, without any official abrogation of an old, in the introduction of a new Liturgy ; and quite another again for a Church, formally and officially to refuse the Liturgy itself. The Reformed Church, pretty generally has kept to the first two positions.

In all these respects, is a complete collection of the *Agenda* of the Reformed Church of indispensable necessity ; and inasmuch as I was drawn to this work by inclination and desire, as well as by many outward inducements, and was also placed in such circumstances as greatly facilitated a collection of Reformed Church books. I did not hesitate in God's name to address myself to the work, and must say that it has afforded me, not only the purest satisfaction, but also true edification. May it be a blessing to many whole congregations, as well as individuals.

I have yet a word to say respecting this collection, so far as it is intended for the *scientific use of individuals, and at the same time for the church use of Congregations*. Two ways were before me. One was to print the whole of the church prayers, I had registered, together with all the variations occurring in the several editions of one and the same Liturgy, word for word, with diplomatic faithfulness. In that case, the Collection would fully meet the scientific end intended, but not the practical. Another would first have to come, and make use of the material thus collected for the draft of a particular and scientific liturgy. But could I expect (merely to mention such an external consideration) that in such a one sided procedure, I would find persons to take it off my hands ? How many are there who have any interest in the preparation of new Liturgies ? How many, who are so engrossed with scientific Liturgical studies, that they would provide themselves with such a collection solely for this purpose ? And what, with all my diplomatic faithfulness and acute verbal accuracy, would be gained by documents, which so far as they

generally are originally German, are nevertheless of modern date, and by no means peculiarly distinguished by any interesting orthographic or stylistic properties, which could not quite as well be studied in a thousand other books of the same period? A few slight alterations will often render an old prayer serviceable for our times, and this practical advantage I would have to forego for the sake of some unimportant archaism! This course, I was altogether unwilling to take. The other way was, with all becoming respect for and use of the old prayers, to prepare an entirely new Liturgy. In this way, the practical want would perhaps be provided for—perhaps! for it would depend upon this, whether I would succeed in making it acceptable to all, or even a part; and then, in either case, it would be assuming a great responsibility, and would expose me to the danger of hearing it said: “If he had only left the old prayers unaltered, they would have been far better than those he has given us.” But then the work also would have ceased to be a *Collection*, and its scientific design would have been wholly frustrated. To this course, I had no inclination.

I therefore sought a middle course, and was not long in finding it. A *collection of existing prayers* was the work I had undertaken to perform; but I would so collect, and arrange what I did collect, that it could at once be brought into practical use. It may be objected, that this is not possible, or at most only possible, in case all that is old may be taken as at once fit for use. My collection itself however will prove, I trust, that this objection does not hold against it, and that a union of both these objects was not only possible, but practicable also without much difficulty.

As regards the text—I have made alterations, wherein they appeared necessary, to avoid offence by archaisms whether of form or sense. In such cases, *I have placed the old reading* along side in annotations, so that it might also be made use of for scientific purposes, whilst the text could be made to serve the practical end. I have permitted myself in no case to change the spirit of the prayer, or to alter its style, inasmuch as I did not consider this to be necessary for practical purposes. Why should not a church express its praise to God in various words and ways? Why should not all the different tones which have been heard from age to age in her worship, be heard in it again? That which was unclassical, and bad in its own day, I have rejected: of this however I found but little.

The prayers I have given, are of different kinds. Some are more dogmatical; others are more full of feeling; others soar

on high in the sphere of hymnological poetry; some are earnest and grave; others childlike, bordering here and there even on the playful. I have, as a glance at my work will show, only excluded that which seemed to pass the bounds of truth, propriety, and good taste. In other respects each prayer retains its peculiar character. So the collection presents itself to view. Very many of the prayers are marked by no striking peculiarity. They constitute an order that I would like to call the *classical*. They remain new for all ages. To these, in preference to all others, belong the prayers of the French and Basle Liturgies. The Holland and Lower Rhine and Palatine Liturgies are somewhat more in the dogmatizing style. The Neufchâtel prayers are marked by an animated and animating psalmodic strain. Those of St. Gall, by a childlike simplicity, and inward depth of feeling, to preserve which I felt my duty, and therefore omitted many alterations which others, perhaps, might think desirable.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE WORSHIP IN THE THREE PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The whole of the Church, which by the adoption of the Form of Concord, was shut out from the Lutheran, and which has been known since, in a narrow sense, as the "REFORMED CHURCH" is made up of several groups of provincial churches, which though they may fully agree in doctrine, in opposition to both the Papist and Lutheran theories of the Lord's supper, are nevertheless divided into several Classes, in respect of their origin, the manner of their reformation, their church order and worship as well as their constitution. This is evident from the *passive* commencement of the Reformed Church. She had no desire, from the first, to be the Reformed Church, *par excellence*; or to be *another*, along side of the Lutheran; she wished rather, with the Lutheran, to be the Reformed, that is, the reconstructed Church. Those States of the Empire for instance, which were excluded as "Reformed" by the Form of Concord, desired throughout to be reckoned with those, which are bound to the Augsburg Confession; and maintained with effect, both at the Conference of the princes at Nuremberg, in 1561, and at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, in 1564, that the Augsburg Confession only excluded the Zwinglian (officially given up by the Zurichers themselves after the Cons. Tigur.) and not the Melanthonian Calvinistic doctrine. They had the more right to do so, inasmuch as the Strasburgers and Upper Rhinelanders,

after the adoption of the very equivocal Wittemberg Concord, had been acknowledged by Luther himself, as still belonging to the family of the Augsburg Confession. Those States of the empire also, which, through the management of the Flaccian party, were cut off from the communion of the Augsburg Confession, never would have given occasion of themselves for such a separation. They were compelled in a *passive* way, to form themselves, in connexion with the existing evangelical churches without the empire, into a *particular* church, in contradistinction to the Lutheran. Not that a unity or union with them, was then for the first time attempted or brought about. They already maintained in their relation to the foreign German churches, that general unity, and consciousness of fraternal feeling, which they would gladly have maintained with the Lutheran, but could not. A unity of worship and discipline was in fact never attempted; each particular church was left to its own peculiar development in secondary matters, without limitation; the only thing regarded as important was unity in essentials, in doctrine and fellowship and love.

In this way, it may be accounted for, that in the so-called "Reformed Church," there exists a certain diversity of orders of worship. *Three classes* of provincial churches are clearly to be distinguished: the *Zuinglian*, the *Calvinistic*, and the *Melanthonian*, or German Reformed.

The Reformation in Zurich, and the eastern Cantons in Switzerland, originated from a stock entirely different from that of Germany. It is true that the activity of Zwingli, at first, extended far into South Germany, but his influence there was entirely destroyed by the syngrammatical controversy, and from 1524 onward, the Zwinglian Church of German Switzerland stood as an isolated member, by the side of the Church of the empire, viz: the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and the accession to the Wittemberg Concord only produced momentary interruptions of this isolation.

The Burgundian branch of the Reformation of Switzerland, and the still more remote Romaic, Wallonic and lastly the Netherland branches, proceeded from *Calvin*, a theologian, who, although in the commencement of his career, 1536-'39, he co-operated with Farel, who sympathized with Zwingli, nevertheless occupied a wholly different stand point, and was indeed averse to Zwinglianism. In 1539-'41, as a member of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, he was particularly active in the religious conferences at Worms and Ratisbon. He was also connected with Melanethon, by ties of the strictest friendship.

Returning to Geneva, he proceeded with the Reformation 1541-'44, in a thoroughly independent way, in almost incessant conflict with the Zuinglian church of Berne, in doctrine considered a "Lutheran," endeavoring to subvert the Zuinglian theory of the Lord's supper and succeeding too in accomplishing it by the gentleness and candor of spirit which he maintained.

In Germany the States, which from 1577 onward, belonged to the Reformed Church, were neither under Zuingli's, nor Calvin's, but much more particularly under Melancthon's influence; and so far as the Palatinate, the very heart of the Ger. Ref. Church was concerned, Calvin had there only an indirect influence, obtained partly by having been brought into more or less friendly relations with her eminent theologians during his residence in Germany, in 1539-'41, and partly by the acquaintance he made with German divines travelling in Switzerland.

Let us see now what form of Worship obtained in these three principal divisions of the Reformed Church; for as regards worship we may leave out of sight altogether the English Episcopal Church, while the Scotch, and the Hungarian also, as it appears, belong to the Calvinistic group.

ZUINGLI strange as it may seem, in the changes in worship which he made, was influenced by a conservative principle. The formulary for the Lord's supper, which he introduced in the place of the mass, is nothing more than an expurgated revision of the Gregorian Mass-canon itself, and is favorably distinguished from other formularies of the Reformed Church, by the brevity and simplicity of its prayers, the richness of its composition, and the retention of responses, &c. So also the formulary for baptism, although simpler, is constructed after the old form, and even retains the use of the baptismal robe. Kneeling in prayer is also retained, and was only dispensed with at a later period. The homiletical service is particularly simple, quite as much so, as in the Roman Church, where the sermon stands by itself. The sermon is introduced by a prayer, and is followed by a general confession, and concluding prayer. Singing by the Congregation was not abolished, for the good reason that it was never practised. It was only Church singing that was done away. In Basle, and Shaffhausen—in Basle as, early as 1526—singing was introduced as an entirely new element, and if in Zurich it was introduced only towards the close of the Century, it is to be accounted for by the pertinacity with which, after Zuingli's death, all his regulations were maintained. The putting away of pictures, which was done because they were regarded as idols, and not as works of art, is the only thing in which Zuingli did not proceed conservatively. That, in all

other matters—in retaining the baptismal font, and crosses over graves, private baptism, the form of “*Vater unser*” and especially the Church constitution, as it regards the distinction between Deacons, Ministers and Deans, and the Collegiate foundations—he proceeded more conservatively than Calvin, or rather Farel, I have elsewhere shewn.

The Zuinglian form of worship, as in the lapse of time, it has developed and established itself, and where it exists pure and unmixed, is the following: The service is introduced with an invocation, and the announcement of the hymn. The singing is followed by a Liturgical prayer; then the text and sermon; then the Confession of sin, with a prayer for pardon; after this the concluding prayer and hymn; lastly the announcement of the betrothed and deceased, an exhortation to mutual intercessory prayer and the benediction. If baptism is to be performed, it takes place between the sermon and the last prayer. The Lord’s prayer is recited twice, and in case of a baptism three times. On Festivals the Communion is administered immediately after the concluding prayer.

The *worship* of the CALVINISTIC CHURCH is of an entirely different and more consequential character. It may be said that Zwingli, in order to the introduction of any thing new, abolished too little. He held on too firmly to existing forms, and in confining the Lord’s supper to the principal feasts, he left nothing for the ordinary Sundays, but the sermon. Calvin, on the other hand, made free room for the introduction of new forms; and for this was indebted to Farel. He had made root and branch work with everything before Calvin came to Geneva, and left nothing but the naked and bald sermon. Here was a free field for Calvin’s practical activity. He introduced none of the old forms, Roman, or Lutheran. On the contrary, he produced forms that were entirely new, fresh from the fountain, the central point of evangelical faith. He constructed a Liturgy, and introduced the singing of hymns, some the composition of the refugee Marot, and some his own. The preaching of the gospel, the exposition of the text constituted the central point. All that precedes conducts to it, and is the transition from profane life to the evangelical announcement; all that follows is the transition again from the proclamation of grace to the life which is to be sanctified. When the congregation is assembled, it is met by the *law*, in the reading of the ten commandments, *not* by the Minister, but very properly by a Clerk. The Minister then ascends the pulpit, and in prayer with the congregation, offers the *confession of sin*, of open guilt—a part that certainly

has its proper place here, and not after the sermon, inasmuch as the first thing we should realize, upon entering the temple of God, is the need of divine grace. Singing by the congregation then succeeds. A *prayer for divine illumination* conducts to the *text and sermon*. With it, is connected a prayer for the divine blessing, in the advancement of the kingdom of God in the hearts of individuals, and the world at large, and a *hymn* and the benediction close the service. The congregation enters with a *sense of the need* of the forgiveness of sins, and having received the *consolations of divine grace*, is dismissed and accompanied by the *Benediction* to their homes. Baptism is here appended to the sermon; and the Lord's supper, which according to Calvin's order should be administered every Sunday—follows the benediction. The formulary for the Lord's supper is, at the same time, exceedingly simple, and in liturgical beauty is far behind the Zuinglian. It is besides too doctrinal; whilst the other confining itself chiefly to scriptural phrases, avoids every thing like doctrinal exposition.

The GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH, in the end, after she saw herself shut out from the Lutheran, in part, unintentionally, and in part with design, imitated the Calvinistic worship. Still there arose, in various ways in her worship, a peculiar element, (it appeared originally also, in the Zuinglian Agenda) the *separation of the liturgical part of the service from the homiletical*. In the churches of the Lower Rhine, for instance, the service began formerly with a morning hymn, then followed a long, purely liturgical prayer, for the States, the Church, &c.; a prayer which had no reference to the sermon that was to follow, but had its significance wholly independent of it, as an intercessory prayer. Then came the hymn before sermon, the text and sermon followed simply with the Lord's prayer; the benediction closing the whole service.

The question now arises: should not the worship of the Reformed Church be so constructed as to embrace the advantages of each of these three forms? The Calvinistic ground principles must continue to be the foundation. The superior advantages which the Zuinglian Liturgy has in particular parts must be combined, so that the too-highly-wrought doctrinal coloring in some places of the Calvinistic Liturgy may be softened down. Lastly, the German Reformed separation of the liturgical from the homiletical must also have its right, so far, that the prayers before and after sermon, should not succeed it immediately, but be separated from it by the singing of the congregation, so that both the liturgical parts of the service, to be more independent,

should take the homiletical part between them. This would be an organic development and improvement of the Reformed worship. To make this more fully appear however, we must enquire more particularly concerning the principles of Evangelical worship, in general.

Baltimore, Md.

B. C. W.

BROWNSON'S REVIEW AGAIN.

The last number of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* contains an article of some length, in the way of reply to our January paper on its championship of Romanism. We have no reason to complain of the tone and spirit with which it is written. It gives us full credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose, and takes pains to treat us with manly consideration and respect. It shows itself duly sensible also of the merits of our argument for Protestantism; as far as this could be considered at all possible for a standpoint so thoroughly Roman, as we have already found that to be which is occupied by the respondent. As a whole, of course, our reasoning is set down as fallacious and false; and an effort is made to burden it with consequences which are fatal to the whole idea of Christianity; but care is taken, at the same time, not to charge these consequences upon us directly as part and parcel of our own faith. We are supposed to be entangled in them unconsciously and by implication, rather than with clear logical insight. This is all polemically right and fair. The true consequences of a system have legitimate force against it, whether its advocates have ability to perceive them or not; and it is always proper to drag them into view for this purpose, so far as a superior logic may render it possible. We object not to the severity of some of Dr. Brownson's representations, in this view. If the results he tries to fasten upon us were indeed necessarily involved in our arguments it would deserve much of the censure it is made to receive at his hands. We should ourselves join him heartily in its condemnation. We own no such results as our own. If they belong to our system, they have no place at least in our mind or heart. It is our logic which must be taken to be at fault in this case, and not what we cherish and value as our faith. We are not yet brought, however, to acknowledge any such dualism here between these two orders of thought. Not only do we repudiate the irreligious consequences in ques-

tion, as no part of our faith; we do not allow them either to be fairly deducible from our philosophy or theology. On the other hand, the positions taken by Mr. Brownson, at certain points, seem to us clearly to confirm what we have already urged in the way of objection against the Roman system. It is not necessary to say that he shows himself at once acute and profound, and that the weapons of his warfare are handled with dexterity and power. The argument belongs to a field, where few are so much at home, and has to do with topics which few are so well fitted to manage with effect. But with all this, his dialectics, on the great subject here at stake, are by no means equal to the task he has undertaken, in pretending to vindicate Romanism at the bar of reason. To our mind at least, the plea remains as before defective and unsatisfactory.

The grand aim of Mr. Brownson, in this article, is to run us into *pantheism*; such a view of the universe as confounds it with the idea of God, and so resolves itself at last into pure autotheism or nihilism; "to which" he says, "we have shown over and over again, all Protestantism, whatever its form, has an invincible tendency." To this end flows, he tells us, the view we take of the relation between subject and object in the constitution of the world, as well as what we say of the relation of the general to the particular. To affirm that the object without subject is unreal, or a pure abstraction, amounts with him to an affirmation that all reality is subjective, in the sense of Fichte, and that the objective as such has no existence whatever. This, we are told, is to make God himself dependent on the thinking and willing of men. He is reduced at best to the character of infinite void, mere abstract possibility, seeking to become *plenum*, full, or real in the life of the world. But such abstract possibility is a nullity, can do nothing, bring nothing to pass; "then there is no world, and if there is no world, and God is a nullity, nothing is or exists," and so we are landed in pure nullism, or nihilism, as just now said. To the like result is carried out by the Critic our view of the relation between the natural and the supernatural. To affirm an organic or inwardly living correspondence between these different spheres of existence, is to confound and overthrow, he thinks, the distinction by which they stand apart. God must be out of the world, and beyond it altogether, in order to be truly self-existent and independent. So in the sphere of nature; and so also in the sphere of mind or will. The Critic will hear accordingly of no *autonomy* in this latter world. "Nothing can be worse than this," he tells us, "for it supposes the law is created, and in part at least by

man himself." To make man active at all in the constitution of the law, is taken to be tantamount to a claim of self-creation in his favor; which must be regarded of course as a full lapse again into the vortex of pantheism or nullism as before. Our view of the relation between faith and divine truth, is made to plunge headlong over the same awful precipice. To require a real inward union of the two, in such sense that the first shall appear the very form under which the second has its subsistence for men, is to reduce this last to the character of a simple abstract possibility. "It is the object that gives the form or species," the Critic tells us, "and to contend that it is the subject, is simply making man, if creation is supposed, the creator, and God the creature,—that is, man makes God, and not God man!" Such a theory leaves no room, of course, for the idea of revelation, in any true and proper sense. And so, finally, our Christology, the view we take of Christ's person and the mystery of the incarnation, is charged with the same general fault, as tending to break down the distinction that should of right hold perpetually between the order of nature and the order of grace. Christ, we are told, is the author of the new creation, but no part of it in his own person; just as he is the old creation, only *mediante actu creativo*, by the act of creating it, and in no more intimate way. To make him the real fountain of Christianity itself, is gravely represented as a full identification of his life with that of his people, and runs, we are told, into palpable pantheism.

Mr. Brownson, as we have before said, does not mean to lay all this to our charge, as something contemplated and proposed on our part with heresy prepense. He means only, that our premises lead necessarily to such end. We think it well, however, to put in here a formal disavowal of the pantheistic conceptions, one and all, which are supposed thus to lurk in our system. The idea "that God is real being only in that he is creator, and actually creates *ad extra*," is none of ours. We have not the slightest sympathy with the theory of Spinoza. We believe the world to be God's free act, and as such in no sense necessary to the fulness of his own being. We have never dreamed of any such autonomy on the side of the created will, as might make it the source or reason of the law. This we hold to be of absolute and universal necessity, though ten thousand worlds should conspire to set its power aside. We recognize fully the distinction between the natural and the supernatural, and the necessity of revelation for the purposes of religion. Faith never makes the truth it is brought to embrace; it simply makes it to be truly present, and so authenticates its existence,

for the sphere of created intelligence into which it is thus actually introduced. We carefully distinguish Christ from his Church, while yet we hold them to be in a deep sense one, even as the head and members are indissolubly joined together in the living constitution of one and the same body. Most certainly, "we are not made one with him in the sense of identity with him, nor are we *deified*." The position of Christ, as we have taken occasion often to say, is absolute and central; while that of his people is relative only and peripheral. He is the *only* begotten Son of God; we are sons only through him, by adoption and living insertion into his life, the process of what the Scriptures call eating his flesh and drinking his blood, as the true condition of all righteousness and immortality.

But now, as we take it, the truth, in opposition to these several pantheistic consequences charged upon us by Mr. Brownson, does not stand on the other side in their simple negation and contradiction. There is another class of conceptions in this form, and which the common understanding is always prone to lay hold of as the necessary and only alternative in the case, that go just as directly and surely in the end to exclude God from the world, and to unsettle all the foundations of religion. These are comprehended collectively in the idea of *dualism*, or abstract deism, which may be taken as the immediate reverse of what is properly pantheism in the bad and false sense. It may be said that dualism involves a great truth, the actual distinction of God and the world; and this we are freely willing to admit; but it is just as certain, on the other side, and just as necessary too to be affirmed always, that pantheism also involves a great truth; such a truth indeed as may be said to meet us on almost every page of the Bible, as well as from the inmost and profoundest depths of our own religious nature. That is a poor and cheap orthodoxy, in any case, which stands barely in the rejection of error in some one direction, while it makes no account of the danger, always at hand, of falling under the power of its natural counterpart in a direction just the opposite. We are bound to do justice, in the case before us, to the truth which underlies pantheism, as well as to that which underlies dualism; and we are not more bound to fear and avoid heresy in the first shape, than we are bound to avoid and fear it also in the second shape. It has been our wish at least, and our honest endeavor, to keep clear of both extremes, as well as to acknowledge and honor the great truths out of which both grow. Mr. Brownson, we are sorry to say, in common with a large amount of what we conceive to be bad Protestantism, (the almost universal thinking,

we might say perhaps, of New England,) turns the two phases of thought into the form of a simple syllogistic dilemma, where one horn is the only resting place from the other, and avoids and rejects thus the pantheistic extreme only in such a way as to lay himself open, in our estimation, to the charge of dualism. We distinguish of course, as he also has done in our case, between his theory and himself, and speak of what the first is by necessary consequence, as it strikes our own mind, rather than by open and direct avowal; although at some points, the general consequence itself might seem to be not indistinctly allowed, in the particular propositions by which we find it indirectly affirmed. The facility with which he throws us continually into the wrong, serves only to illustrate, as we take it, the fault and wrong of his own position. It shows this to be itself a dialectical extreme, whose very character it is always to condemn in a wholesale way, as its own opposite, all that is different from itself, or that carries towards it in any way the aspect of negation. No such extreme can ever live by simply killing its opposite; but only by coming to a true inward reconciliation with it in the power of a higher idea, whose province it is, in such case, not to destroy absolutely on either side, but rather as regards both to complete and fulfill.

Abstract deism, as distinguished from the true *theism* of Christianity, it is hardly necessary to say, is not in and of itself an exclusion absolutely of God from the world. It prides itself rather in being an acknowledgment of God, under the character of the great first cause and end of all things. In this view, however, he is taken to be always out of the world, beyond it, over and above it, and in no sense truly immanent in its constitution and life. His relation to the world is that of a mechanician to a machine. It is the product of his mind and hand; it works according to his will; it goes forward under the superintendence of his eye; while he remains himself, whether near at hand or afar off, wholly on the outside of it, abstract and independent altogether as another order of being. Such dualism may refuse the idea of revelation entirely; but it can with equal ease also allow it, after its own fashion. In the first case, it is mere naturalism or rationalism, in the most direct form; teaching that man has no need to go beyond the world as it now stands, for the solution of the problem involved in his existence; and that he must be necessarily inaccessible indeed to the literally supernatural, for the reason simply that it *transcends* his own nature, and so cannot enter it in the way of real knowledge, or appropriation. In the second case, we have abstract

supranaturalism; which owns and seeks the supernatural, in the Bible or in the Church, as the necessary and at the same time possible complement of the natural, but will not allow still the chasm to be in any way filled that sunders the one from the other. The relation remains at last, what it was at first, extrinsical and mutually exclusive; while all conjunction in the case is found to be mechanical only, and thus more or less magical and unfree. A general convenient illustration of both these errors, is furnished by the question concerning inspiration. Rationalism reduces it at once to a nullity, by resolving all into the natural activity of the human mind. Abstract supranaturalism asserts on the contrary a higher activity, the moving power of the Holy Ghost; but in doing so, at the same time, sets the Divine wholly on the outside of the human; in consequence of which, this last sinks into the character of a mere passive organ or instrument, in the service of the first. The error in this form is of course more respectable than the error in the other form; but in both cases the proper truth of the doctrine is missed, and its rightful authority more or less overthrown. Inspiration transcends nature; but it is on the other hand a real entrance of the supernatural into this lower sphere. The Bible in this respect is just as thoroughly human, as it is found to be also heavenly and divine. The evidence of this meets us from every page and line. Not merely are the words human words; but the thoughts also are human thoughts, as intimately joined with these words as thoughts are in any other case with their own language, which we know to be the very intimacy itself of soul and body. No two of the sacred writers think alike or speak alike. On the contrary the individual nature of every one of them is exalted, and so made to be more specifically peculiar and characteristic, through his gift of inspiration, than it would be if presented to us under any other circumstances. How all this is accomplished, is not here the question. We have to do only with the fact. This includes two sides; one natural and the other supernatural; which however do not stand each on the outside of the other, in such a way that the action of one becomes all and the action of the other nothing; but are so brought together as to be both truly and really concerned, as joint factors, in the result which is brought to pass. Holy men of old *spoke*, as they were *moved* by the Holy Ghost. The speech is *human* speech, in all respects, under Divine motion. Any theory of inspiration which leaves this out of view, or which implies the contrary in any way, is of course radically defective and false.

And so, we say, in the relation which God sustains to the world generally, as its Creator and Preserver, we are required to see neither pantheism nor dualism; neither a necessary self-explication simply of his own being, on the one hand, nor yet such an outwardness and disjunction, on the other hand, as implies in fact two different worlds, two separate and independent spheres of being. Even Nature itself has a constitution and life of its own; it is no mere apparition or shadow; its powers are real powers; its laws are true laws; it is not in this respect a mere system of *occasionalism*, the inefficient show only of what is taking place, while all in truth proceeds by immediate act of God. And still under this form, it can never, for one moment, or at a single point, be sundered from God; it subsists in *Him* continually, as the very ground of its whole constitution; its powers and laws are of no force, save as they flow forth unceasingly from the activity of his will. This activity is just as full, as omnipotent, as universally present, in the preservation of the world from hour to hour, as it was in its original creation. Not a sparrow falls without his hand. In Him, really and truly, we live, and move, and have our being. Of him, through him, and to him, (*ἐκ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς τὸ καύτον*, Rom. xi. 36,) from him as their beginning, in and by him as their constant cause and medium, and to him again as their absolute and universal end, are all things. Such pantheism the Bible teaches, and we are bound to admit. It is the very character of a true childlike religious faith itself, thus to see God in the stars, to hear him in the winds, to mark his stately goings in all the processes of nature. And so when we rise from the world of mere Nature up to the world of Mind, as this meets us in the constitution of man, it is still always the same mystery we are called to admire and adore. God is different from the thinking, and willing, and working of men; and yet all thought and will are conditioned and made possible, only through the universe of life which has its seat in himself. He is the foundation of the moral world. It holds throughout in the presence of his intelligence and the activity of his will. Truth and freedom exist from him, and by him, as their necessary ground. The law which upholds all ethical relations, and by which the organic structure of society subsists, is the utterance continually of his very life. History, unfolding from age to age the progress of humanity, is not something separate from God; full as little certainly, to say the least, as any such thought may be tolerated of the course of dumb blind nature. It moves throughout, though in a free way, in obedience to an all comprehending law or plan,

as truly as this may be said of the planets; and this law resolves itself finally into the intelligence and will of Him, who is at once the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. The intelligence and will of God are immanent in the process itself; so that it may be said truly to be a revelation of what he is in the world; just as we may say the same thing of the natural heavens, which *declare* his glory and *show forth* his presence in the most direct and real way. This is not Buddhism. History is not necessary to complete God himself; as nature is not necessary either for any such end. It is no process of self-evolution, by which he is to be regarded as coming to be actually what he is otherwise only potentially, the transition of the logical Nothing into the logical Something; God as pure being into God as the living universe. History is not an emanation of the Divine life, in any such sense as to be the necessary form of this life itself. God is complete without it, and lives with absolute fulness beyond it in the way of personal self-consciousness and freedom. He is the free cause even of his own being; and how much more then of all his works. But still in such free view, we have a right to speak of history as the actual presence notwithstanding of his life, as the very form in which he reveals himself so as to show forth in an actual way the sense of what this life contains. By being free, it does not cease still to be God's act, and in this view a process of real self-explication, by which he comes forth from the depths of eternity into the syllabled speech of time, and so makes himself known for the adoration of angels and men. We see no pantheism in this; but only the pure living theism of the Bible, in opposition to the dead mechanical abstractions of that dualistic deism, which converts the world into a grand watch, and sees in the Maker of it the clever artist only who has contrived and set in motion its wheels and springs.

"Following modern philosophy," Mr. Brownson says, "which teaches that God is real only in that he is creator, the Reviewer can assert that God lives, is living God, only by asserting that he lives in the life of the world, that is, as he explains it, 'in the thinking and willing of single minds.' His system seems to us to be based on the supposition, that God comes to reality only in the life of the universe, and that the universe, whether natural or supernatural, is simply the evolution or development, that is, realization, of the abstract potentialities or possibilities of the Divine nature. ——Hence the significance and sacredness of history. It is God's realization of his own potentiality, in space and time, or his *coming* to reality." —P. 208. This, it

will be seen, is a wholly false view of what we have wished to say. It makes no distinction between a necessary emanation and a free act, and reduces to the conception of a physical process what we hold always to be the work of intelligence and will in their highest form. Even the necessity by which God himself exists, what is sometimes called his *aseity*, we hold to be a free necessity, and not a blind fate excluding thought and will; for this would shut us up to the everlasting impersonal substance of Spinoza. 'The being of God is his own eternal act, resting in nothing and conditioned by nothing beyond the free activity from which it springs. All his works of course are no less free. But for this very reason, on the other hand, they have no subsistence save by the immanent force of his all-producing will at every point. The world has its end no less than its beginning, its *terminus ad quem* full as much as its *terminus a quo*, in God only. It is not in this respect like a plan which an artist projects, and then carries into execution. Plan and execution fall here completely together. To suppose an outward reason or aim of any sort, in the Divine Mind, is in truth to subject his action to a foreign force, and so to overthrow the absolute aseity of his nature. The universe must be taken, from first to last; as wholly and only from himself. The law itself in this view is his work. True, it is eternal, and has its seat in the very nature of God; but it has its seat there, not out of any necessity by which his will may be supposed to be ruled from behind itself, but by the infinite activity of this will itself.

It may now appear in what sense, and in what sense only, we have ever dreamed of allowing man a will or voice in the constitution of the law by which he is required to be governed. "To assert man's authority, or right to be governed only by his own will," according to Mr. Brownson, "is to deny that he is under law, or bound at all to seek God as the Sovereign Good. Does the Reviewer maintain that we are not morally bound to seek God as our ultimate end? Does he deny all morality, and assert that man is free to live as he lists?" Nothing of this sort, we reply; nothing of this sort whatever. All we mean to say is, that mind is not matter; that morality is not nature; that the law of freedom, to be different from the law of blind necessity, must come to its actualization in the world, not in the way of merely outward force under any view, but through the self-moving spontaneity of its own subjects, the thinking and willing of the created minds in which it works and reigns. The planets obey a law which they have no power to accept or not accept; it is in them, but not from them or of them in any way;

and for this very reason their action is blind and unfree. So throughout *Nature*, as such. Its very character is to be without autonomy in its own order of existence. The Moral, on the contrary, as distinguished from the Natural, is self-conscious, self-active, in a certain sense we may say even self-productive, and in such form truly free. It is not made, except as it at the same time makes itself. It is not moved, save as it originates its own motion. It stands, like all created existence, in the power of law; but the law here is not from abroad simply, as in the case of mere nature, not objective and outward only, but inward also and subjective; it is brought to pass, comes to its actualization in the world, only in the form of being apprehended and willed by its subjects. On the outside of such self-conscious life it can have no being in the world whatever. Turn it in any way into mere blind force, simple outward compulsion, and all proper morality is at an end. The necessary medium of its revelation, the very element in which it exists and makes itself felt, is the self-moving activity of the life it is formed to bind; which at the same time has full power to be untrue to itself by refusing the authority of its proper law, and which can be rightly bound by this in the end only as it receives the law freely into its own constitution, and so enacts it into force for its own use. Mind thus, by its very constitution, is required to be autonomic, self-legislative, a true fountain and source of law for itself; while the law notwithstanding has its ultimate ground only in God, and can be of no force whatever as the product merely of any lower intelligence. Objective and subjective here must fall absolutely together. The will without the law is false; denies its own proper nature; falls over to the sphere of bondage and sin. But the law, on the other hand, without the will, has no power either to accomplish its proper work. Only as the law, previously necessary by Divine constitution, is *willed*, freely embraced, affirmed and constituted, by the created intelligence it is ordained to rule, so as to be at the same time the product of this, its own act virtually and deed, can there be any true escape from the idea of slavery, any true entrance into the sphere of freedom, any morality or religion in the full and right sense of these terms. It is this union of law and will, necessity and liberty, not outwardly but inwardly, which brings the life of man emphatically to its proper form. This is what we mean by the autonomy of the human subject, the right of man to be governed by his own will and not simply by a heteronomic force acting upon him from beyond his will, the voice that belongs to him properly in the constitution of the law which he is called to obey.

Our objection to the Roman doctrine, as we understand it to be exhibited by Mr. Brownson, is that the law objectively taken is so far sundered from the activity of the obeying subject, as to be in fact set over against this in the character of another nature altogether, and under a wholly outward form. Objective and subjective are made to fall apart dualistically into two distinct worlds. We do not wish to confound them, to mix them together, or to make one absorb and destroy the other; we recognize their difference; but still we object just as strenuously also to this abstract separation. Allow that we may not be able to show in what way precisely the two interests of authority and freedom flow together, this is no reason still why we should give up the claims of either in favor of the other. We may not subordinate authority to the independence of man, so as to make him his own lord and master, with liberty to follow simply his private pleasure; but just as little have we any right to affirm such separate mastery in favor of the law, to the exclusion of man's mind and voice. Authority on the outside of the will, in no union with it, standing over against it simply as a foreign force, though it should be the authority of God himself, can bring with it no strength, no freedom, no life. The case demands an inward mediation; such an entrance of the law into the sphere of the subject's own life, that it shall seem to be part of his very nature, and to grow forth spontaneously from the activity of his will. It is the "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," the law as the power of self-moving spirit in the soul itself, that makes it free from the law of sin and death. This implies oneness of nature between the power that binds, and the activity which allows itself thus to be bound; and it is only on the ground of such correspondence that the relation requiring them to be so joined can be said to hold from the beginning.

Mr. Brownson charges us with great confusion, as well as fundamental error, for making object and subject dependent on each other in the realization of truth, and for resolving the first separately taken into the general, as distinguished from the particular; which is he tells us, to make the object the product of the subject, and in the end to overthrow the existence of particular concrete objects altogether. We still say however, that there can be no truth or law in the world of mind under a purely objective form; for the reason that intelligence and will are needed to make room for any such existence, and to bring it actually to pass. Truth exists, *as truth*, only by being known. Blot out all knowledge, all consciousness, all thought, and you blot out all truth at the same time. Intelligence is the light in which it reveals its presence, the very form in which it becomes

real. Will it be said, that is to make God himself dependent on the thinking and willing of men, and so to resolve his being into mere void, or abstract possibility, seeking to become *plenum*, full and real in the life of the world? We reply, by no means. God is at once Object and Subject, in the most universal sense. His existence is the absolute union of both. As object merely, without self-knowledge and self-activity he would not be the God of the Bible, but the very abstraction of Buddhism itself, the infinite Nothing from which it is pretended here so anxiously to fly on the other side. To conceive of God as necessarily existent under a purely objective form, without regard to his own intelligence and will; as though these had to do with the first in a secondary way only, finding the object at hand previously for their use; is a thought in its own nature fatal to all sound theology, full as much as the imagination which allows him no independent personality whatever. Dualism in this shape, is only pantheism back upon us again with a new face. The necessity by which God exists, as we have before said, is a free necessity; it has ground, not from beyond his own will, but in the activity of his will itself. He is eternally self-produced. His being is not merely an object, but an *act*, his own act, going forth always from an exercise of thought and will. In this consists his Personality; which at the same time is *absolute*; carries in itself no reference to any object or thing beyond itself, but affirms itself with illimitable self-sufficiency from within as the Infinite I AM, which is at the same time and must be the everlasting ground of all life and being besides. And so then in the constitution of the univese under God, object and subject can never fall absolutely asunder, but are required to go always together as joint factors in the determination of all proper *reality*, in the world. Nature itself exists only for mind; and in this view, moreover, the proper truth and sense of it are found not at all in the single particular things belonging to it as these may be perceived by the senses merely, but in the ideas rather they reveal and represent, which come from beyond, which are always general or universal in their nature, and which can have no being or presence in the world whatever, save under the form of thought and by the activity of self-apprehending and self-moving intelligence. Truth thus, in the moral world under God, considered as objective merely is always something general. So is law. In such form exclusively, however, they can have no force in the concrete constitution of man's life. For this purpose, they must become subjective, or in other words enter into the sphere of particular thought and will. This is not to

subordinate them in any sense to the power of such thought and will ; as though truth and law might be considered the product simply of men themselves. Men make neither truth nor law. These have an absolute necessity beyond their will, and underlie the very order out of which their whole existence springs. But still truth and law actualize themselves in the world, become concrete and thus real for men, only as they are incorporated with their life, and pass over in this way from a purely objective character to a character which is at the same time subjective and individual.

In this realization of reason and law, however, their character as general is not lost. It is not every man's thinking and willing privately taken that can thus make room for them in the world ; but only such private thinking and willing as are comprehended in the life of the world as a whole. In this way mind collectively taken is more always than mere single thought and will ; not simply as it is the aggregate of individual opinions numerically joined together, but as it brings us nearer also to what may be considered the proper wholeness of truth under its objective form. Reason and law work thus objectively in the constitution of the moral world, as a most real power lodged in the very structure of our collective life ; something which is in such view wholly different from all merely private intelligence, as well as independent of it while it is only by means of this at the same time that it can ever bring itself to pass or make itself felt. This objective revelation forms the medium accordingly, the necessary and only medium we may say, through which mind in its individual capacity is brought to communicate with truth in a truly living way. The communication is not separate and direct, but by the intervention rather of a more general rationality, in the bosom of which the single mind is of necessity born and matured and perpetually carried. Purely private reason is an absurdity ; and so just as much is private will. The absurdity is not relieved, however, by setting authority over against either, in the form of truth or in the form of law, in a purely abstract and outward view. The abstraction here is full as bad as the negation. The case calls for a concrete mediation of the single and the general. This we have in the actual structure of the human world ; where reason and law are found touching men continually, not in an abrupt and isolated way, (what Dr. Bushnell styles the *ictic* method,) but mediational always, through the organism of the human life itself collectively taken, and by means of relations that bind the single subject indissolubly at all points to the great living, rational and

moral mass, of which he is a part and without which he can be nothing. God does not bring his will nigh to men in a direct way, but through some living constitution more broad and general than themselves, which they are bound, as well as naturally prompted, to regard and reverence for this very end. His authority utters itself through the family; through right public opinion; through art and science; through the civil state; through the course of history; and above all, though in full conformity with the same general law, in the Church catholic as this has stood from the time of the Apostles down to the present day, and is destined to stand also to the end of the world, the pillar and ground of the truth, against which the gates of hell can never prevail.

In this way, we recognize fully the vanity of mere private judgment, in the great business of religion, and the need of authority to assist us in settling rightly the high and solemn questions with which it is concerned. This authority too, we see plainly enough, must be something more than the letter of the Bible, as each man separately taken may have power to read it for his own use; since this necessarily resolves itself at last, under such view, into that very private judgment and will, from which the problem is to find some sufficient escape. It is in truth the essence of rationalism itself, to make the single mind, in such style, the source and measure of Christianity; and it is only a circumstance in the case, that the Bible may happen to be taken as the ostensible platform of such independent thinking, while another sort of rationalism sets this also aside, and falls back fairly and openly on its own resources in the most naked form. We acknowledge the need of something more here than the Bible, thus made the sport and plaything of private judgment. Christianity is a living fact in the world, which as such carries along with it, to the end of time, its own evidence and its own authority. In this form it constitutes the Church. We own and confess the authority of this body, the one holy catholic Church of the Creed, as both legitimate and necessary for the proper constitution of the Christian faith in all ages and lands. When those who would make the Bible *per se* the source of Christianity, refer us at the same time to the influence of the Holy Ghost as going along with it and securing its right use, we see clearly enough that all such illumination must be regarded as fanciful and vain, if it fall not in with the general law of our nature just noticed, by which the presence of truth for the individual mind is conditioned and mediated by its relations to mind in a more comprehensive view. We have no right

to conceive of the Spirit, as working in any such abstract way. It is against philosophy, against experience, and against the clear representations of the New Testament itself. As the Spirit of Christ especially, the medium of the new creation which began to be revealed on the day of Pentecost, he is at the same time the Spirit of his Church, the one and the self-same power that is active in all the saints, as they form collectively his mystical body, and are thus the fulness of him that filleth all in all. The authority of the Spirit then is to be expected and sought, like all other manifestations of God's will in the world, not under an abstract character, but under the form of concrete life; that is, in the bosom of the Church, by which and through which only it comes to such revelation. But now when the Romanists, to meet this acknowledged want, refer us to their Church outwardly considered, or to the Pope as its visible head, for an authority which is declared to be infallible at all points, and always at hand, for the solution of all religious questions, we seem to ourselves at least to encounter, under a slight change of aspect only, the very same difficulty we have wished to escape from on the opposite side. The Church or the Pope here is made to stand mechanically in the place of the Bible, as the organ of the Holy Ghost; whose authority is then supposed to reach over to the single believer, through such outward medium, in a purely abstract quasi-magical way, without any regard whatever to the standing order of our life, which demands in every such case, as we have seen, a concrete living revelation, by the force and power of which objectively the individual mind may be brought to assert a corresponding activity in a truly free way. We object not to the idea of authority in the case; but we wish an authority that may show itself truly moral, answerable to the constitution of humanity, compatible with the idea of freedom. No authority, it seems to us, can be of this character that is absolutely abstract, that comes upon the subject as an abrupt and isolated *mandamus* from a higher sphere. To be really from God, it must legitimate itself by entering the sphere of the life it seeks to rule; it must take concrete form in the world; it must win for itself a living human activity in the social system, which in the case before us becomes the Church, whereby it may have access to individual thought and will in conformity with the general law of our nature. Let it appear that the decisions of the Pope, though taken to be moved by the Holy Ghost, are the product in some way of the general life of Christianity, rationally working out the result through such central organ, according to the law of man's nature as otherwise known; and

we can at least listen patiently to the plea that is put in for his infallibility. But this is not the view that Romanism is willing to allow. The infallibility must be set quite above the standing order of our life. The authority is lifted clear out of the process of humanity, and in this way ceases to be concrete and historical altogether. It has no objective mediation in the actual constitution of the world. It is wholly abstract, transcendent, superhuman ; and so in the end it is not moral ; leaves no room for freedom ; but runs into despotism, spiritual legerdemain, and magic.

We have never meant to deny the supernatural ; nor yet to make it the same thing simply with the supersensible, the world of pure thought as distinguished from the world of sense. Our objection to Mr. Brownson is, not that he sets the supernatural out of nature over it and above it, but that this *transcendence*, in his hands is carried to the point of such an absolute disruption of the one world from the other as amounts at last to downright dualism, and leaves no room for the accomplishment of any real conjunction between them in the life of man ; which, however, at the same time is the necessary conception of all religion, and the very form especially in which the idea of Christianity becomes complete. We see not how such a real conjunction should imply anything like a full sufficiency on the side of nature, left to itself for the actualization of the supernatural as its own product ; but it does seem to us certainly to require a constitutional fitness and capability on the part of the first, for apprehending with some inward connatural grasp, the presence of this last when brought within its reach. We question not the full objectivity of the supernatural, as an order of life above nature; only we ask that a corresponding subjectivity be allowed also on the part of man, whereby he may be able to receive the object which is thus higher than himself into true union with his life, so as to be lifted by the power of it, not magically but rationally, into its own superior sphere. Such directly receptive capacity we take to be inherently at hand in the gift or faculty of faith. Faith carries in it a real inward living and rational correspondence with the truth it is called to embrace ; and in this view it belongs to the proper original nature of man, though a divine influence is needed certainly to bring it into exercise. Such drawing out of the subjective capacity of our nature, however, by no means implies that the truth itself is drawn out in this way ; just as little as the awakening of sight in a previously blind eye would imply, that the surrounding world was brought to pass by its becoming thus an object of vision. What else does our Saviour mean when he

says: No man can come to me, except the Father draw him; He that is of God, heareth God's words; If any man will do my will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God. For the reception of Christ, all depends on a certain inward sympathy and correspondence with the truth revealed in his person, a real receptivity for the supernatural on the side of the human soul itself, such as all men ought to have, but only some men have in fact.

To affirm such a rational correspondence between faith and its object, is not to affirm by any means the full intelligibleness of this last for the human mind. The world of sense is not at once understood, by being apprehended as an object of sense. Still this apprehension carries in it the relation of a real inward connection with the intrinsic nature of what is thus perceived as real and true. So here. The object supernatural, according to the measure of each particular revelation, is substantiated and made to be real, not objectively of course but in the sphere of the human mind, by the power of faith, touching it, falling in with it, embracing it, and so admitting it into union with man's life, though it be still by no means fully comprehended. Faith is not itself the truth it embraces; just as little as the Holy Ghost is the same truth, in making way for it to the believer's soul; but it is nevertheless truly the very form under which truth exists *in the soul*, as the Holy Ghost also is the real medium by which such result is brought to pass. Supernatural truth is for man no truth at all except as it is "mixed with faith" in them that hear it. The language of St. Paul, Heb. xi. 1, taken in connection with the whole chapter, clearly implies, we think, that faith is such a power of grasping invisible and eternal things, as serves to authenticate them, and to make their reality actually felt, as truly as the things of sense are felt in their own way. By it, for instance, we know that the worlds were framed from nothing by the word of God. We get that by no ratiocination, and by no outward testimony; but in the form rather of a direct response on the part of our religious nature, to the word that addresses faith directly out from the constitution of the world itself.

But this, Mr. Brownson tells us, is to exclude *testimony*, as the necessary medium of faith. "Even Divine testimony is not to be credited, it seems, according to our German Reformed Doctor, till we have examined what it testifies to, and satisfied ourselves by our own light that it is true, and worthy to be believed" p. 204. But this is not a fair representation of our meaning. What we have objected to is the idea of a purely outward evidence in this form, coming between the believer and the truth

to be believed, and engaging his assent to this on grounds wholly extrinsical to the truth itself. Certainly we allow the testimony or word of God to be the true foundation of faith. The question is simply, how this testimony is to be obtained. Can it be conclusively ascertained in a purely abstract way, as something sure and full on the *outside* of the revelation to which it requires our assent; according to the view taken of faith, if we understand Mr. Brownson rightly, in the Roman system? We think not. The whole revelation, be it less or more, commencing with the miracle or primary seal and reaching out to all that is spoken, must be regarded as entering into the evidence by which the presence of the Divine Speaker is authenticated and his testimony accredited. This is not to make the word more certain than the Speaker, but only to set the Speaker before us under a form worthy of himself, and sufficient to command faith. When we have, in such circumstances, the Presence of God joined with its proper concrete relations, these serve of course to complete the evidence of the adorable fact; but it is still the Presence itself, as the centre of all, which at the same time legitimates and proves the reality of the whole revelation. So the world of Nature proclaims the being and glory of God; but only as the idea of God himself, discerned by faith, comes into view through Nature, and in the midst of it, to authenticate it as his own spoken handi-work and word. The miracle seals properly a Divine commission; but not abstractly; not magically; otherwise no direction could have been given, (Deut. xiii. 1-5,) to destroy a wonder-worker using such argument in favor of idolatry and falsehood. The miracle, to prove truth, must have a certain moral constitution; must be surrounded with right relations; must proceed from a worthy quarter and look to a worthy end.

So Christ stands commended to faith certainly by evidence *ab extra* as the Son of the living God; only however as he is himself the *Light*, which sheds on all such evidence its full significance and power. The knowledge which Peter had of Christ, (Matt. xvi. 17,) came not of course by mere sense; it was from God, and not in any way from flesh and blood; but still it was not a secret whispered in his ear in this form from beyond Christ's person. The truth was *there* before him, with self-authenticating force in Christ himself; and it was his peculiar privilege to see and feel in *Him* the living glorious SHEKINAH which he was in fact.

But here our limits require us to stop.

J. W. N.

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MELANCTHON AND THE PRESENT.

Versuch einer Charakteristik Melancthons als Theologen, und einer Entwickelung seines Lehrbegriffs von Friedrich Galле. Halle, 1840.

It is the professed object of the book referred to at the head of this article, to give a fair representation of Melancthon, as a theologian in the general acceptation of the term, and more particularly to point out his variations on the two most important subjects in Theology, the Lord's Supper, and the Freedom of the Will. The book indeed, as the author says, sprung originally from a previous article on his variations in doctrine, but as these constitute but a part of his mental history, it was a happy idea in the author, that led him to seek for those portions that remained, and to clothe them with life and beauty. In this he has happily succeeded, and we consequently have an internal history of Melancthon in all its parts, the only true history, which can be given of a scholar, who has spent his time in reflection, rather than in practical life. The book is thorough, that is, it quotes original authority for proof, and it may be regarded, we presume, as standard authority on all subjects connected with the life of the Reformer. In Germany it has taken its place in the theological literature of the day, as a "monograph," a

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species of Church History, known only to the modern Theology of Germany. It shall be our object to employ the information it contains with an object in view somewhat different from that of the author, but one to which we think his learned researches would justly lead.

We regard Melancthon as one of the best abused men in ecclesiastical history. Luther and Zuingle, whilst they have been a bye-word and a term of reproach in the catholic world, have ever been held in grateful remembrance by their Protestant children generally. Calvin, whilst he has been no less heartily hated by Roman Catholics, and in addition, has been obliged to bear the maledictions of thousands, who were too much obliged to him for their spiritual inheritance, to have treated him so unthankfully, has ever had his more particular adherents, to rally around his standard, and to revere his piety and genius. But neither the Protestant world as such, nor any particular section of it, has as yet placed so firm a barrier around the memory of Melancthon, as has been the case with the illustrious men already alluded to. If his enemies have not been as numerous or as bitter, his friends, though numerous, have not been so enthusiastic and decided as theirs; if the former have been less successful in repudiating his claims to the grateful regard of the Church, the latter by their faint praise have been more successful in giving him a less elevated position in the great Protestant movement, than the case in fact demands. It has been common to represent him as the secretary or amanuensis of Luther, his colleague. That he was a correct, and classic writer, and a thorough linguist, and highly distinguished in these respects is freely admitted, and full praise is accordingly awarded. His spirit, in which of course imperfection could not be lacking, looking benignantly over the tumultuous waves through which the Reformation passed, and seeming to say, Peace, be still, is frequently regarded as having suberved its main purpose, in checking the passions by which Luther and others were unreasonably excited. His learning was of importance mainly as the store-house, from which the heroes of the battle-field drew forth their weapons, burnished and bright, when the heat of the contest gave them no time to prepare themselves. But his merits under this aspect were chiefly of account in giving the principles of the Reformation a suitable form and vesture, although such a position as is ascribed to him, in such an arena, would be an honorable one indeed. The merits of Melancthon, however, we believe, can be shown to be of a higher character,—that he was truly a hero of his own kind in the strife, whose influence has left an impres-

sion on the Church as distinctive as that of others who figured in the field. He might be regarded as an inactive champion, but his standing still, his silence, when the four winds were in commotion, might have had the effect of working results by far more mighty, than if he had entered the field, fully accoutered, and carried on an offensive attack. His spirit might have been working silently and invisibly in the Church, when no person knew from whence it came.

The ground chosen by Melancthon, which he doubtless regarded as the safest for the Protestant Church, he had not fully reached until after the death of Luther. The presence of his friend and colleague was no longer at hand to overawe him, and he was left to develop and unfold more freely the principles of the Reformation. During its first phases he was confessedly carried along in the wake of Luther's spirit; as much, however, by the general current as by Luther himself. All the circumstances of the times were such as to render the developments of Protestantism, if not to some extent erroneous, certainly incomplete. It is remarked by Schiller in his history of the Thirty Years War, that Protestantism was brought to express itself in the Augsburg Confession at a period somewhat unfavorable. The times were as yet not fully matured to secure to Protestantism as a whole all the advantages, which it placed in the hands of its adherents, and he attributes much of their divisions and dissensions to this circumstance.¹ But the first loud explosion had spent its force. Zwingli had died on the field of battle, and Luther has sunk to rest in peace. A second phasis of the Protestant movement appeared. Calvin was formed at the head of the Reformed ranks, directing their interests by his iron-will, whilst Melancthon succeeded Luther in standing and influence, though not without opposition. It was at this period that the spiritual life of Melancthon came to maturity, when he took his position, from which his labors as somewhat peculiar and distinctive, began to tell on the history of the Church down to the present time. Experience and observation on the practical operation of the Protestant principle gave him superior advantages to lay afresh the ground-work of the Reformation, or at least

¹ His language is: The reason of this change (the divided state of Protestantism) is to be sought precisely in the Augsburg Confession itself. This Confession set a positive boundary to the Protestant faith, before the awakened spirit of investigation was prepared to permit such a boundary to be drawn, and the Protestants unknowingly bartered away a part of the advantages which their revolt from the papacy secured to them.

considerably to modify it. Evidence that he felt some inward call of this character appears pp. 128, 129, of Galle's book, and at an early day Luther himself thought he might be designed to be the forerunner of Philip, for whom as another Elias, he was to prepare the way. We shall now consider the position of Melancthon, that we may be able to calculate its force on succeeding times.

At first it is known that Melancthon coincided with Luther in his views of the Lord's Supper. It soon became apparent, however, that this did not entirely satisfy his clear and keen logic, as appears from the fact that he began to change and modify his language in expressing it. But his change of views did not become so generally known, nor was it perhaps complete, until after the death of Luther, when his spirit began to breathe a freer air. The view of Calvin, which had already begun to find friends, met his approbation, and he readily adopted it in preference to the one which he had previously entertained. The proof of this is carried out in detail by Galle with much impartiality, and precludes the possibility of a doubt of its correctness, or a surmise, that he entertained a view that mediated between that of Luther and Calvin. During his life-time, he never maintained his altered view in any public document, as he was repeatedly and earnestly entreated to do by Calvin; but abundant evidence of the fact appears in his private letters, and in documents that appeared subsequent to his decease. His friends as well as his enemies, have reprehended him most unmercifully for his silence, and they are accustomed to attribute his conduct to his timidity, and the shattered state of his nerves. This is slanderous, as well as ungenerous. The timid professor at times afraid of his own shadow, had previously at the call of duty, bearded the lion in his own den, and charity would require us to believe, that in this case, he acted from a sense of duty,—that he regarded silence, under the circumstances, as a more effective weapon than speech, however much he might expose himself to the sneers of the wicked and the rebuke of many of the good.

The position of Melancthon on the Eucharist is important in its bearing on subsequent times, from the fact of the cardinal importance of the doctrine itself in the christian system. As something isolated, or separately considered, it is of no more account than many other doctrines of revelation; but it stands in intimate connection with other controlling and primary truths. It is part and parcel of the christian doctrine of our union with God, a subject, which from an early age taxed the intellect of heathen oriental, and occidental sages, in their painful searches

for the truth, and with them became the germinant point of a universe of intellectual creations. In the christian scheme, it has not only thus become germinant ; it connects itself further with the doctrine of Christ, the Son of God, our Mediator, and of the Church, a new link in the chain of endless thought, of which the heathen sages knew nothing. Hence our view of the Eucharist will modify our view of religion itself, of Christ, its author, the Trinity and ultimately of the Supreme Being.

The idea of the Church, connected with the doctrine of the Eucharist, as the communion of saints, was a controlling element in the spiritual life of Melancthon. The mere ideal with him did not suffice ; he loved the real as its product, and required that this last should appear to prove the existence of the first. He knew well what the Church ought to be, but when he found her still in the land of bondage, he loved her notwithstanding. None of the Reformers looked with so much yearning affection upon the Catholic Church, and appeared to be so reluctant to disbelieve in its revivification as he. In this regard he has been censured, and it may be with justice, as having carried his charity too far. His error was inevitable in a person of a meditative turn of mind, who holds communion with the saints of the past as well as with those of the present. His failure to see the mere round of empty forms, that had taken the place of the living church, disclosed a heart-felt love for the Holy Catholic Church. Affection ever clings to the forms of the lovely deceased, where "beauty lingers," with the hope, though a vain one, that life may again return. The genuineness of his love is indicated by its extending much farther in a contrary direction. Extra Lutheran Protestantism enjoyed it far more freely than the papists. Without compromising with error, he could recognize the lovely form of the Lamb's bride in Switzerland and France, where Luther could see nought but desolation and death. The authority of the Church in matters of faith and practice was felt more powerfully, perhaps, in his case, than with the rest of the Reformers. The eloquent words of Luther respecting the impiety of departing from the universal voice of the Church is often quoted and admired. The frequent appeals of Melancthon to venerable antiquity are more so, when we find them exemplified by a constant regard for the thing itself. He began to waver in his view of the Eucharist, when he discovered that *oral* manducation, was not taught by the earlier teachers of the Church. He then instituted a new examination of the fathers of the Church, and we may suppose with much and painful anxiety. There can be no doubt if consubstantiation could

have been sustained by the authority of the Church, his troubled spirit would have found repose : none would have been more unyielding than he in its defence, nor resisted more firmly than he the Sacramentarians. But the result obliged him to change preconceived views, to differ from old and tried friends, and to subject himself to the charge of fraternizing with his opponents. The great intellect of the sixteenth century, with his hand on the Bible, bowed to the voice of the fathers, addressing him from a distant, dim antiquity. Instead of detracting from his greatness, this ought to be regarded as a feat of moral heroism of the highest character.

The more mature views of Melancthon on Free Will, Predestination, and Grace, are faithfully given by Galle, as also the process through which his mind passed in reaching them. At first, he in common with Luther, occupied as high ground on the subject of predestination, at least inferentially, as did Calvin subsequently. How far Luther modified his views on this subject, no sufficient evidence has as yet been advanced to show. It is said in his latter years, he approved of Melancthon's modifications, though up to the ninth year before his death, he asserted that he delighted most in reading his book, *de servo arbitrio*, written against Erasmus,—equal to high Calvinism, and wished to regard it in connection with his Catechisms, as the only books, with which he wished his name to be identified to posterity. The evidences of Melancthon's variations, showing his independence of Luther, are more numerous, and to the point. He not only retreated from the dizzy position, he once occupied to the Augustinian view, but is represented as having gone still further, as evidenced in the Synergistic controversy, in which he attempted to resist the antinomian tendency of the times. He was never regarded as being chargeable with Pelagianism, but constantly insisted upon the necessity of divine grace in order to salvation, and maintained the impotency of man to effect his own regeneration. He nevertheless attributed a certain degree of freedom to the human will, with the view of satisfying those parts of Scripture, that seem to require it, and extended the call of mercy to men generally. By degrees he threw the subject of Predestination in a manner aside, as transcending the human intellect, and ministering questions of strife, rather than edification. How he attempted to reconcile all the truths, that gather around the everlasting question of human freedom, if he made any attempt at all, does not appear. He prepared no metaphysical system in which these questions were answered, and his views so far as they go to form a system, appear in his practical

works and controversies. His real service to the world consists not so much in any system, which he may have established, as his moderation in granting all the facts in the case, some of which are at times denied by the Calvinistic party, others by their opponents, the Arminians. The Heidelberg Catechism, to which we shall have occasion to advert as modified by his influence, would no doubt have met with his approbation, as a truthful view of the questions referred to. In this form of sound words, the truths, which gave rise to the Calvinistic system are preserved, whilst those, which justified the rise of modern Arminianism are not discarded. It thus presents the only safe platform for the progress of Theology in the direction adverted to.

It could hardly be expected that a religious character so well rounded, and giving so little occasion for Shibboleths as that of Melancthon, should meet with any very deep sympathy in its favor during the sixteenth century. That was a period, when ties that had bound men together for a thousand years snapped asunder as at the touch of fire; then unity and catholicity were thrown more and more into the shade, and the hand that should attempt to bring them into the light, met with stern rebuke. Least of all could it be expected that this should be the case in Saxon-Germany. It required the "thunder-words" of Luther to move that mass of rocky, robust human nature. It was not the evening zephyr, laden with balmy odors from the spirit-land, that could revive that parched soil; it required the bolts of heaven to discharge their contents, to awaken the drooping principles of life. Still Melancthon was not without his adherents during his life-time and subsequently, at Wittemberg and elsewhere. The Philippists and Crypto-calvinists were numerous, and seemed to be in a fair way of carrying everything before them, but the hand of persecution demolished the influence, and Providence ordered that they in patience and silence should await their time.

Along the banks of the Rhine, in a country watered by the Neckar, Melancthon's native land, there resided a numerous population, possessed of genuine German character, except as it was softened by proximity to France, and rendered more susceptible of wholesome influence from abroad. Into this section of country the doctrines of Calvin had made considerable progress, but not under so objectionable a form as in Holland and Scotland. They were modified by the *genuethlichkeit* of Germany, and reverence for the Augsburg Confession, or rather, as we may say, by the Melancthonian tendency of the times. Frederick, the Pious, the Palatine Elector, abolished the Lutheran faith,

and substituted in its place, the Calvinistic. With no intention to vary from the Augsburg Confession, he consulted Melancthon, as to the propriety of preparing some suitable book for the instruction of his people in the true faith. Melancthon approved of his design in his Heidelberg Response, celebrated for the obloquy, which it brought down upon him, and for its defining more definitely his own position. The text-book desired, was the Heidelberg Catechism, prepared by Olevianus, and Ursinus, the former a disciple of Calvin, the latter of Melancthon, and published in 1563 with the approbation of a Synod convened at Heidelberg. This is generally reckoned among the Calvinistic formularies of the time; but it has always been regarded as teaching the objectionable parts of Calvinism more by implication, than expressly. One who reads discussions on predestination attentively, may perceive from which of the parties it came, and it may be said of it with truth "thy speech betrayeth thee;" but the granite-pillars upon which the superstructure rests, are so concealed from view, that a casual observer would not suspect their existence, unless from the firmness and solidity of the building itself. But this quiet, unobtrusive form of the Catechism was not such as Calvinism presented in those times in other lands. Elsewhere it was accustomed to push the consequences of its system out to their utmost extremes, and such was the ardor of its adherents, that neither faggot nor sword, could lower its courageous front. It was rather Melancthonian christianity, mingling with, and pervading the Calvinistic system, that gave the German portion of the Reformed Church such an air of easy, peaceful, majestic repose.

In the Palatinate then, Melancthonianism in connection with the Reformed Church, found a genial soil; but it was not confined to this part of Germany: it penetrated other parts of the Empire. In the seventeenth century, the Palatine-Elector was offered the crown of Bohemia, which he unfortunately accepted, and thus gave occasion to the Thirty Years War, one of the longest and bloodiest on record. During its continuance, the Reformed countries suffered most from that papal wrath, which had been kindling for a century, and were obliged for a long time to bear the heat of the day, until the magnanimous Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, came to the rescue of the Protestant faith. At the peace of Westphalia, 1668, Reformed power and influence in Germany lay prostrate. The Palatinate, its classic soil, was one wide scene of desolation, with little prospect of its ever regaining its former standing and influence. It was a righteous dispensation, a parental discipline, to open up a more glorious

future for the faith of its children. My Kingdom is not of this world. John Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg had already established the Reformed faith in his dominions, and as that energetic house rose from the command of a mere principality to a place among the great powers of Europe, Calvino-Melancthonian Christianity has raised its head in Germany.¹ In 1817 the Evangelical Church was formed by the king of Prussia out of the old Lutheran and Reformed Churches in his dominions, and his example has been followed in a great portion of the German States. This measure has been represented as the veriest act of tyranny, that has been exercised upon the consciences of men, and opposition has been long and loud. But the sympathies of Germany have ever been in favor of its general tendency, and it could be shown that the soil had been previously prepared for the new Church. The spirit of Melancthon awoke at the Jubilee of the Reformation, as well as that of Luther, and now it claims its rights among the German people. The Evangelical Church carries with it the weight and influence of Germany against the separatistic tendency on the one hand, and Catholic Austria on the other. Her best and most learned men heartily adopt it as their platform, on which they are content to labor, and erect those theological structures, which will endure to the latest period. The *Union* has not as yet been consummated in an internal way, which is moreover something that is more than could be expected. Clashings and collisions reach our ears even beyond the Atlantic, but this is a necessary attendant on every great and earnest effort of the human mind. It is strange, however, that in this country so little is known of the origin and present state of the Evangelical Church. A movement has been going on in Germany for the last quarter of a century, destined in the end to make itself felt to the extreme limits of Protestantism, and we are scarcely in a condition to

¹ The German Reformed Church in this country, whilst it is composed of German Reformed, Swiss Reformed, Huguenotic, and some few Waldensian elements, has preserved its original character, which may be owing to the fact that so many Palatines settled here during the last century. The piety of her communion, where it has had an opportunity to unfold itself, is that which breathes throughout her excellent Catechism,—peace, moderation, forbearance, brotherly love, and an active interest in the church, and cause of Christ generally. Her venerable Synod, now over a hundred years old, in her annual assemblies, usually presents scenes such as Melancthon would delight to witness, and Calvin would approve. At the same time, it is the only body in this country, where delegates from high-toned Lutheran, and high-toned Calvinistic Synods meet in an ecclesiastical capacity.

give the facts in the case. Sublime Melancthonian silence is all this, that can placidly survey the troubled sea of the present, and rest calmly in the future, final result, though it fail to arrest our attention. Of late, it is true, the Theology of the Evangelical Church, has been making its way from country to country, and we in America are beginning to hear something of it, but generally in the Calvinistic world, it is heartily despised, and its honorable parentage is either denied, or traced to the father of lies. Such we hope and believe will not continue to be the case in this our western world.

During the late convulsions in Germany, on a remarkable occasion, Evangelical christianity was called forth by the pressure of the times to the view of the civilized world, when it was seen that it was not altogether that leaden mass of infidelity, which many had surmised, but a living portion of the body of Christ, with all its tender veins and arteries in full play, blooming with beauty. The revolutions of '48, had broken asunder as in a moment all authority, whether in Church, or State. Thrones tottered, crowns fell from their places, and kings were sent into exile. There was another such a revelation of the man of sin, as had been seen in the previous century. The filth of iniquity was laid open, and the earth was filled with the stench. The tongue of the blasphemer was loosened, and Atheism found its organs in high places. Many thought the last day had come—that Satan was loosed for a season. No rescue seemed to be at hand for either Church or State, except in the direct interposition of heaven. Then the united Church rose with the magnitude of the occasion. A convention of over three hundred ministers and laymen, convened at Wittemberg, the home of the Reformation, in the temple which contains the ashes of Luther and Melancthon, to consult respecting the path of duty. A suitable time was spent in prayer and fasting, when a solemn league was formed to resist the inroads of infidelity, and to pay particular attention to the cause of domestic missions. To evangelize and christianize Germany, seemed to be a work so transcendently important and pressing, that other objects were scarcely thought of. As if rebuked by the finger of God, they returned to their homes more firmly bound together than ever, in the determination to seize the land that was still to be possessed. The bands that held this illustrious assembly together were remarkable. They formed no new creed, the labor of half an hour. They chose merely to base themselves on the symbols of the church from the earliest period downwards. On these a platform, broad and firm enough, could be reared to sustain them in their work and labor of love.

The general tendency of the christian Church at the present day, is neither Petrine, nor Pauline, but Johannean, which is but another word, for Melancthonian. Her deepest, most heart-felt voices are for peace, unity, catholicity. She has long carried the cross, and fought in the strife. She now sighs for deliverance, and waits for the crown.

If we examine attentively the course of Theology, we shall observe that it does not flow entirely in the direction of Lutheranism, nor Calvinism as such. In the case of the former, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper offends the christian consciousness; in the case of the latter, the doctrine of predestination, often carried to the verge of fatalism, produces the same effect. With reference to the Eucharist, the age so far as it is christian, inclines towards the Calvinistic platform. Not that its deeper wants are here satisfied, but because it finds firm material on which to build so as to secure the legitimate progress of the Church. The Calvanistic theory of human freedom is loosing ground, and high-toned predestination, though most satisfactory to the naked intellect, is undergoing a softer process before the tribunal of the religious consciousness. This tendency is something distinct from the stale Pelagianism of our day, which can bear no comparison in point of solidity with what may be regarded as a one sided Calvanism. There is another and a more wholesome tendency at work, which is ready to admit a certain species of freedom to the natural will, whilst at the same time, it carefully protects the sovereignty of God and the necessity of divine grace. These two have not been reconciled and made to appear in a consistent system of faith, as in the case of Melancthon, but it is a matter of supreme importance that the necessary data should be granted in order to development in any science. Here again the Melancthonian platform is the safest on which to stand, if we have apprehended it correctly.

The churchly tendency of our times, so far as it is sound and scriptural, is also Melancthonian. Among the many divergent lines of thought which constitute it, proceeding from the same point, we may see one which it is safe for us to pursue. It is truly *protestant* and sufficiently reformatory. It does not feel itself in all cases bound by traditions, that reach back to the Reformation-period, much less by those which are the mushroom growth of the day. It fears not to break the green withes laid upon the strength of the truth, and regards as of little account, the hue and cry of the multitude so generally attendant on an effort at real progress. At the same time as in the case of Melancthon it is ever ready to throw itself back upon antiqu-

uity, either to fortify or modify its position by the voice of the past, much as the forest oak strikes his roots deeper into the earth, in proportion, as he elevates his head into the region of the tempest and the storm. This is in accordance with the direction of scripture : " Every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out o" his treasure things *new and old.*" As our age is emphatically an age of progress, much more so than any previous one, and as the Church is modified by the spirit around her, how necessary the hallowed influences of the Church of the past, to serve as a counteracting force to the fearful velocity, with which the times are carrying us forward. How strange too does it sound for good men to grow suspicious, and become excited at the very word, antiquity. But midst all the noise and bustle of the present, the meditating, the reflective, the serious can discern the mellowed voices of the ancients, as from a distant shore, waxing louder and louder, as our troublous times seem to require their co-operation in carrying forward the work of God in the world. No species of theological knowedge is beginning to be regarded of more value, than Church History, and in no department of knowledge, have more genius and learning been summoned to the task of satisfying the crying wants of the Church. Our commentaries are beginning to be valued not so much for their novel modes of interpretation, as for the *authority* of any single explanation, and we hope the time is not far distant, when the laity will place the pulpit under similar, wholesome restrictions. And with reference to the present state of our doctrinal Theology, it is being felt by many, that its purification can be encompassed only by its transmission to the head-waters of the Reformation.

In conclusion, we would say, that in the above, we do not intend to disparage any of the Reformers. We regard Luther as the greatest man: Calvin, the greatest Theologian: whilst we regard Melancthon as the greatest christian, and his position as the safest starting-point for the progress of Protestantism, that on which the future universal church is destined to rest. We do not claim for him originality, for all that goes to constitute the ground-work of his life. We regard it as a matter of the highest praise that could be bestowed upon him, that in an excited, agitated age, warding off the influences of party-spirit, he adopted such a full, many-sided view of the Gospel.

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ECCLESIASTICAL TENDENCIES.

[Translated from the "Kirchenfreund."]

It belongs to the peculiar character of our times, that in different lands, on the field of the Protestant Church, a certain retrograde tendency is coming to prevail, materially and plainly different from the views and aims which were entertained even among the pious themselves not a great while since. In Germany, for instance, it had gone so far, that not only was the Church fallen into absolute contempt with open unbelief, affecting at the same time the proud tone of science and superior cultivation; but for those also who professed to adhere to the old faith it was regarded as of force and authority, so far only as it fell in with the current conception of a merely invisible communion. It was frequently said in so many words indeed, that a Christian and a Pietist were two as much like terms, as a Protestant and a Christian or a Pietist and a Protestant. The case was supposable thus, that a man might have no regard for the Church, visibly taken, nay might absolutely hate it, and still be counted, possibly too for this very reason itself, a good christian. The Church as an outward organism, thrown around man's life, seemed to lose almost all significance over against subjective christian experience. Infidelity sought to abstract Christ from the heart; the great interest then, on the other side, was felt to lie in maintaining for the heart the possession of Christ.—The course of things in England and America was much the same. There however it was not so much the inroads of unbelief, as the prevalence of a stiff, dry, moralising orthodoxy, rationalistic too in its own way, which served to call forth a reaction on the part of those who were concerned truly for their salvation. The visible Church, not directly in its forms and ordinances, but in the manner rather in which these were administered, being shorn of their proper life and spirit, could not fail to excite an opposition, to which every established form as such came to appear dangerous, and which also gave itself up to the object of bringing individuals to Christ, in the way of experimental apprehension, as the one great end of religion. The maxim had full acknowledgment, that every one who is in Christ is thereby also in the Church, but not the reverse. That to "be in Christ" however includes more in it than a mere personal experience of salvation, that one who is in Christ is a member of his body, while this body must be not at all something purely inward, but something outward at the same time, an organism embracing

humanity—this seemed to be left entirely out of sight. If danger was escaped thus in one direction, it was only by running into new danger in another. For will inward experience now really become infallible? Shall there be no need more for any forms whatever? May not new ones rise, much worse perhaps than before? May not spiritual coldness again return? Must not the divisions of Protestantism tend to impair its inward strength and truth? Can the old church forms be abandoned, without giving up at the same time doctrines and principles indispensable to sound church life?

History itself has long since answered these questions. And with it many of the friends of christianity, both in the old world and in the new, have come to look upon a piety as of very questionable character, which makes a merit of its own unchurchliness. Hence no idea belonging to the whole range of theology is so much in view latterly as that of the *Church*. And this is altogether right. The Church may be placed not improperly at the head of the entire christian doctrine. By her we know that there is a kingdom of God; by her the Bible is first offered to us as God's word; by her our faith stands in union with the faith of all the saints in the earliest and most remote times. The undervaluation of the visible Church has been carried quite too far. Christianity demands a sound body no less than a healthy soul. The two condition each other. The efforts then which are made to secure closer contact again with the old order, the original spirit, the forms this created for itself in the Reformation, are full of meaning for our time. Their object is to restore the good, which has been thrown away along with the bad in rash attempts at improvement.

The circumstances of the present time are in truth such, that any man who puts forth his strength for the sake of the good, against the reigning spirit of the age, and so not out of selfishness but from a true spirit of love, is at once entitled to thanks, even though his activity should be without plan in a universal view. And with how few can it be otherwise! All should be welcome, that honestly proposes to help the malady of the times. How much too has taken place recently, in the old world as well as in the new, for the invigoration of Protestantism! From the Prussian scheme of Union to the great London Alliance—the cause of Missions, Foreign and Domestic, Bible Societies, the system of Tracts and Colportage, and many other agencies that might be named, are all enterprises of true benevolence, that have already wrought more good than can well be told in single respects. But these enterprises themselves serve in truth

to show us to what point we have come, and the obligation which rests on every friend of the kingdom of God, to build on the broken down walls of Zion, in his own place, according to the best of his knowledge and ability. No one is called at present to the office of a Reformer. But to assist, to improve, to resist the enemy in single places, and to be true to particular trusts ; that is what we must limit ourselves to at this day, and a blessing may be expected to go along with it.

We ought not now to be surprised however, if in this business of patching and improving much may come into view that is not in full harmony with itself. It fares with the spiritual habitation of God here, as it has fared with many houses of God that are made with hands. We have ourselves seen such, which were begun in the old Roman round arch style. Afterwards these simple and noble lines failed any longer to give satisfaction, and were crowded out by fanciful complicated Gothic additions. There came however still another spirit, and the rich pomp of the Gothic architecture was covered over with lime and chalk, to make the worship more spiritual. Even this sober improvement has been forced also to give way to new change, which may be repeated again no one can say how often. Has it not fared in the same way with our Protestant Church ? It is the arena, we know, at any rate, for all private opinions, where every one may make trial of his strength.

The efforts of our time to infuse new life into the kingdom of God, and to secure for it a more full and effective entrance into public life, as well as the family sphere, all reduce themselves perhaps to two tendencies. The one aims to reach the general from the single, the other reversely to reach the single from the general. The one lays hold of the individual life, to incorporate it with the organism of the whole ; the other seeks the organization of the whole, in order to subdue the individual life the more easily by means of it to a general end. The first asserts in favor of the individual an independence of christian thought, that owns no necessary allegiance to the past of the Protestant Church ; the second insists on laying down a certain basis of faith and worship, as already established, by which to restrain and hold in check the undue exercise of freedom. The first is historically the older tendency, the second the later and more recent. The old form of Protestantism retained its authority down into the last century, carrying it to petrifaction ; it had historical right on its side, but its rigid conformation was at last only a sort of paper papacy, and its existence was almost wholly polemical, its very strength lying in controversy not in love.

The last century shows here the most violent revolution. This had many aspects, but its distinctive character is just the assertion of the subjective and individual over against the claims of tradition and law. Thus private judgment stood forward in the Rationalism of Germany, and of other lands, carrying its appeal to the fundamental right of Protestantism itself; but it showed clearly also the entire want of a right understanding between the Protestant confession and individual knowledge. The same assertion of the subjective lies at the ground of German Pietism, English Methodism, and all kindred manifestations. Here indeed no departure from the church faith has been designed; but there was no right understanding again with the reigning form of the church; it failed to serve as a medium between the word of faith and the believing heart. The effect of all this was, and still continues to be, very great. Unbelief on the one side, affecting to believe as it may please and what it may please, has grown into frightful power. This carries in itself no organizing principle, but is decomposing, eats like rust, wherever it is found, spreading itself as a cancer; it sees in the faith of the Church only an overwhelming power, it seeks new principles on which to build the social system, but draws off men from the influence of Christ's word and spirit. Over against it, and yet one with it as regards the over-valuation of the subjective, stands the modern Separatism, with its so plausible pretence of superior piety; which with vast want of all general knowledge invests the feeling of a moment with the value of eternity, and labors under all the defects that attach to such one sided account of feeling, namely lack of genuine moral force in the will, and confusion in the understanding. This sovereignty of the individual will not allow us Protestants, with all our talking, to come to right genuine action; in this country Protestantism has lost a large part of its moral force, its influence over public relations. To this state of things it is owing, that our youth for the most part grows up in the thickest moral and religious darkness; that an insensibility to divine things follows, which no later inward convulsions can ever compensate or cure; that the leading political men lend their favor to the religious body, which promises them the best service; that family love is found to fail, in proportion as that which should be the strongest bond of union is turned into an occasion of difference and separation; that all the enterprises of Protestantism, as a *propaganda fidei*, are made weak by the misery of division; that persons who have no call whatever, without any preparation, devote themselves to the service of the Church, getting honor thus to themselves while the

Church is made to fall to the same extent, with the higher class, in relative dignity and weight; that along with all, and just because it is thus, the Roman Catholic Church extends her power, and skilfully turns to account the advantage of our weakness as well as of her own compact organization.

Certainly subjectivism has had full time and opportunity among us, to show its strength and bring deliverance. But what has it thus far accomplished? In the form of rationalism, it has sought to overthrow all the foundations of human society. Under the name of liberalism and light it promotes indifference towards sin, the perennial poisonous fountain of all sorrow, lawlessness, selfishness, the breaking up of all relations by the dissolution of the most sacred ties that bind man to man. In the form of a purely experimental piety, on the other hand, affecting to follow only its own feelings, the same spirit has produced a thousand illusions; dividing the Church; and at last flinging itself again, (often in the most odious way,) into the arms of the very evil it rose from at first, namely stiff formality and its accompaniment spiritual death.

And now the question is, whether the tendency which is making itself felt in our day, from different sides, in opposition to this overbearing individualism, is not also reasonable and right? Those who tell us, from a contrary mind, no regard is had here to personal piety, are either ignorant or malicious. It is just one of the worst signs of our time, a true mark of the curse upon it, that the expression "churchly minded" has passed into a term of reproach. Equally unjust is it, where one shows himself dissatisfied with the existing sect system, its divisions and fanatical disorders, at once to class him with one sided tendencies and views in the opposite direction, or it may be to charge him even with a leaning towards Rome. No, we hesitate not a moment to speak freely what we think. We see that the state of Christianity in our day rests on no other foundation so much as on that of merely natural moral conceptions, which differ heaven-wide from the truths of the kingdom of heaven. Our wish now would be to behold in the Church not simply a sort of cobbling system brought in to mend existing damage, and so to help men forward to heaven; we would have rather man's life made to rest throughout, without distinction or exception, on the truths of revelation, on God's word and will; we would have it consecrated and sanctified by religion in all its relations; so that the Church should lead him from the cradle to the grave; educate him, and hold him under her discipline through his whole life; have in her charge the care of the sick, the poor,

the inmates of prisons, and in short all states and conditions. And we say in this case *the Church*, because we know that nothing comes of it when these things are left to the good will or prudence of the individual, where every one in his interpretation of the Bible turns a nose of wax only to suit himself. We wish therefore a Church, and a confession from this Church herself showing what she is in her own mind, and what difference she makes between herself and the Roman papacy, as well as all that may ape this under Protestant form. With this moreover we would not be narrow minded. With Melancthon we should have no objection to some sort of visible head for the Church, as a bond of unity; and we could allow also that difference of view on some points, as for example with regard to the baptism of infants or grown persons, need not lead necessarily to separation and division. But were once such an organization brought about for the Protestant Church, even in this land only, could it only so concentrate its activity and strength, would it not be clothed with immeasurably greater moral influence? Must personal piety in such circumstances fall into neglect? Would not the individual come far more fully under the power of the Church? And would not the opposition to Rome become thus of far more force and effect? The greater the body is which is pervaded by one and the same self-feeling, the greater will be its firmness inwardly and the force of its action without!

When those therefore who seek the promotion of genuine piety in our time, are willing to incur the reproach of a backward tendency, rather than receive as pure gold the outside show of a religion that resolves itself into mere feeling, they have the experience of a whole century in their favor. That is just the misery of our age, that when one fancies himself to have had some inward *experience* of religion, he is ready at once to take himself for a new man altogether, mounts the seat of counsel, has nothing more to learn, and will not allow even the preacher to know a whit more of the kingdom of God and the Church than himself. Nay, the preachers, by a flattery that proceeds from the lowest motives, confirm such persons in their spiritual pride and blindness; there is dishonesty behind on both sides. We acknowledge, however, no ecclesiastical aristocracy; while we acknowledge just as little also an ecclesiastical democracy. We have in the whole world no conservative institution but the Church. So we regard it in the form also of Protestantism. The Church came not forth from that process of purification, in a period of storm and trial, to fluctuate from that time onward

on the waves of individual passing opinion. It was just the devices and additions of men she sought to cast aside. What has been found a source of blessing in all ages however, what can never cease to satisfy the necessities of the soul, that wherein was deposited the clear wisdom of the ancient fathers, and their knowledge of the way of salvation, all this she has never cast aside. It never entered into the mind of the Reformers, that either rationalistic or spiritualistic radicalism could ever become the reigning spirit of the age, as it has been for some time past. When they formed confessions accordingly, and liturgies, from the old treasures of the Church, they did it in obedience to what was felt to be the necessity of their circumstances and because they could not entertain the thought that without these means of consolidation and protection a Church could so stand, as not to be exposed to the greatest danger in regard both to doctrine and worship. Did the Reformers however for this reason undervalue personal religion, the true inward experience of faith? Who has more carefully or wisely regarded the old usages of the Church, who has more respected her discipline, who has done more for the organization of the church, for schools, for instruction, for every conservative interest in short, than Luther? And yet who at the same time has gone beyond this same Luther in the life of faith, in the deep experience of the power of the law and of grace in his own soul?

Those who throw suspicion on the Church spirit, and with more or less clear consciousness lean towards the subjective extreme in religion, seeing in sectarianism, excitement and enthusiasm, more good always than evil, are ever ready to apprehend that a dead outward formality must soon come to prevail in the Church, if a certain commotion be not constantly in force to hold it at bay. Most certainly an empty formality will come in, where the ministers look more how many members they have in their flocks for themselves, than how many they have for Christ; where they must have recourse to other means than the sword of the Spirit, to keep their place and situation; where they thrust their own dear self into the foreground, and make that the motive to interest and feeling; where altogether they are bad representatives of the gospel. But have these evils been removed by fanaticism and the sect spirit? If indifference and levity were great before, they have at least served to bring to equal greatness also spiritual pride, uncharitable judgement, hypocrisy and sham holiness. But is living piety then irreconcilable with adhesion to the old order and custom of the Church? Were then the composers of our most admirable church prayers and

church hymns spiritually dead men ? The most of them were as far as possible removed from indifference to the forms and institutions of the Church, by far the greater part of them lived in a time of the most rigid orthodoxy, held themselves closely to the observances of the Church, and yet—how did they pour forth the richest strains from their full hearts ! And is their number then so small ? Or was there at that time so little faith in the old world ? No, but rather at the present time ; and unless the Church come together as a body of believers, consolidate itself better, seek to organize itself collectively as one, and constitute thus a great moral power, where the individual must make less of his private judgment than before, the case is not likely soon to improve. And yet how unfair often are the warm opponents of the old church spirit and practice ! We have ourselves once heard a狂人, who railed out with all his might upon the dead formality and letter worship of the Church, and had singing at the same time along with his service from three old German genuine *church hymns*, composed by men of true church spirit ! That is to rob a man's house, and scold him soundly into the bargain !

If we take all these things into view, if we consider the necessities of the time, the quack remedies of modern invention, the dangers that press from within and without, the state of our preachers, the existing confusion of Christ's flock, we may with certainty affirm that to go back to the old church order in doctrine, worship and practice is not to be guilty of any defection from christianity but to fulfil towards it a sacred duty ; that it is in truth the way pointed out by the relation in which we stand to the period and work of the Reformation, for us to carry forward the work of Zion, not by novelties, but in the spirit and sense of the Reformation itself, and on its foundation as laid in the truth of the Holy Scriptures. And that the eyes of many in our day are beginning to open, and inquiry is heard after the genuine and the old, that the ancient treasures of the Church and its confessions are drawn forth from the midst of rubbish and dust, that the wisdom of the age is coming in much to be regarded by many as foolishness before God, all this is to us highly significant as we look forward full of hope towards a greater future of the Church.

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W. J. M.

MODERN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH BALLADS.

I love the old English ballad especially because it is perhaps entirely of Teutonic origin; or, if of the Celtic spirit it may have inherited something, it has certainly nothing of the old Roman about it. It came not down from the classic times of antiquity. It was not the offspring of ancient Italy or Greece. It was not introduced into England from Normandy or France. "Ingulphus the secretary of William the Conqueror," says Campbell in his admirable *Essay on the Poetry of his country*, "speaks of the popular ballads of the English in praise of their heroes, which were sung about the streets; and William of Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, continues to make mention of them." During the depression of its Saxon people this species of song, no doubt, languished for a while; but we cannot think that its notes became ever wholly mute. While by the chantings of the lordly Romance, introduced from Normandy, the halls of the barons were enlivened, at the same time, by the simpler strains of the old ballad, we may naturally suppose, were still cheered the firesides of the peasantry. While from its two component parts, the Norman and the Saxon, the English language was being formed, this latter species of composition, no doubt, received much refinement and polish, and perhaps rhyme itself, from abroad, but with all its improvements it lost not its original elements. In the higher departments of literature, Romantic poetry, translated from other countries, brought with it into England many of its foreign expressions and idioms, whereby the language was enriched; but the old ballad still clung as fondly as it could to the national Saxon.

The poet Gray, in his *Remarks on the Poems of Lydgate*, says: "About the middle of the fourteenth century our tongue, with all its rudeness, had acquired an energy and plenty by the adoption of a variety of words borrowed from the French, the Provencal and the Italian, which at this day our best writers seem to miss and regret; for many of them have gradually dropped into disuse, and are only now to be found in the remotest counties of England." In turning over the leaves of Chaucer, however, who was flourishing about the middle of the fourteenth century, or very soon afterwards, notwithstanding his having caught much of his inspiration from Provence and Italy, of those words of his, nevertheless, which have, since his day, grown obsolete, we will be apt to meet with full as many of Saxon descent as of Norman or French introduction; wherefore those

best writers mentioned above, we are disposed to think, would have shown as much patriotism and better taste had they grieved not so much on account of the denial of naturalization to some unworthy aliens as on account of the disfranchisement of many native expressions removed to make room for the denizens. At any rate, for the loss of these foreign words, Gray himself, we feel certain, was not much distressed, as in English Literature he stands forward prominent in a new school of poetry in his day, distinguished for its chasteness and simplicity of style, which was very much advanced, (as already stated, page 158 of this vol.) by Dr. Percy through the publication of his *Relics of Ancient Poetry*. By another school, however, these phrases, now obsolete, from foreign sources, may have been missed and regretted, we admit, whose fault it was to employ as few as possible, in their writings, of those true Norman and Saxon words which had entered radically as component parts into the construction of English, and to seek after as many as possible of later modes of expression introduced, from time to time, from the Latin and Greek, after the language had been thoroughly formed and fixed ; whose ornate style, in the time of Gray, had Dr. Johnson carried to perfection. That this, however, was an unnatural affectation of the times, and not in accordance with appropriate feeling, is apparent from the custom of Dr. Johnson himself, who, being possessed of a true English heart, notwithstanding his peculiarities, could not always help, as manifested in his letters and conversation, expressing himself, under his first impulses, in proper Saxon. Well set forth is this by Macaulay in his Criticism on Boswell's Life of Johnson : "It is clear," he says, "that Johnson himself did not think in the dialect in which he wrote. 'The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic and picturesque. When he wrote for publication he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese. His letters from the Hebrides to Mrs. Thrale are the original of that work of which the Journey to the Hebrides is the translation ; and it is amusing to compare the two versions. 'When we were taken up stairs,' says he in one of his letters, 'a dirty fellow bounced out of the bed on which one of us was to lie.' This incident is recorded in the Journey as follows : 'Out of one of the beds on which we were to repose, started up, at our entrance, a man black as a Cyclops from the forge.' Sometimes Johnson translated aloud. 'The Rehearsal,' he said very unjustly, 'has not wit enough to keep it sweet ;' then after a pause, 'it has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction.' "

Such lines as these ;—

"I put my hat upon my head
And walked into the Strand,
And there I met another man
Whose hat was in his hand,"—

frabricated by Dr. Johnson with the malign intent of casting ridicule on the simplicity of ballad poetry, are calculated rather, I apprehend, to set forth its excellence. Puerile they are, I admit, to some extent, but nevertheless picturesque. Embel-lished with an appropriate woodcut they might serve as a very handsome addition, in the way of a first reading lesson, to the Child's New England Primer. They are not poetic, to be sure, on account of the persons described being devoid of passion or striking incident; but that surely is not to be laid to the charge of the Saxon. The blame, if any, must rest wholly on the im-agination of the composer. The language itself is perfectly pellucid and shews the picture in its true colors. The fault lies in the figures themselves, being too prosaic in their attitudes. The Johnsonese, on the other hand, resembleth stained glass. By the grandeur of the diction itself our vision is too apt to be arrested; and at first sight we are not just fully able to discern whether beneath it is concealed any thing very important or not.

Against the Scottish dialect, which is well adapted for ballad poetry, it seems to me that English poets and critics have always been possessessed, more or less, with an unwarrantable prejudice. The native genius of the Scottish bards they are apt enough to acknowledge, but they generally find fault with their phraseology. Thus Blair in his Lectures pronounces, as he ought, Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd equal to any pastoral in any lan-guage, but he regrets its being written in the old rustic dialect of Scotland, which, he says, in a short time will probably be en-tirely obsolete and not intelligible. Again, Cowper, on the first publication of Burns' Poems, in a letter to Samuel Rose, Esq., admits at once the high merits of the poet, but thinks it a pity if he should not thereafter divest himself of barbarism and content himself with writing pure English, in which to him he appears perfectly qualified to excel. Campbell too, what is still more surprising, in whose time the idiom of the Scottish language, on account of the worth of the bards who used it, had become more studied and better understood in England, as it still continues to be, in his Specimens of the British Poets, while he eulogizes Burns in the highest terms, yet affirms, at the same time, that

the fire of his wit and passion was enabled to glow through an obscure dialect only by its confinement to short and concentrated bursts. Now the truth is, the genius of Burns could not have found its full expression through any other mode of speech. Instead of repressing his inspired emotions the Scottish dialect served rather, like the wings of his own Pegasus, to carry him more joyfully and freely through the fields of nature. In every language a broad dialect is natural to rural life and manners, degenerating into rudeness sometimes, it is true; but that of Scotland, on account of the wild and romantic scenery of the country, which impresses the people, has acquired and still retains a charming simplicity and mellowed pathos. In some counties of England the rude speech of her common-people is a perversion, and in some sections of our own country the cant phrases, which it is often attempted to introduce into our literature, should be kept out and frowned upon as innovations, calculated, if admitted, to unnerve our speech; but in Scotland the dialect is no upstart nor provinciality. It has grown up gradually with the history of the country, and its beauties are inseparably blended with her national literature. In its vocabulary are contained many old Saxon words of sterling worth that have unluckily fallen out from the English. Thus the language of the Scotch remains more vigorous and complete. Besides its copiousness too, by the custom of lopping off many of the final consonants of words, and the changing and softening down of the vowels into soundings more like those of Italian than of English, the shackles of rhyme are rendered less constraining to the poet. Not like a strait-jacket, the language confines his thoughts, but like an easy costume, bracing them up sufficiently and falling around them in becoming folds. Though debarred, as the dialect ought to be, from the higher departments of verse, it is admirably adapted for ballad poetry, pastorals and, to some extent, lyrical pieces; in which respect it very much resembles the Doric of the Greeks, which was also used, not in their ballads, to be sure, for of these they had none, but in their Bucolics and, to some extent, in their odes and choral songs.

Lyric and ballad poetry are often confounded and by some considered the same; but, though the style of the one may occasionally merge into that of the other, their characteristics are certainly marked and distinct. The lyric is more animated and varied, depending, in a great measure, on its accompanying music for its full execution; and on that account it may be said to address itself rather to the imagination of the ear. The ballad, on the other hand, is more composed, relying more on its

graphic pictures for its moving effect than on any accompanying melody of its own ; and on this account it may be said to address itself rather to the imagination of the eye. The lyric delights often to clothe itself in words of Norman hue or in those of later importation ; the ballad, as said before, prefers the Saxon. The one, in impassioned strains, gives full expression to its feelings, and thus excites, if it can, the audience at once and carries them along with it. The other calmly depicts the incidents of the scene, vividly and pathetically, to be sure, but with all utterance of those high emotions, which the case might seem to demand, suppressed ; on which account, by a sort of revulsion of feeling, the listener often becomes more affected than even the narrator or person he represents in the ballad appears to be himself. Thus, in *Auld Robin Gray*, Jenny expresses herself in subdued sorrow, to be sure, throughout, but without any high excitement. Against her old gudeman she never utters a word of disrespect. She always speaks of him kindly. Yet when Lady Ann Lindsay, who composed the piece, as she tells us, to try its merits, read it, before publication, to a country laird or farmer, I forget which, on listening to the lines :

“ He had na been away a week, but only twa,
When my mither she fell sick, and our cow was stoun awa ;
My father brake his arm, and my Jamie at the sea,
And Auld Robin Gray came a courtin me.”—

“ The villain !” he exclaimed indignantly, “ I ken wha stole the coo ! It was Auld Robin Gray himself ! ” In Scotland, however, the ballad, perhaps partly owing to her wilder natural scenery, which affects the manners, is more apt to rise into something of a lyrical strain than in England. William Motherwell, the Scottish poet, in the ballad style of writing is surpassed by few ; his compositions of this kind are pervaded throughout by a genuine simplicity and touching pathos ; yet even in these we meet occasionally with a trait or two more properly belonging to the ode. Take an extract from his *Jeanie Morrison* :

“ My head rins round and round about,
My heart flows like a sea,
As ane by ane the thochts rush back
O’ scule-time and o’ thee.
Oh, mornin’ life ! oh, mornin’ luv,
Oh, lechtsome days and lang,
When hinnied hopes around our hearts
Like simmer blossoms sprang.

“ Oh, mind ye, luve, how aft we left
 The deavin’ dinsome toun,
 To wander by the green burnside,
 And hear the waters croon?
 The simmer leaves hung ower our heads,
 The flower burst round our feet,
 And in the gloaming o’ the wood
 The throssil whusslet sweet.

“ The throssil whusslet in the woods,
 The burn sang to the trees,
 And we, with nature’s heart in tune,
Concerted harmonies;
 And on the knowe abune the burn
 For hours theither sat,
 In the silentness o’ joy till baith
 Wi’ very gladness grat.

“ Aye, aye, dear Jeanie Morrison,
 Tears trickled doun your cheek,
 Like dew-beads on a rose, yet name
 Had ony power to speak!
 That was a time, a blessed time,
 When hearts were fresh and young,
 When freely gushed all feelings forth,
Unsyllabled—unsung!

“ I mavel, Jeanie Morrison,
 Gin I have been to thee,
 As closely twined wi’ early thochts
 As ye hae been to me.
 Oh! tell me gin their music fills
 Thine ear as it does mine—
 Oh! say gin e’er your heart grows grit
 Wi’ dreamings o’ lang syne?

“ I’ve wandered east, I’ve wandered west,
 I’ve borne a weary lot;
 But in my wanderings far and near
 Ye never were forgot.
 The fount that first burst frae this heart
 Still travels on its way,
 And *channels* deeper as it rins
 The luve o’ life’s young day.”

In the long syllabled English words, of Latin or Greek deri-

vations, occurring above among the native Doric, is shewn, we think, a lurking disposition to rise into the lyric. This we mention not as a defect but as a peculiarity of modern Scottish ballad-mongers. The inclination, in the present case, was perhaps partly acquired by the poet from his admiration and study of Burns, whose impassioned genius, however, sought and found its proper expression, not through the unaffected ballad, but through the more spirited ode or song. In the last stanza, at any rate, the appropriate figure employed was certainly suggested by this passage from the apostrophe of the earlier bard to his Mary in Heaven :

“ Still o'er these scenes my mem'ry wakes,
And fondly broods with miser care !
Time but the impression deeper makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear.”

Lyrics are generally considered of a superior order to ballads ; and no doubt, my reputation for good taste is risqued in the announcement, but I must say that I am disposed to think the reverse should be the case. My disposition in this respect, I admit, may be partly attributed to my latent, natural, musical abilities not having been sufficiently cultivated in my youth, but still I flatter myself I have something of nature on my side when I assert that I am often more moved by an unpretending ballad than by the highest lyrical rhapsodies ; when I own that I am frequently more affected, for instance, by some such simple monody as this from a warm hearted son of Erin than by your wildest dirges or most passionate laments :

“ I'm sitting on the stile, Mary,
Where we sat side by side,
On a bright May morning long ago,
When first you were my bride ;
The corn was springing fresh and green,
And the lark sang loud and high,
And the red was on thy lip, Mary,
And the love-light in your eye.

“ The place is little changed, Mary,
The day is bright as then ;
The lark's loud song is on my ear,
And the corn is green again !
But I miss the soft clasp of your hand,
And your breath, warm on my cheek,

And I still keep listening for the words
You never more may speak.

" 'Tis but a step down yonder lane,
And the little church stands near—
The church were we were wed, Mary,
I see the spire from here ;
But the grave-yard lies between, Mary,
And my step might break your rest,
For I've laid you, darling, down to sleep,
With your babe upon your breast.

" I'm very lonely, now, Mary,
For the poor make no new friends ;
But O ! they love the better, far,
The few our Father sends !
And you were all I had, Mary,
My blessing and my pride ;
There's nothing left to care for now,
Since my poor Mary died !

" I'm bidding you a long farewell,
My Mary—kind and true !
But I'll not forget you, darling,
In the land I'm going to !
They say there's bread and work for all,
And the sun shines always there,
But I'll not forget old Ireland,
Were it fifty times as fair.

" And often in those grand old woods
I'll sit and shut my eyes,
And my heart will travel back again
To the place where Mary lies ;
And I'll think I see the little stile
Where we sat side by side,
On a bright May morning long ago,
When first you were my bride !"

In this ballad only three words of Norman-French derivation occur: *changed*, *grand* and *travel*, but their places could not be well supplied by any Saxon synonyms. The word *travel* is especially appropriate, as along with its proper meaning it has associated with it also the idea of distance and something like trouble of heart. Such instances evince that the Saxon and Norman in the English are not two distinct languages in them-

selves. They cannot be untwined, like the lily or white rose from the red ; but like the blending of the hues of those plants, which Cowper speaks of, on the cheeks of the British Fair, their union is organic and complete. Of ballad poetry the Muse is a perfect blond, her eyes blue, her hair flaxen (though to the Scottish fancy she reveals herself with dark eyes and yellow hair) and in her guise as unassuming as was the Lady Clare that Tennyson sets forth, when she had doffed her ornaments:

“ She clad herself in a russet gown,
She was no longer Lady Clare :
She went by dale, and she went by down,
With a single rose in her hair.”

The incidents she meets with she depicts in touching simplicity of language without any garish decorations. A trait or two, however, of her lineage having been derived, in a slight degree, from a Southern clime, at times she manifests. Not always remains her manner outwardly composed. In proper fits her mirthsely becomes somewhat animated and even passionate. The lilies of her cheek are not always most apparent, but across them comes occasionally also the warmer flush of the Norman or Provencial rose.

Mercersburg, Pa.

W. M. N.

BIBLE CHRISTIANITY.

1. *The Bible Alliance : or the Pen, the Pulpit, and the Press.* By T. H. Stockton.—Nos. 1-7. Cincinnati: 1850.
2. *The Unity and Faith of the Christian Church. A Discourse preached at the Dedication of the New Hall, corner of 23rd St. and 8th Avenue, New York, May 6, 1849.* By Austin Craig. Stereotype edition—Tenth thousand. New York: 1850.

Both of these publications are devoted to the same object. They take the ground, that the existing sect system in the Church is antichristian ; and that the only proper remedy for it, is an open abandonment of all sectarian distinctions, so far at least as they are in any way exclusive, on the part of the true followers of Christ, and a free reconstruction of the christian life on the broad and open platform of the Bible. They represent in this

way a tendency, which at this time particularly is by no means confined to themselves ; a tendency that may be said rather to lie deeply imbedded in the spirit of the age, as it finds vast encouragement also in the general growing ecclesiastical misery of the age ; the working of which well deserves the careful attention and study of all, who would rightly understand, or estimate to purpose, the true import of the Church Question. A circular was issued a short time since, calling a convention to meet at Canandaigua, N. Y., for the special purpose of considering the question, Whether all sectarian distinctions are not unchristian, and at the same time a vast social evil which ought to be abolished? Such public demonstrations reveal only to a small extent the difficulty that is coming to be felt on this subject, by hundreds and thousands throughout the land, who yet shrink from openly avowing what they feel, because they see no clear way of escape from their own embarrassment. We have besides various *sects*, the Winebrennerians, Campbellites, and others, (altogether a numerous body,) which started at least on the principle here offered to our view ; however they may seem to have been drawn themselves again, in their subsequent history, as fully as others, into the same great vortex that has been denounced by them as so dreadful in the case of all sects besides. It is to these mainly, we presume, that Mr. Craig refers, when he tells us, "there are already in the United States and in England some hundreds of thousands who *profess* to be occupying the same ground" that is assumed by the worshippers at the New Hall, lately dedicated in N. York.

Most of our readers probably have some knowledge of the Rev. Thomas H. Stockton. It is generally known too, that for several years past, he has been wrestling in his own way with the problem of Christian Union, endeavoring to effect a concert of worship and action among the different sects, though still retaining his membership and ministry in the Protestant Methodist body. His zeal in this cause has been all along of the most pure and noble character, and such as to entitle him to the admiration and respect of all who love the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He is a man whom we have long regarded with sincere christian sympathy and affection, though it has never been our privilege to know him personally. We honor him for his self-sacrificing protest against the sect system, and the untiring ardor with which he has been struggling for years to assert in opposition to it the proper liberty of Christ's Church. His soul has been kindled into flame with the ideal of what he calls *Bible Christianity* ; an interest clearly distin-

guishable in his view from the creeds, and confessions, and corporate associations, of the different sects; which all sects are bound accordingly to acknowledge practically as their joint heritage, in a brotherly way and with a regard surpassing their sense of sectarian separation; and to whose service, in such view, he has felt himself bound to consecrate property, health, life, and worldly credit, with a devotion equal to that of any missionary on his chosen field. He was not content to theorize merely, but labored to bring something to pass; gave his time and talents to the work; brought to bear upon it his popularity in the pulpit, and his dexterity with the pen; established a periodical, the "*Christian World*"; proposed a Common Christian Society, Chapel, and Press; sought the approbation of distinguished men in Church and State; and so long as it stood in words and fair speeches only, gained actually to his cause nearly all the backing in this form that he was pleased to ask. "While others were repairing to Washington, from all quarters" he tells us, "for the promotion of political purposes, (a. 1845,) I made a call upon the President and Vice President, elect, who were waiting for the day of Inauguration, and received their signatures in behalf of **BIBLE CHRISTIANITY**. To these were added others, from Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Post Office Department; and to these, after a while, about a hundred and forty more, from Ministers of the Gospel—Baptist, Presbyterian, Independent, Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran, and Methodist Protestant." Who could refuse, politician or ecclesiastic, to give his *name* at least, if nothing more, in favor of **Bible Christianity**? Mr. Stockton labored on, more or less in the fire, "hand and heart full of toil and anxiety;" with far less headway than he could have wished. In January, 1847, the *Christian Atheneum* was opened "at No. 40, N. 4th St., Philadelphia; in a small way, but not without hope of increase." In April, 1847, the *Christian Society of Brotherly Love* was organized; embracing some who had never been in any church fellowship, and others "connected with *fourteen different Denominations*." The whole movement however was still most uncomfortably crippled, to the feeling of Mr. Stockton, by the supremacy allowed on all sides to these sectarian distinctions. Towards the close of the same year we find him settled in Cincinnati, full as ever of his amiable fixed idea, and teeming with projects and plans for carrying it into at least partial execution. Thus originated, *The Ladies' Committee of Instruction and Relief*; then the *Young Men's Reading Class*; then the *Good Boys' Band*. A Prospectus was issued for a periodical, to be styled *The Let-*

ter Press ; and a proposition followed to establish a *Bible College*, "in the midst of the People and for the People." The following record is characteristic. "June 3 : 1848 :—Spent the evening over Robert Hall's works : still seeking to understand the subject of False Authority in the Visible Church of Christ. In all these investigations, am deeply persuaded of the supreme importance of *faith in Christ*; the *baptism* of the Holy Ghost; *love to God and man*; and the *freedom* of the *Ministry* and the *People*, in a Church duly honoring the *Bible* and *Private Judgment*, to the glory of God and the good of the world." In March, 1849, Mr. Stockton received a call to the Presidency of Miami University. There was something pleasant, he acknowledges," in the notion of finding time to issue a series of *American 'OXFORD TRACTS'*—not devoted, like the English series, to Puseyism, or the Newmania, as some call it, but to the Old Glory of the Christianity of the New Testament shining through the Transfiguration of the Church of the New Testament." But still the invitation, for good reasons, was declined ; and the champion of Bible Christianity went on as before, preaching and working as the Pastor of the Sixth St. Station, with one foot in the Methodist Protestant Church and the other foot fairly on the outside. A most uncomfortable sort of dualism, not easy to support either in walking or working. Finally, in the way of compromise, he proposed in form to open a new church, (without forsaking the old one,) where he might be free from all denominational trammels at least with half his ministry ; consenting to bear them still in the other half of it, and offering to relinquish at the same time one half of his salary, for the privilege of such partial freedom. The congregation was supposed to be itself deeply committed to the interest of Bible Christianity ; but this seemed to be going too far ; and the denominational spirit was roused at once into an attitude of remonstrance and rebellion. Mr. Stockton however refused to bow any farther to its demands ; having been held back too long already, in his own opinion, from a *whole* consecration to undenominational Christianity ; and we find him accordingly, since last December, preaching and working in a fully independent way, in the bosom of the Church general, without ecclesiastical patronage or help from any quarter. No account seems to have been taken of this irregularity in the body to which he belonged. He professes to belong to it still ; only taking his ministry into his own hands, and placing himself for the exercise of it under the guidance of the *Bible*, instead of the Quarterly M. P. Conference. The "Bible Alliance" is intended to give to a wider public, the preparations of

his pen delivered in the first place, as addresses or sermons, from the pulpit. The whole movement looks to the establishment in due time, of a *Bible Church*, a *Bible School*, a *Bible Asylum*, and a *Bible Press*; by which several interests, it is hoped, some proper beginning may be made towards the actualization of true Bible Christianity, in the way of needful supply for the natural, intellectual and spiritual wants of the world.

Of Mr. Craig's ecclesiastical history we have no knowledge. His location is Peapack, Somerset Co., in the State of New Jersey. The Religious Society, in whose service his sermon now before us makes its appearance, is not willing to be regarded, he tells us, as the nucleus of a *new sect*. It believes, "that God has but *One Church*; to which belong all who have submitted to him, and are striving to do his will." No sect then can be recognised as this Church, because no one is co-extensive with the entire discipleship of Christ. For the same reason, because there is but *one faith*, no particular sect can have this to itself alone in its separate confession or creed. "We acknowledge the Bible," says Mr. Craig, "as the sole authority in all matters of christian faith and life;" which amounts to a real distinction, he tells us, from nearly all the religious denominations in the world; as notwithstanding the familiar watchword, *The Bible alone is the Religion of Protestants*, it is but too notorious that every sect has its own rule of faith besides this, to which it requires assent and submission as the price of full christian brotherhood. The Church needs no such legislation; *Christ only* has a right to draw up articles of faith, or to make laws, for his people. "The moment a man takes upon himself to dictate to his fellow man what he must find in the Bible, and what he must not find there; that moment he receives the mark of the prophetic *Man of Sin*. The man who makes a creed, or draws up a summary of articles of faith, and says to his brother, *Subscribe these articles, or I will not fellowship you*, whoever he be, whether the Pope of Rome or a Protestant Minister, that man has usurped the throne of the lawgiver, and is Antichrist." This is the right of private judgment, certainly, to some purpose. "It is awful," says the New Hall preacher, "to meddle with the Word of God. That Word is the power of God unto salvation. The destiny of present and unborn millions is suspended upon it. God in his infinite wisdom has given us the amount of truth which the world needs; and he has given it in the best and most useful form. Man has no right either to change the faith of the Church, or to alter its form. Not only are the doctrines of the Word given of God,

but the form in which those doctrines are presented is also of God. Had God known that his truth could be more useful to some of his creatures in another form—say for instance in the form of the Presbyterian or Methodist creed—he would no doubt have given it in that form. But he has not. On the contrary, he commands us to receive and preserve his words in the form which he has given. ‘Hold fast the FORM of sound words,’ writes the Apostle to his friend and fellow laborer, Timothy. The form in which the *one faith* of Christ’s Church is embodied, is authoritative and divine. Neither individuals, nor churches, nor synods, nor presbyteries, nor conferences, nor councils, have anything to do with the ‘one faith’ of Christ’s Church, except to obey it.”—P. 11. Creeds, in the view of this system, are always wrong. They add to the Bible, or leave something out, wronging its authority seriously in either case. They are of the nature of chains moreover, such as the mind of one age has no right to impose on the mind of another. They stand in the way of freedom and progress; and it is a duty accordingly which the christian world owes to itself, to burst them asunder wherever they come in its way. A new era in this respect is proclaimed as near at hand. The very spirit which has seemed to some good men in Europe as the coming of Antichrist, or the letting loose of Satan, is hailed by Mr. Craig as the most favorable distinction of the age “The Church is coming up from the wilderness! Who can doubt it? Compare the last half century with any of its predecessors since the Primitive Age. How striking and peculiar its characteristics! Look at its unprecedented progress, its mental activity, &c.—Truth-loving men are multiplying; they dare to question the dogmas which in darker times men feared to touch, and now the hoary errors are descending to the tomb. The conflict of the sects has come, and they are performing their God-appointed work of mutual annihilation. The enlightened and the good of all sects, are forgetting their sectarian distinctions and approaching each other in love. They are the Army of Reform. Upon their banners are inscribed PROGRESS and BROTHERHOOD.”—P. 20.

It is hardly necessary for us to say, that we allow a certain measure of reason and right to this “Undenominational Christianity,” as we find it arrayed here against the reigning *sect system* of the modern Protestant world. We too hold this system to be a great evil. In a special tract on the subject, (“Anti-christ, or the Spirit of Sect and Schism”—N. Y. 1848), we have taken pains to show, that it forms indeed, in conjunction with its natural counterpart Rationalism, the very power of the

antichristian apostacy itself, as described by St. John, under its present Protestant form. It is against the Bible of course ; but only as it is, before that, against the life and constitution of Christianity, as this comes before us in Christ. The unity of the Church flows, not simply from the appointment of Christ, but from his nature ; and it is not possible for it to be denied, accordingly, either theoretically or practically, without a denial at the same time, openly or by implication, of the proper mystery of the Incarnation. This mystery is the real, and not simply *docetic*, "coming of Christ in the flesh;" his entrance truly into the general order of man's life ; the incorporation of his higher nature, by indissoluble bond, with the substance of humanity in its universal view. Such a relation implies necessarily a deeper and more comprehensive force, than all that the world is found to possess in the way of power besides. It must underlie and rule, so far as it is rightly acknowledged, all other relations. No distinctions and divisions then can hold fairly among men, which are not carried in the bosom of this unity, the sense of what Christ is as the inmost and last meaning of man's life, the sum and comprehension of the world's history. Let the individual reason affect to make *itself* the fulcrum of truth, on the outside of Christ, measuring and settling in such extrinsic style the truth of his mission, or the credibility of his doctrine, and we have at once *Rationalism* in proper form. Let the individual will take the lead in the same way, and the result will be the development of *Sect*. In either case, the true universality of Christ, the sense of Christianity as the real *whole* of our moral being, is subordinated to what in its own nature is but an inferior interest ; the greater is made to serve the less ; the "obedience of faith" sinks into the character of a mere satellite to authority under some other form. Antichrist in this way takes the place of Christ ; speaking in his name, and pretending to represent his person ; but in truth substituting for his actual presence falsely another conception altogether, and thus turning the mystery of the incarnation into a Gnostic figment. The sect *principle*, the idea of religion that leads to sects and justifies them as right and good, carries with it constitutionally this antichristian character. It may be joined with much that is good, but it is still in its own nature bad always and opposed to Christ. It is against the whole theory of Christianity. The conscience of the whole Christian world secretly condemns it ; and where it may appear to be defended, it will be found always that regard is had in the case to some other interest rather than to the proper honor of Christ and his gospel. The truth is

however, as we all know that even the appearance of any such defence under a direct and open form, is for the most part carefully avoided. Our religious literature, together with our ecclesiastical policy, may be said to connive largely at the evil, quietly assuming its necessity, and frowning into silence all discussion of its merits as unprofitable, "agitation;" but neither of these interests is prepared ordinarily still, to give its weight openly and fully in favor of what is thus allowed. What theologian would risk his credit, by writing a book in vindication of the sect system? Who thinks of signalizing himself in this way, even by a tract or an article in one of our more respectable reviews? What minister feels it expedient to plead the cause of sects in his pulpit, as he would plead the cause of missions, or any other acknowledged christian interest? What ecclesiastical body would dare to take action of any sort, having for its object directly the encouragement and perpetuation of this system, as the glory of Protestantism and the promise of the millennium? The fashion, so far as outward talk and speech go, lies altogether the other way. All sects unite in deplored the misery of a divided christianity, and are ready on fit occasion to pass resolutions and make speeches in favor of unity, toleration, charity, and peace. All this means a great deal. It shows that the sect system is an abomination, and that the inmost voice of Christianity is against it, with all the pains that may be taken to disguise or forget the fact.

In a practical view, the mischievous working of the system, at this time particularly in our own country, is great beyond all that can be readily conceived or expressed. While its tyranny continues to be what it is now, we can have no vigorous theology, no sound and healthy piety, as the general privilege of the Church. On this subject however we do not care here particularly to enlarge.

We are glad then, in the case before us and in other cases, to see the tyranny of this system challenged and resisted. It is an evil that calls for rebellion. We confess moreover, that on the ground occupied by the sect system itself, we see not how it can make answer successfully to the protest of Mr. Stockton, Mr. Craig, or any other man who may be pleased to step forward in the same way as the champion of Bible Christianity; nor how it can pretend consistently to condemn them, or call them to account in any way, for the assertion of such evangelical freedom. For is it not a fixed principle with all sects, that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice; and that the only sure and safe key for getting at the sense of this, is the mind of every

man left to study it for himself with the help of the Holy Ghost? Do they not all build professedly, from alpha to omega, on the same great Protestant watchword: "The open Bible and Private Judgment!" Is it not a settled maxim again with this system, that an old ecclesiastical communion may be forsaken, ought to be forsaken, and a new one formed, as often as the liberty of conscience, in the use of such private judgment, is found to require such change? Is it not the boast of the sect spirit, from time immemorial, to be the enemy thus of all church despotism, and the friend of the most unbounded spiritual independence? What plea then can it put in against the use of such liberty, to the full extent of a renunciation of *all* church authority, as we find it here exercised by Mr. Stockton and Mr. Craig? The Canandaigua Convention, denouncing the whole sect system as it now stands, and doing this on Bible principles, must be taken according to this theory to rest on just as good a foundation ecclesiastically, as any denominational convocation in the land. For what forms the ground of ecclesiastical right or power in any case? The Bible. And how is the Bible for this purpose, we ask again, to be interpreted and understood? By the ability simply that every man may have, with God's help, to get at its meaning. And why then should not the authority of the Canandaigua Convention be full as much to the purpose here, as that of any common sectarian organization. Or why should not the exodus of Mr. Stockton from the Methodist Protestant Church, and from the whole idea of church organization, be just as much entitled to respect, *on sect principles*, as the exodus of this M. P. Church itself from the Methodist Episcopal Church, or a little farther back still the exodus of the M. E. Church from the Episcopal Church of England? We see not, we say, how any effectual exception, in the sect world, can be taken to his course. The M. P. Church, it seems, is somewhat of the same mind; as he is allowed apparently to retire from its authority, and set up for himself, without any sort of ecclesiastical inquisition or account. So far, all right. The premises remain square with the conclusion. Mere toleration however in such a case, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is not enough. We may have that, and along with it only pity and contempt. To do full justice to the sect principle, as sects commonly make a boast of holding it, Mr. Stockton should not only be tolerated by the body he has left behind, as well as by other bodies, but cordially taken by the hand also all round, and welcomed into the circle of free and independent witnesses of the truth. Has he not made earnest with the great maxim, which

so many take to be the very palladium of Protestantism? Has he not cast himself fully on the Bible and Private Judgment, in opposition to all sorts of authority in every other form? Has he not made himself a martyr to the cause of Bible Christianity in this way, the rights of conscience, religious freedom, the authority of Christ in his own house over against all authority supposed to be false? And why then should he not be approved and applauded in his course? Why should we not rejoice to see others breaking away from all existing denominations in like style, and setting up every one for himself, in the name of the Bible, a truly *independent* standard? The more new sects and new positions after this fashion, it might seem, the better. And if it should come even to a complete disintegration of all religious communions, the full breaking up of the Church visibly considered, and a resolution of the christian faith and life into mere atoms or units, would it not deserve only to be hailed as the greatest possible triumph of the Bible and Private Judgment, the fullest possible allegiance of the christian world to the principle of freedom!

Such force undoubtedly this Bible Christianity has, over against the common posture of our religious sects. It is but a simple carrying out of their acknowledged principles to the end, towards which these run from the beginning. And yet it is a very easy thing, on the other hand, in the case of such an extreme, to show that it is full of contradiction and overthrows itself. It is indeed surprising, how a sensible man, like Mr. Stockton, should not see and feel this, in the mere exhibition, or at least with the shortest experiment, of his own favorite theory. The Bible has no life of its own, no voice, save as the truth it reveals is brought to live and speak in those who receive it as God's word. To be a creed or rule then, it must be reduced to some common understanding in the minds that embrace it, and agree to follow it, in such way. This may be written or it may be unwritten; but in the end it amounts to the same thing; it is a standard of belief and practice, in this respect a true church symbol and constitution, supposed of course to be taken from the Bible, but still as such out of the Bible and beside it. There can be absolutely no communion whatever, and no co-operation, on the basis of revealed truth, without some such common understanding and agreement, to at least a certain extent, in regard to what this truth teaches and requires. To give up one creed or confession then, so long as Christianity itself be not wholly abjured, is only to come under the authority of another. To pretend to give up all creeds, and to take simply the Bible in

their place, is an absurdity ; and if it mean anything at all, must signify the want of faith altogether ; since to have faith, is to believe some positive doctrine or fact, and this, though it may differ from all creeds besides, will then be to all intents and purposes itself a creed, as really as any of the systems it affects to reject. Mr. Stockton, of course, only deceives himself, and endeavors also innocently to deceive others, when he pretends to set Bible Christianity in opposition to all Denominationalism, and then claims to be himself the representative of the first to the full negation and exclusion of all that is comprehended in the idea of the second. Has he not also a theory of Christianity, a certain scheme of things in his mind, which he holds it necessary to preach and receive on the authority of the Bible ? And what less is this, we ask, than the interposition of something, which is not of itself the written text and yet claims to be of force as authority, between the Bible and the minds of those to whom he preaches, or for whom he writes ? He may please himself by styling it *true* authority, as opposed to authority that is false on the part of the different denominations. But by what measure, in this case, are truth and falsehood to be distinguished ? Will he be so simple as to say : " I am but the echo of the Bible, and *therefore* worthy of confidence and faith ; while the several denominations evidently get their creeds from some other quarter." Does he not know, that each of these denominations claims to be the echo of the Bible as fully as himself, and has also full as much right to make this claim, and to be considered sincere in making it ? By what principle or rule is it, that the Methodist scheme of Christianity, the Baptist scheme, the Presbyterian scheme, must be set down as the product of mere human thought and will forsaking the Bible, while the scheme of Thomas H. Stockton, singly and separately taken, is to be regarded as the true sense itself of the sacred volume ? What better at best is such downright individualism, we may well inquire, than the mere denominationalism, under any form, from which it so graciously offers to set the world free ?

" For years," says Mr. Stockton, " I have been trying to secure an honorable and useful position on the broad and lofty platform of Bible Christianity ; a position above all parties, civil, ecclesiastical, and social ; a position, in which—with real love for all persons, though in apparent opposition to many institutions—I might be allowed, by common consent and with common confidence, to speak out, in the hearing of all, and for the benefit of all, with unchecked but prudent liberty, either positively or negatively, for or against, according to my humble mea-

sure or ability, in all the relations of True and False authority. That, if there be any, seems to be the mission." For the accomplishment of this work, he thinks he has now found the right method. "A Teacher of Bible Christianity inquires: What does *Humanity*, just as we find it, *need*? He answers the question somewhat as follows: It needs the Bible—the Religion of the Bible, and the Social Institutions of the Bible; that is, it needs precisely what God has supplied. Next, he compares the Religion of the Bible with the Religion of the Age; and the Social Institutions of the Bible with the Social Institutions of the Age: and discovers great differences. Men have sadly perverted what God designed for their advantage." And so the business of such a teacher, having a mission to set the world right, is to meet the evil with which he finds himself surrounded on all sides, "in the family, in the school, in the store, in the society, in the church, in the state," with what he finds and sees to be the simple will of God as made known in the Bible.

The amount of all is simply this, that Mr. Stockton proposes to set his own views of what the Bible teaches and requires over against all other systems of belief, and claims in favor of the first the authority of absolute truth, while all besides is charged with at least partial error.

To be consistent, and true to his own principle, he is bound of course to extend the same right to all others. This, it would seem however, is more than he feels himself constrained to allow; as he evidently has a certain scheme of doctrine in his mind, which he takes to be the necessary proper sense of the Bible, and which he is ready to apply on all sides as a standard of evangelical orthodoxy. Here Mr. Craig shows himself more strictly in agreement with the general theory which both profess to hold. In his hands, we find the theory pushed out, without shrinking, to its most extreme consequences. The Bible must be allowed to rule the faith and practice of every man, in a perfectly free way; that is, without regulation or control of any sort whatever from the previous thinking of others, in the form either of confession or creed.. He will allow no test or standard of orthodoxy. Enough simply, that men profess to receive and follow the Bible as God's word. We have no right to ask a single question in regard to what they find in it, or the use they make of it. The professor may be in sentiment a Trinitarian, Unitarian, or Arian, a Calvinist or Arminian, an Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist; still it matters not; let him only waive all reference to these distinctions, planting himself before us on the broad platform of Bible Christianity, and it

becomes the duty of all christians, according to Mr. Craig, to extend to him the right hand of fellowship, and to encircle him with the arms of love.

This looks catholic and liberal. But it comes just to this in the end, that Christianity is emptied of all positive contents as a distinctive revelation, and reduced to the character of religion in its merely natural form. It is a catholicity which stands wholly in negations; by which all that is affirmed as a distinguishing interest by the different denominations is either denied, or at least treated as something of no worth, while all material truth is made to lie thus in a few abstractions, that are of so general and vague a character as to carry with them no living force whatever. Christianity in this form is of no definite shape. It is a mere name to represent all religious truth; some portion of which is taken to belong to almost every sect; while for this very reason, as representing all, the one faith of Christ must be held to be something different and distinct from every such particular manifestation. "Simple Christianity is the 'one faith' of Christ's Church. Lutheranism is not the faith of Christ's Church; because Lutheranism is something distinct from Christianity. So is Episcopalianism; so is Presbyterianism; so is Methodism. To embrace *simple Christianity* does not bring a man into the Methodist church; nor into the Catholic church; nor into the Reformed Dutch church: but it does bring him into the Christian church — the One Body of Christ." This is plainly to turn Christianity into nothing, to rob it of all positive character, to make it just what it may suit the private judgment and fancy of this man, that man, and every man, to raise to such distinction and clothe with such name. The absurdity stands forth clearly to view in the representation of Mr. Craig; it is in truth however fairly involved, to the same extent, in the more guarded and qualified views also of Mr. Stockton, and in the whole theory of Bible Christianity to which he is so much attached, and which he holds it his special mission to advocate and recommend. All such Christianity has a tendency to lose itself more and more in general abstractions, to substitute what is negative only for what is concretely real and positive, to become wide by becoming at the same time flat, and to shut out nothing finally just because there is nothing which it can be said effectually to comprehend and shut in.

With all our opposition to the sect system, then, we make no common cause whatever with the anti-sect spirit in this style. The cure for Denominational Christianity is not just what is here called Bible Christianity, the religion of Christ emptied of all positive contents and made to be what to every man may

seem best, taking the measure of it simply and wholly from himself.

This may strike some as a contradiction.. The truth is, however, that the things which are thus opposed, carry in them after all no such real opposition as is frequently imagined. The antagonism between them is at best but relative and partial. At bottom, they are found to agree more than they differ. Both affect to make the Bible exclusively the foundation and source of Christianity. Both in this way deny the proper power of the living fact of Christianity itself objectively considered. Both show themselves thus completely unhistorical, and in spite of all their pretended reverence for revelation fall over to the rationalistic posture, by which this is brought into subordination always more or less to the mind and will of those who receive it, inasmuch as they are allowed to make themselves separately the measure of its universal sense. This Bible Christianity is only the Sect Christianity itself carried out to its last legitimate result, in which it is brought fairly to overthrow and destroy its own life. As compared with such extreme of individualism and subjectivity, the sect system has on its side a certain amount of right ; and this right will be found to lie moreover in the direction precisely, where we are required to seek and acknowledge what is needed in order to master properly the difficult knot presented to us by the whole case. It looks to the idea of the *Church*, and in this way recognizes the necessity of history and tradition, the real authority of what Christianity has been and still is out of the Bible and beyond it; even while the system itself, in another view, stands at open war with all such objective christianity, and to a certain point asserts in opposition to it only the claims of private judgment and private will. No sect as such has hardihood enough to follow out its own principle to the end ; for in that case it must give up its own denominational character, and lose along with it all positive substance. The true christian feeling comes in to withstand this ; and sects are impelled accordingly, while they resist the true idea of the Church and fly from it, to turn round again, with vast practical inconsistency, and assert the attributes and prerogatives of this idea in their own favor. Each sect allows itself to be only a part of Christianity, a narrow insular interest and not the true wholeness of Christ's kingdom upon the earth ; and yet in the next breath goes on to affirm rights and wield powers which can have no possible sense whatever, except as they are taken to be of truly universal force, and not merely of force for any one section or division only of the christian commonwealth. Every

sect, within its own limits, plays itself off as the Church; not merely as a church, one amongst many, as the language at times goes; but as the Church, which by its very conception is one and not many, universal and not partial, catholic and not denominational. All this is much the same sort of inconsistency and contradiction, which we meet in the old heathen notion of national or local deities, gods pretending to be possessed of divine attributes, whose force at the same time stopped short with the boundary of a mountain or river. Still the gross inconsistency of the thing is not regarded; and a whole score of sects sit beside each other, all putting on the airs of Jupiter in their separate spheres, and smiling towards each other graciously in token of their mutual toleration and forbearance. Each of them has its own tradition, its authority, its keys to open and to shut, its prophetic, priestly and kingly powers and pretensions, the whole moral paraphernalia indeed of the papacy itself, only not on the same wide sweeping scale and not in the same bold open way. All this is a contradiction; but it forms at the same time an important testimony to the truth of the Church, and is in fact a standing acknowledgment on the part of the sects, that their own starting point is false and untenable; that the Bible and private judgment are *not* the sole factors of Christianity; that it must have the basis of a real historical existence besides to rest upon, in order that it may carry with it any true and proper authority in the world. In this respect Sectarianism is a witness for important truth, in the first place against itself, and then of course still more decidedly against all mere Bible Christianity, (its own natural and proper end,) as we have it here represented by Mr. Stockton and Mr. Craig.

The truth to which witness is thus borne is the objective being of the Church, and so in this view the authority which belongs to the living historical revelation of Christianity in the world, along with the outward letter and word of it contained in the Bible. To make the Bible the bearer of all necessary truth for the individual mind, aside from the presence of the living fact of Christianity itself, is virtually to deny this fact, and to fall into the plausible net of rationalism. There is always a grand fallacy then involved in the imagination, that we get nearer to the truth in proportion as we make use of the Scriptures for the purpose in an exclusive and independent way. That is in fact to wrong the inspired volume itself. This takes for granted throughout the living spirit of Christianity as a real revelation in the world, by which only from age to age its proper force and meaning can become fully known. A purely Biblical Christianity

can never be a complete Christianity. It must be at the same time historical, the result of the real powers of the new creation working out in a whole way, from generation to generation, the solution of its own great problem.

J. W. N.

THE BIRTH DAY OF THE CHURCH.

§1. *The Miracle of Pentecost.*

Next to the Incarnation and Resurrection of the Son of God; the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and the birth of the Church constitutes the most important and influential fact recorded on the pages of history. As a miracle of the highest order which is daily repeated on a smaller scale in the regeneration and awakening of men, it entered the sphere of our human life attended and certified by phenomena of a supernatural character. Thousands who witnessed it on the day of Pentecost submitted to its conquering power. Over the entire surface of society it has scattered in rich profusion the seeds of life, and is destined, under the direction of Providence, to transform by the energy of the Spirit the whole human family into the image of Christ and unite it in close fellowship to God. For the subject now in hand must not be regarded as an isolated, transitory event whose impress has been worn away by the march of time, but as the generative germ of an infinite series of divine revelations in the course of history, as a fountain of life whose purifying waters flow with uninterrupted course through the channels of time into the bosom of a boundless eternity. The Holy Spirit who had hitherto enlightened, in a temporary and sporadic manner, a special class of men selected by Providence as the representatives of the Old Testament Dispensation, now appeared in the world as an integral, abiding member of its constitution, took up his residence in the hearts of a believing congregation, and has since manifested his power as the divine principle of light and life by means of which the redemption accomplished by Christ is to be made effectual in the conversion of men and the propagation of truth. Previous to his death our Lord expressly declared to his mourning disciples that the communication of the Spirit of Truth as an abiding blessing depended upon his going to the Father. "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if

I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send him unto you." In his farewell discourses delivered before his death as well as in his final valedictory prior to the Ascension (Acts 1: 8) when He commanded them to tarry at Jerusalem till the promise should be fulfilled and they be baptised with the Spirit, He spake with special emphasis concerning the absolute necessity of his departure as the essential condition of the descent of the Comforter (v. 4, 5).

That this remarkable occurrence which unquestionably constitutes one of the most prominent parts of history, might attract the attention of men of every clime and every tongue, God, in His infinite wisdom, had selected, for the time of its appearance, from the three great festivals of the Jews that which bore a like typical relation to the founding of the Church as the Passover to the death and resurrection of Christ. According to the common reckoning from the 16th of Nisan when harvest season began (Lev. 23: 11, Deut. 16: 9), Pentecost came on the fiftieth day^a after the day immediately following Easter Sabbath (Lev. 23: 15, &c.), and was honored by the Jews with a double meaning. It was a festival of thanksgiving for the first fruits of the harvest which took place during the seven weeks preceding, and, on this account, is called in the Old Testament *the feast of weeks*^b or *the feast of harvest*.^c Besides, according to old Rabbinical tradition, it had at the same time reference to the establishment of the Theocracy by the giving of the Law at Sinai which happened about this season of the year (comp. Ex. 19: 1), and, on this account, was called the law-jubilee.^d Both significations coincided exactly with the nature of the first Christian Pentecost when the types of the Old Testament economy were gloriously fulfilled. For then were gathered into the

^a John 16: 7, comp. the remarkable passage John 7: 39.: For the Holy Ghost was not yet given (namely to the believers), because that Jesus was not yet glorified," and John 12: 24, where Christ speaks with reference to his death: " Except a corn fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

^b Hence the name, from the greek *ημέρα πεντεκοστή* or *πεντεκοστή* merely as subst. (thus Tobiae 2: 1, 2 Macc. 12: 32.)

^c " Hag Haschebuoth" (Deut. 16: 9, &c., Ex. 23: 16, Lev. 23: 15, &c.), *ἡγία ἡβδομάδων* (Tobiae 2: 1.).

^d " Hag Hakezir," also "Jom Habecorim" (The Day of the first fruits, Numb. 28: 26).

" Simchah Hathorah." As regards this meaning of the festival the Old Testament and the writings of Philo and Josephus convey no certain information. It was inferred, however, from a comparison of Ex. 12: 2 and 19: 1.

garners of the Church, as the matured harvest of the Jewish nation, the first fruits of the Christian faith. Then was established the communion of the new covenant with privileges in no way restricted to a single nation or age, but gratuitously offered to all nations and ages by God who in the place of the letter of the law written on tables of stone which had power only to destroy the awakened sinner, implanted in the hearts of his followers the law of the spirit of life which works by love.

In the second chapter of the *Acts* we have a brief but comprehensive account of this significant event and the circumstances connected with it. In the year 30¹ of our era, on a Sabbath² day of the festival of Pentecost succeeding the resurrection of

¹ As regards the correctness of our era we agree with Bengel and Wieseler who admit that it commences four years too late. Comp. the "Chronolog. Synopsis of the four Gospels" by Wieseler, 1843, p. 48, &c. According to the statement of Luke (3. 23, comp. the corresponding chronological date in John 2 : 20) Christ was about thirty years old when baptized; according to John he labored in his public ministry three years. He must have died, therefore, in the 34th year of his age.

² This view of the case must be adopted, because the 15th of Nisan, on which day according to the synoptic Gospels (with which also John, though apparently at variance with them, can and must be reconciled) Christ died, came on a Friday; consequently the 16th of Nisan of that year was a Sabbath Eve. If we reckon from this, according to the order given in Lev. 23 : 15, fifty days, we cannot obtain a Sunday as the late Dr. Olshausen (in his commentary on *Acts* 2 : 1) supposed who evidently started, in his calculation, with the same supposition, but again a Sunday Eve as Wieseler rightly judges (in his excellent "Chronology of the Apostolic Period" 1848, p. 19). In his chronological system all the results of which, however, we cannot adopt, this learned scholar attempts to ascertain still more precisely the festival of Pentecost and places it on the 6th of Sivan or the 27th of May, inasmuch as, according to his calculations, Christ died on the 8th day of April of the year 30. But, now, this view stands opposed to the primitive and universal practice of the Church which was accustomed to celebrate Pentecost on a Sabbath, on the fiftieth day after the Resurrection, and the tenth after the ascension of Christ. This difficulty, however, would easily be removed if we adopt the view of the Caraei, who affirmed, in opposition to the Pharisees, that the word נַעֲמָה in the decisive passage Lev. 23 : 11, 15, 16, must not be explained as referring to the first Easter day (the 15th Nisan) which was kept as a Sabbath no matter on what day it came, but to the *proper* Sabbath, that is, the seventh day of the week. In such case Pentecost would *always* come on a Sunday. This same view has been ably set forth by the acute Hitzig who urges its correctness, mainly, on lexicographic grounds (Easter and Pentecost. Letter to Ideler—Heidelberg, 1837). But it cannot be proven that the customs of the Caraei were prevalent in the time of Christ. On this account the safest method, perhaps, is to refer the celebration of Pentecost on a Sunday by the Church to an evangelical opposition to Judaism as the reason, which, in the end also, caused the celebration of the Passover to be changed from fixed days of the month to fixed days of the week and of the Sabbath to a Sunday.

Christ, the Apostles and other disciples of Jesus, in number about 120, (comp. Acts 1: 15,) were assembled with one accord in their house of prayer, or, as seems to us more probable, in a department of the temple.¹ During the first season for devotion (about 9 o'clock in the morning,) unusual phenomena announced the fulfillment of an event which had been promised with the most solemn assurance, expected with the most intense de-

¹ Similar difficulties are connected with the place of assembling. Luke designates the place by *οἶκος*, c. 2: 2, without any more precise determination of it. The majority of commentators, and amongst them Neander (*Hist. of Apos.* I p. 13, of the fourth Edition), admit that this expression in itself refers most naturally to a private house. If we adopt this meaning to the exclusion of others, we must suppose that the disciples, having been assembled in an upper chamber (*ἐπαρθένη*) which was used according to Oriental fashion for prayer, (comp. Acts 1: 18) stepped forth upon the flat roof, and thence addressed the people gathered in the forecourt; for in the house itself the immense multitude, of whom 3000 were baptized, could not possibly have been accommodated. But it is not absolutely necessary that *οἶκος* be referred to a private house. In 1 Kings 8: 10 (LXX) the word denotes the whole temple; with greater propriety may it be taken for *ἱερόν* when, as in the present case, a single department is spoken of. It is not even necessary to recur to the passages in Josephus' *Antiq.* VIII, 3, 2 where the thirty side-chambers which surrounded the main edifice, are called *οἴκοι*; for the temple itself included several buildings, *οἴκοι*, *οἰκοδομαι*, (comp. Mark 13: 1, 2, Math. 24: 1). That *οἶκος* in this present instance need not necessarily refer to a private house but to some department in the temple as both Olshausen and Wieseler conclude, will appear evident from the following considerations: 1. According to Luke 24: 53 and Acts 2: 46, (comp. Acts 5: 42) the disciples assembled daily in the temple. They still adhered to the worship practised by their fathers. These statements of Luke, apart from any positive declaration, authorize the conclusion that on the day of Pentecost the disciples were wont to assemble in the temple and on this one particularly they would not fail to be present. But he even signifies this much by the remark c. 2. 15 that the event happened about the third hour (9 o'clock in the morning) when the Jews presented their daily morning sacrifices in the temple. 2. This supposition gives to the entire occurrence a greater degree of credibility and renders it more easy of explanation. The gathering of the multitude in the temple, particularly, admits of a more natural interpretation. 3. Finally, we may say with Olshausen that the event itself gains in importance if it be admitted that "the solemn inauguration of the Church of Christ took place in the sanctuary of the old covenant." It might be objected, however, to this last remark that Christianity as an invocation of God in Spirit and in Truth attaches far less importance than either Judaism or Paganism, to the sacredness of particular times and places. The first two reasons, however, prove to us conclusively that the out-pouring of the Spirit was accomplished within the precincts of the temple. The mere mention of Pentecost c. 2: 1 would lead us to suppose this much; the entire connection would warrant a reference of *οἶκος* to a private house only in case the text necessarily compelled to such a meaning. But the expression *οἶκος* itself by no means includes such necessity.

sire, and prayed for with the most ardent supplication—the descent of the Spirit and the beginning of a new moral creation. It is a fact worthy not only of mention but of profound study that, in virtue of the mysterious sympathy existing between the physical and moral worlds, the grand leading epochs of history have generally been accompanied and authenticated, as it were, by extraordinary phenomena in the sphere of nature. Thus the proclamation of the Law delivered at Sinai was attended with thunder, and lightning, and the voice of a trumpet (comp. Ex. 19: 16, &c.). So in the case now under consideration, the disciples recognized in the visible form under which God revealed his presence to them an appropriate symbol of the spiritual act just accomplished. A sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, suddenly filled the quiet house of prayer. The Holy Ghost who once brooded over the chaos of the natural world as the life-giving breath of God, now appeared in a nobler character, under the form of cloven tongues like unto fire, as the spirit of the glorified Redeemer, as the spirit of faith and of love, of truth and of holiness. In this whole transaction, it is evident that the wind and fire were symbols expressive of the purifying, enlightening, and vivifying power of God. The believing disciples were translated into a new sphere of life, into the very centre of the christian system, and, in conformity to the prediction of Christ, became instruments by means of which the Holy Spirit announced His presence and intentions: “The Spirit of truth shall testify of me and ye also shall bear witness” (John 15: 26, 27). For the bearing of witness is the first fruit of faith and furnishes at the same time resources for its propagation. Forthwith they gave vent to their feelings in audible prayers and songs of praise; with joy ineffable and a courage which neither difficulties nor threats could daunt, they proclaimed the wondrous workings of God and the redemption effected by Christ to the astonished people who, attracted by the rushing noise and the speaking in tongues,¹ had flocked around them. During this period when their minds were enkindled by the exciting feelings of an unusually exalted inspiration, the language of common life failed to express the new spiritual ideas which agi-

¹ The *gōnīs rāvns*, Acts 2: 6 seems to be referred by the *demonstr.* to the speaking in tongues immediately preceding, whilst the singular of the subst. seems to refer it to the rushing wind (v. 2). But as in the distance persons could not distinguish the single voices but would hear an indistinct general noise, the phrase may be regarded as an undefined collective and applicable to both.

tated their souls. As body and soul, thought and language, are necessary complements to each other and cannot come to true expression without mutual adaptation, it was necessary that the Spirit thus poured out should originate in them words fit for the transmission of the new thoughts infused into their minds. Here, accordingly, for the first time, came to view the power of *speaking in tongues* which Christ prior to his ascension had expressly promised would be given to his disciples (Mark 16: 17). The obscurity connected with the right understanding of this remarkable phenomenon compels us to enter upon an investigation of its character. It must be confessed, however, that, on account of a want of experience in events of a like nature and, consequently, of the almost inextricable confusion in the interpretation of the passages' bearing upon the subject, it does not admit of a perfectly satisfactory and clear representation.

§2. *The Speaking in Tongues.*

The power of speaking with *other* or *new Tongues* (Glossology¹) is one of the most extraordinary spiritual gifts which distinguish the apostolic church from all other periods of history whose character bears the lineaments of more tranquil and natural features. Down to the second and third centuries we find traces of its presence.² If we leave out of view the sporadic and oc-

¹The different interpretations of γλώσσαις λαλεῖν which we cannot here state in detail, have been classified in the most convenient and complete form by De Wette in his commentary on the Acts p. 20-30.

²Luke, in his account of the festival of Pentecost, makes use of the expression "to speak with *other* tongues" (*ἑτέραις γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*), which may stand opposed to the vernacular and, in some sense, to all human languages. Our Lord himself designates the gift (Mark 16: 7) as "a speaking with *new* (κανένας) tongues" which seems to imply that a language hitherto unknown and the direct product of the Spirit, would be spoken by the disciples. With these exceptions we always find in use the abbreviated formula: "to speak with tongues" (*γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, also in the singular *γλώσση λαλεῖν*, Acts 10: 46; 19: 6; 1 Cor. c. 12 and 14.). The simplest grammatical meaning of *γλώσση* is: *dialect*. This is demanded by the qualifying adjective *ἑτέραις* in the second chapter of the Acts and the word "*dialect*" which the strangers then present (v. 8) evidently used in the same sense. Besides, it alone agrees with the singular form *γλώσση λαλ.* as used by Paul. This last formula is sufficient to disprove the interpretation of Bleek who explains *γλώσσαις* as referring to uncommon, highly poetical, and provincial expressions—a meaning which profane writers very seldom allow and cannot be admitted in the Old and New Testament.

Irenaeus (died 202) speaks of many brethren living in his own time who "were in possession of prophetic powers and spake by the aid of the

casional appearances of modern times concerning which it may with propriety be asked whether they proceed from the operation of the Holy Spirit, or of an unusually excited nature that delights to revel in exhibitions of a sickly, sentimental fanaticism of feeling,¹ we may safely affirm that since the third century the gift of speaking with other tongues has utterly vanished.

In considering this subject we must take care to ascertain what constitutes the *peculiar* nature of glossology as a gift of the apostolical Church in general and the particular form it assumed at its first appearance on the day of Pentecost. In order to

Spirit in various languages (*ταρρεδαῖς γλώσσαις*) and exposed to view the hidden things of men and the mysteries of God for the spiritual improvement of Christians" (adv. baer. V, 6.) Comp. the somewhat obscure passage of Tertullian in his argument against Marcion V, 8 and Neander's History of the Planting &c., I, 26, 4, Edition.

¹ We refer to the speaking with tongues as exercised in the assemblies of the Irvingites. A Swiss, by name Michael Hohl, who was an eye and ear witness of their proceedings, gives the following interesting description in his "fragments of the life and writings of Edward Irving, former preacher of the Scottish National Church in London," St. Gallen, 1839, p. 149: Previous to their speaking one could observe that the persons concerned were wholly absorbed in self-contemplation which manifested itself in closing the eyes and covering them with the hand. Suddenly, as if struck by an electric flash, they fell into spasmotic convulsions which shook the whole body; then gushed forth from quivering lips a copious, passionate effusion of strange, energetic tones, resembling most nearly, in my opinion, the sounds of the Hebrew language, which were usually repeated three times and, as already said, with incredible vehemence and acuteness. After this first outburst of strange sounds which were regarded as the main proof for the genuineness of the inspiration, followed invariably, in no less violent tone, a shorter or longer address in English which was likewise repeated partly by words and partly by sentences and consisted now in very forcible and earnest admonitions, then in horrible warnings of approaching misery, and in words full of soothing comfort and moving pathos; the last part was generally regarded as a periphrastic explanation of the first, although it as such could not be wholly explained by the speaker himself. Having given utterance to his feelings the inspired person continued for some time in a state of profound silence and recovered only by degrees from the weakness occasioned by his powerful excitement." The inward condition of such persons was told the narrator by a young girl after the following fashion: "Suddenly and unexpectedly the Spirit seized hold on her with irresistible power. For the time she felt herself to be entirely under the influence of a higher nature and guided by its motions, without which, indeed, she would have been incapable of such severe physical exertion. Of that which she was compelled to speak she had no distinct consciousness; much less did she understand anything of what she spake in a strange, and to her utterly unknown, language, so that she was not able to give any precise account of the scene in which she had been the chief actor. A state of great weakness and exhaustion succeeded the departure of the inspiration, from which she in a short time recovered."

a proper understanding of the first point we must summon to our aid the remarks made by Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians.—As regards its general *nature* it may be termed an involuntary, spiritual speaking in an ecstatic state of the most exalted devotion, in which the subject is not translated to a sphere beyond himself but buried rather in the innermost essence of his own being and brought into felt contact with that part of his nature which allies him directly to the Divine mind. In such case the ordinary consciousness of himself and the surrounding world recedes, disappears, as it were, and the language of common life fails to give utterance to his feelings, while his consciousness of God's presence governs his whole personality and he becomes the involuntary organ of the divine Spirit that dwells within him. Hence it is written in Acts 2: 4; "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." This inspiration has respect to form and contents, to thought and language. Paul calls the speaking with tongues a praying and singing "in the spirit" (*νευρα*); by means of which he distinguishes the highest intuitional faculty, or the direct consciousness of God from "the understanding" (*νοῦς*), or the logical, reflective consciousness (1 Cor. 14: 14, 15.). The contents of the speaking with tongues was a praising of the wonderful works of the redeeming love of God (Acts 2: 11; 10: 46; 1 Cor. 14: 14, 16,) in the form of prayer, thanksgiving, and song (Acts 10: 46; 1 Cor. 14: 14, 18). Closely related to it is the gift of prophesying which likewise sprang from a direct inward revelation of divine mysteries and in Acts 19: 6 is mentioned in immediate connection with the gift bestowed on the day of Pentecost. The difference between them is of a twofold character. In the first place, the man who employed other tongues addressed himself directly to God, while the prophet spoke to the congregation; in the second place, the latter delivered his thoughts in such form that even unbelievers could understand their meaning, while the former, such was the case at least in the Corinthian Church, could not be understood without the aid of an interpreter (1 Cor. 14: 2, &c). Hence Paul gives the preference to the gift of prophesying (1 Cor. 14: 5) and likens the speaking with tongues to sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal (1 Cor. 13: 1), to the uncertain sound of an instrument (1 Cor. 14: 7, 8), of a barbarous language which no man can understand (1 Cor. 14: 11) and which appears to the uninitiated as proof positive of madness in those who exercise it (v. 23). The speaking in tongues, therefore, was a dialogue carried on be-

tween the enraptured soul and God, an act of the most intense devotion which could become a source of profit to others only by being interpreted and translated into the language of common life. As regards this last point, however, an important difference obtained between the gift of tongues as described by the Apostle and the gift of tongues as used on the day of Pentecost. This leads us to a consideration of the second point of our subject.

As regards the *particular form* which this gift first assumed, it seems to have been immediately intelligible to the hearers without any explanation; at least, in the account recorded in the Acts no mention is made of an interpreter. Even in such case, however, there must have been at hand an inward receptivity for the proper apprehension of the truth delivered; for a portion of the assembled multitude turned the entire occurrence into a convenient occasion for mockery and regarded it as the product of minds disordered by intoxication (Acts 2: 13). But there was a second and more important difference. Paul gives no sufficient reason to suppose that the speaking with tongues consisted in the use of various foreign languages as distinguished from the vernacular. He himself, though pre-eminently endowed with the gift of tongues (1 Cor. 14: 18: "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all"), did not understand the speech of Lycaonia (Acts 14: 11, 14). The ecclesiastical tradition of primitive antiquity, also, speaks of interpreters of the Apostles; thus Papias calls Mark "the Interpreter of Peter." It would seem necessary, therefore, to suppose the existence of an unusual facility in the use of the vernacular, or of an entirely new spiritual language which differed from all *other* languages in vogue in the same degree that the thoughts and feeling of the speaker were elevated above the consciousness and understanding of common life. The internal ecstasy that agitated the subject, and the unusual spiritual elevation of the soul which was involuntarily brought into close connection with the Divine life, manifested their presence in this particular *mode* of communication. Yet this mode of speech itself, it must be borne in mind, so far as its essential nature is concerned, did not annihilate the language originally spoken by the subject but stood rather in close fellowship with it. Those, accordingly, who were not under the influence of this high-wrought inspiration, could not possibly understand the speaker who felt its power. The Acts of the Apostles, on the contrary, evidently describe the gift of tongues as a speaking in the strange languages of the foreigners who were present on the day of Pentecost. For, from this very

cause, their great astonishment sprang that illiterate Galileans should speak in languages they had never acquired by natural means and the knowledge of which must have been suddenly bestowed upon them by supernatural agency (*Acts 2: 6, 11*). Even commentators of the rationalistic school cannot deny that the account plainly delivers such a meaning. If, then, we refuse to recognise any difference between the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost and that bestowed on the church of Corinth, and to adopt the supposition that the disciples spake strange languages which they could not possibly have acquired by actual study ; we will be compelled either to acknowledge an unhistorical, mythical element in the account of Luke¹—and this both internal and external reasons forbid—or a self-deception on the part of the hearers whose impressions the narrator has impartially recorded without passing his private judgment on their credibility. As regards this latter view, we might either suppose that the disciples, having been filled with divine energy, spake in an entirely new language originated by the Holy Spirit, though more closely allied, perhaps, to the Aramaic than to any other language, with such intense enthusiasm and inspiring force that the susceptible hearers involuntarily translated what they heard into their respective vernacular tongues, just as though it had originally been delivered in them, and that the barriers which sundered the different languages of the earth were momentarily removed by a participation in the communion of the Holy Spirit. Or, according to another supposition, we may suppose that the Apostles spake the *primitive language* which the arrogance of those who essayed to climb the heavens by building the tower of Babel had caused to be divided into a multitude of single distinct tongues. In gracious condescension to the humility manifested by the members of the renewed Zion, God had given them power to gather its scattered fragments and reliefs and restore its primeval unity. On this memorable Pentecostal day its enlivening tones sank deep into the inmost recesses of the hearts of the hearers ; reminding them of the happy-

¹ As Neander does, *Hist. Apos.* I, p. 28. This is one of the instances in his history of the Apostles—and more may be found in his *Life of Christ*—in which this venerable theologian whose profound experience of the living power of Christianity otherwise separates him at an almost infinite distance, we might say, from the dangerous tenets of Rationalism, has yielded too much force to the results of Modern Criticism.

ness enjoyed in the Paradisaical period and encouraging them with cheering hopes for the future.'

It must be confessed, however, that these attempts at a psychological explanation of the miracle of tongues do not afford entire satisfaction. We feel disposed to place implicit confidence in the verbal meaning immediately derived from the record contained in the Acts, and give it as our opinion that, at the first manifestation of this gift and in presence of an immense multitude congregated from all parts of the habitable globe, the Holy Spirit in order to stamp the deepest possible impression on the minds of those whose dispositions were susceptible of it,¹ elevated the minds of the disciples to an unusual pitch of spiritual excitement and discernment and gave them power, temporarily, to understand and to use with facility the different languages of the several nations then represented. Nor is it a difficult task to ascertain the symbolical meaning of this astounding event. It was a practical demonstration of the universality of the Christian system which embraces within its compass all nations and countries, and of the fact that in no long time the tidings of salvation would be proclaimed in every language spoken on earth. Now, that the Church and the Bible promulgate the glorious deeds of Jehovah in every clime and every tongue, the single Christian has no necessity for the gift of tongues for a right understanding of the truth. Already in the Apostolical period did the power of speaking with other tongues, though in substance the same, lose its original form. For it is not possible to understand the reason why this gift as employed in the house of Cornelius (Acts 10 : 46 ; comp. I9: 6) or in the church of Corinth, should have been exercised in the use of foreign languages. In the Roman empire where Christianity achieved its

¹ Adopting this or a similar explanation we may say with the venerable Bede: *Unitatem linguarum, quam superbia Babylonis disperserat, humilitas ecclesiae recolligit*, or with Grotius: *Poena linguarum dispersit homines; donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum recollecti*. It would seem then as if in the first beginning of the Church the end of her progress had been prophetically anticipated, when there shall be not only one Shepherd and one fold but one language also of the Holy Spirit.

²If we could place any reliance on the speaking with tongues of the Irvingites as a reasonable analogy, we would have a similar elevation in their case, because according to the above cited report of Hohl the ecstatic speeches were first delivered in foreign sounds like unto the Hebrew, and, when the inspiration had abated somewhat of its vigor, in the vernacular English.

principal victories, the preachers of the Gospel could make their thoughts almost universally intelligible by means of the Greek and Latin languages, and the style of Paul's expression in Greek proves that he had acquired a knowledge of it by natural means. Nor do the old missionary reports afford any proof that the rapid spread of the Gospel was brought to pass, or, in any way, assisted by the supernatural gift of tongues.

At any rate this much is certain, that the Bible considers the rise of several distinct languages as a penalty inflicted on man for perverseness of nature (Gen. 11), and that Christianity can not only accommodate itself to all languages and nations but has power also to remove all the barriers which sin has erected to obstruct the progress of Society, to gather into one fold the scattered sheep of God's selection, and to unite them in the bonds of a single language—the language of the Spirit.

§3. *The Sermon of Peter and its Result.*

The astonishment of the susceptible hearers who were over-powered by such wonderful phenomena and the disdainful reproach of unbelievers who attributed the speaking with other tongues to the influence of intoxicating drinks, compelled the Apostles to speak in vindication of their character and of the event itself. The argument they pronounced in favor of the truth, constituting as it did their first independent testimony, was spoken from a firm conviction that the fulness of the Spirit dwelt within them, and proved to be the efficient signal for the ingathering of the first fruits of the new spiritual creation. In immediate connection thus with the founding of the Church was established the office of preaching which henceforth constituted the chief agent for the propagation of the kingdom of God. The witness of the Holy Spirit confirmed its power in those who were His representatives. In conformity to the character portrayed of him in the Gospel the impetuous, rash Peter whose constitutional disposition admirably qualified him for a leader and spokesman, stood forth in the name of the rest of the Apostles and of the entire Church and gave practical demonstration of the truth that he was the rock on whose courageous confession of the faith the Lord had promised to build His Church. His speech to the assembled multitude, delivered most probably in the Hebrew language, is uncommonly simple and in beautiful harmony with the significance of the day. It was neither a direct polemical assault upon Judaism, nor a systematic exhibition of doctrine,

but a simple proclamation of historical facts, particularly of the resurrection of Christ ; it was a plain but powerful testimony of the most assured experience that issued directly from the spiritual life of the speaker. Worthy of special note because of its remarkableness, is the contrast between the exalted inspiration of the speaking with tongues that preceded and the considerate discretion and sparkling clearness of this sermon. But it is the harmonious union of both that constitutes a characteristic trait in the lives of the Apostles who were alike removed from a cold, calculating formality and an extravagant, sentimental fanaticism. With humble affability and a mildness worthy of imitation Peter first refutes the unkind charge of drunkenness with the very modest and apparently trivial, but popular and convincing argument, that it was but the third hour of the day (9 o'clock in the morning), before which time the Jews took good care to abstain from every indulgence and even drunkards were ashamed to give way to the vice of intemperance. This phenomenon, he goes on to remark, is rather to be regarded as the glorious fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel who predicted that the outpouring of the Spirit would be attended with remarkable natural appearances and would not be confined to single ambassadors of God of pre-eminent piety and talent, as was the case under the reign of the old covenant, but extended to all, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned. This communication of the Spirit has been effected by Jesus of Nazareth, the promised Messiah, who as such has been powerfully authenticated, in your presence and for your good, by deeds and miracles. You have, it is true, in obedience to the eternal design and foreknowledge of God,¹ delivered him up and caused him to be nailed to the cross by the hands of idolatrous Romans ;

¹ On the part of God the death of Christ was the fulfillment of His eternal decree for the salvation of men, of Christ, a voluntary act of love, of the Jews, a crime for which they could justly be held responsible, the climax of their sins against Jehovah. In this instance only the first and the last reference come into view. Peter charges upon *all* present the murder of Jesus, because the act of the government is the act of the people represented by it, who besides were directly implicated, for they cried out : "Crucify, crucify him !" and because the death of Christ on account of the general depravity of man is an act caused and guilt incurred by the entire human family. When Meyer in his commentary on Acts 2 : 23, objects to the validity of this last reason that, if correct, Peter, including himself of course, would have spoken in the *first* instead of the second, person, he overlooks the fact that the Apostle here speaks in the name of God and of Christ and that he as a *believer* had been pronounced free from all participation in that guilt.

but God has raised him up again from the dead, in fulfillment of the prophecy contained in the sixteenth psalm,¹ of which we all are living witnesses. Elevated to the right hand of God the risen Saviour has poured out upon us his disciples His Spirit, as you yourselves see. Let it be known, therefore, unto you that God himself has demonstrated with irrefragible evidence Him to be the Messiah whom you have crucified and from whom you as Israelites expect salvation. It was evidently of prime importance to prove, in few but convincing words, from present facts in connection with the plain predictions of the Old Testament which the hearers themselves recognized, that Jesus was the promised Messiah, and, at the same time, by referring to the crucifixion which the Jews had virtually accomplished, to stir them up to an exercise of true, hearty repentance. The sermon of the Apostle did not fall short of its intended effect. Earnestly coveting the blessing of salvation the convicted hearers asked : " What shall we do ? " Peter called upon them to repent of sin and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, that they too might obtain the same Holy Spirit whose miraculous power they saw so strikingly exemplified in the case of the Apostles. For the promise had been designed for them and their children and even for those Gentiles^{*} whom the Lord

¹ David composed this Psalm with a conscious knowledge of the Theocracy which God had promised should enjoy an imperishable existence, and looked forward with the eye of prophecy to the Messiah who would vanquish the power of the grave and of death and bring to pass the ideal Theocracy. Olshausen thus explains the subject : " The dread of annihilation and of the dark valley of death excited in David an earnest longing after complete victory over death, and this triumph the Spirit of prophecy allowed him to see achieved in the person of Christ." Hengstenberg, in his commentary on the Psalms vol. I, p. 301 ff., follows the opinion of Calvin and regards the pious singer as the immediate subject of the sixteenth Psalm ; but as David v. 10, triumphs over death and the grave in the consciousness of his union with God, the Psalm must have reference to the Messiah, because he could enjoy this satisfaction only as a member of the body of Christ. " Sundered from Christ" says Hengstenberg, p. 337, " this hope must be regarded as fanatical the futility of which results will render abundantly evident. David served God in his day and generation, then died, was buried, and returned to dust. In Christ, however, who brought life and immortality to light, this hope has its real truth. David in Christ had a perfect right to speak as he does in this Psalm. Christ overcame death not only for himself but for his members also. His resurrection is our resurrection."

^{*} Thus we understand the *reis für parav* Acts 2: 39, comp. Zachar 6: 25. Peter knew then that the Gentiles were called to take part in the Gospel, but supposed that they must first become Jews till the vision (c. 10) enlarged his view and rectified his error.

would call to participate in His Kingdom. Here as on every page of the Scriptures, repentance and faith, abandonment of the world and of sin and return to God through Christ, are insisted upon as the fundamental conditions of a participation in the Kingdom of heaven and the blessings of salvation, namely the forgiveness of sins, imparted and guarantied by Christian baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost as the principle of a new divine life. After several admonitions to repentance the susceptible hearers who cheerfully accepted the word preached, submitted to baptism, and about 3000 souls were gathered into the garners of the Christian Church during this first harvest season of the new covenant. The life-inspiring testimony of Peter and the extraordinary operation of the Holy Ghost supplied the want of a longer preparatory discipline for the solemn act of baptism which in this instance happened contemporaneously with a change of heart. But the young plant stood in need of much nourishment and assiduous care. The believers engaged with one accord in cultivating the four main elements of every genuine Christian church-life; they gave faithful attention to the instruction of the Apostles, continued in brotherly communion the bond of which was an ever-active self-sacrificing love, in the breaking of bread, that is, in the use of the Lord's Supper in connection with their daily love-feasts, and in prayer (Acts 2: 24). "And the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved."

Such was the normal beginning of the Church, the like of which has not since been, but will be when the prophecy of Joel shall receive its last absolute fulfillment. This young band of believers with their successors now became the salt of the earth to preserve from spiritual putrefaction the mass of mankind. It was ordained that, henceforth, from the society established on this day should proceed every real advance in morality, science, art, social prosperity and outward civilization, as well as all the important epochs of Modern History. The Apostles previously timid, now gloried in their strength and bore witness to the truth with indomitable courage. Previously unknown and illy appreciated, they now became the heroes of the age who soon attracted the attention of the whole world outside of Palestine. A few honest, poor fishermen of Galilee called upon to bear witness of the Holy Spirit and transformed from illiterate, unpolished men to infallible ambassadors of the Saviour of the world and teachers of all succeeding ages; truly, this is a miracle in our eyes!

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Continued.¹

Having made known the design of his Collection, and ascertained the character of the worship which obtained in the Reformed Church, Prof. Ebrard proceeds to enquire concerning the principles of Evangelical worship, in general. This is the most interesting chapter in his work. To appreciate it fully, we must remember that the Reformed Church originally was made up of several provincial churches, the principal of which was the Zuinglian, the Calvinistic, and the Melanthonian; from which last branch, the church of the Palatinate, the Ger. Ref. Church of America is chiefly derived. It is also to this branch that we are indebted for the Heidelberg Catechism. This venerable symbol of our faith was prepared in 1563, by Ursinus and Olivianus, the one a pupil and devoted friend of the amiable Melanthon; the other an equally attached follower of Calvin, at the commence of the Elector, Fred, III., of blessed memory, as he is styled in the preface to one of our earliest liturgies. The leading object of this excellent prince, in having this work prepared was to allay the strifes, and harmonize the views of his people in religious subjects; and by committing it to the hands of two individuals, distinguished for their learning and piety, and occupying prominent positions as the representatives of the two confessions into which the protestant church was divided, he hoped to succeed. This is a highly significant historical fact, illustrative of the theological character of this venerable symbol, and should rule in our interpretation of its doctrines, and in all our investigations and labors with a view to a Liturgy for the Ger. Ref. Church. What then, is its theological character? It certainly can be expected to contain no view upon any question—the Sacramental for instance—lower than Calvin would have expressed; nor any on the other hand, higher than Melanthon entertained. It must, accordingly, occupy immediate ground, as these good and wise men could not have subscribed it; nor would it have answered the end proposed in preparing it. This too is the proper platform of the Ger. Ref. Church.

It will doubtless be a relief to the minds of many to discover,

¹ In the Article, as it appeared in the May No. of the Review, are mistakes of the printer, "too tedious to mention." The reader will please correct the following, as interfering with the sense and construction of the passages in which they occur. In the first, and also in the third sentences of the translation on page 297, for "as" read *or*. In the next to the last sentence of the paragraph on page 297, for "term," read *time*. Near the bottom of page 304 for "church" singing, read *choral* singing. In the second paragraph on page 300, a period occurs in the middle of a sentence.

that of all the Reformers, none, according to Ebrard, himself a Zuricher, was more liturgical or conservative than Zwingli. He was no radical. It will also be pleasant to observe with what candour and amiability of feeling, as well as earnestness of spirit, our learned German divines discuss theological questions of the greatest moment. Their object is truth.

The Principles of Evangelical Worship.

The UNIVERSAL, VISIBLE CHRISTIAN CHURCH is a *teleological Institution*. She is not, as some would define her, *l'homme spirituel collectif*; for then she would be the kingdom of God, and all unregenerate persons, and to carry out the idea, all who are sinners, would be excluded. Nothing would then remain, but that either we must altogether deny the existence of a *visible* universal Church, and merely admit, in addition to the visible particular Churches, an invisible universal Church, which would be *contradiccio in adjecto*;¹ or we must insist upon a do-natistic purity of the church. The church, more correctly, is the multitude of those, who have been baptized into the name of the Triune God, and includes no one who is not capable of redemption,—nor any one, who does not still *need* it. Accordingly, a person may with full right be a member of the Church of Christ at large upon earth, without being a member of the kingdom of God, the “invisible church;” if in a general way we would call it church.

THE OBJECT OF THE CHURCH is to enable its members to become members also of the kingdom of God. In order to this, they must be born again, and become members of the body of Christ. In this work, the Holy Spirit, and the will of man, must be co-operating factors. The *basis*, however, upon which alone this activity is possible, the *conditio sine qua non*, is an *acquaintance with the Lord Jesus, as an historical person*, inasmuch as redemption is not an idea, but a fact—an historical transaction—the manifestation of the *divine counsel in an historical act*.

To present this basis, this possibility to her members is the proper object of the church. It is not in her power to produce

¹ When the Reformers speak of the universal, catholic church as invisible, they mean to express their opposition only to that sort of visibility contended for by the Papists, i. e., the necessity of a visible, supreme Bishop. That the attribute of visibility, in other respects, belongs to the universal Church, has been satisfactorily shown by Calvin & Schleirmacher.

faith magically ; neither can she, nor ought she to force any one to believe. She only proposes the word of Christ, and the sacraments to every ones acceptance, and leaves it to them, to make such use of them, as they will.

She attains this object, partly, by working in an *outward* way upon such as ought to be, but, as yet, are not members, by means of missions, and Catechetical instructions ; and partly by working *inwardly*, upon those who are members ; and so far as this last activity has reference to the whole congregation, and not only to individuals in their private concern for the salvation of their souls, it is called **WORSHIP**.

From what has thus far been said, it will be seen that the Church has two sides, an *ideal* and a *real*. She stands forth as an ideal power *over* her existing individual members, and is related to them pedagogically. As ideal, she is possessed of saving truth, and expresses and declares what she *has*. The same Church is at the same time, however, a real existence, consisting of the same members, who are to be converted, redeemed, and sanctified. It follows, then, that each of these forces, at least as *minimum* must be present in each of her members. No one belonging to the Church, can be exclusively receptive. Every one must be qualified also, to some extent, to represent the ideal side over against others, and to exert a reflex influence upon them, even if it is only by means of a general participation in the worship,—the devotional exercises of the congregation ; and in this way the *general priesthood* of the members of the Church is maintained. Nor can any member of the Church be purely and exclusively active, so as only to represent the ideal power, the *strength* of the Church, and be wholly separate from the condition of those, who *need* salvation. The church functionary, the Minister, is only one of the congregation, himself a sinner, who needs forgiveness and sanctification ; and *thus of itself excludes a peculiar priesthood*. For the sake of order, and by the appointment of Christ, there is the office of the ministry of the Word, but not a priesthood. It is the Roman Church, which externally separates the ideal, from the real Church, and the Clergy from the Laity, and that gives to the first, all the honors of the Church, regarding it only as ideal, and as a second mediator between the Sinner and Christ. It is *Sectism*, that regards the Church as only real, and not as existing continually, but produces it new, every moment. In Popery, faith proceeds from the Church, and not the Church from faith. In Sectism, it is the reverse ; the Church proceeds from faith, and not faith from the Church. The Evangelical Church holds

fast to both views. The Church, as *ideal*, is before and independent of faith, and leads her members to faith; but in her *reality* she renews, and sustains herself continually through the faith of her members.

So much then, must be said of WORSHIP. True evangelical worship must not be simply an exposition of the doctrines which the Church, as ideal, possesses, whether it be an exposition in words or symbols. The Sermon, particularly, as the central point of worship, must not be merely expository, not simply an expression of the religious belief, or consciousness of the ideal Church; much less of course, a mere expression of the consciousness of the existing individual, real congregation with all its imperfections. But the worship must be essentially *teleological*, effective, working towards a particular object. The object of the ideal universal church, to instruct her existing members, to lead them to Christ, to enable, and make it easy for them to believe, must also be at the foundation of Worship. The Worship and the sermon especially, must be one act, one work, one effort towards improvement.

It must now be perfectly evident that in this way the *expository* side of worship is not excluded, but on the contrary, retained. If the real Church, as she exists in the concrete congregation of any particular period, is to be carried forward upon the way of salvation, and brought to Christ, there must be a leading, directing, assisting, propelling power, and that not out of the Church, but within her. It is the one, and the same church, that is *to be lead*, and that *must lead*. She must have, in addition to a sense of the *need* of spiritual progress, a self-propelling, or advancing power. In other words, that, which the Church should attain to as a concrete reality, *must already exist within her*, as an ideal power. And, thus the teleological work itself is an *exhibition, at the same time, of that which is already present in ideality*.

In WORSHIP, the concrete members of the Church, *which need* salvation, will be assisted on the way of salvation, by this, that the church, *which is ideal*—not only through her particular functionaries, the Ministers, but through all her members, so far as in addition to their *need*, there is also present in them a *power*—suffers such stores of saving truth to be exhibited, as she has in possession.

Thus the Sermon is of service in this, that by means of it, the Minister expresses the faith of the one, ideal, Church, eternal, revealed truth. So also is the Liturgy of service in the same way, since in it the congregation expresses the faith of the one ideal Church.

This leads us now to the SUBJECTS OF THE LITURGY. In the first place, two subjects here present themselves to our notice, the Minister, as *preacher*, to make known the word of Christ, and the Congregation to receive it; and who, that they may receive it, *pray* to God for the grace of his Holy Spirit. To the prayer we can attach no exclusive significance. We can ascribe to it no other, than that which it has in its reference to the sermon; not to the sermon indeed, as the subjective individual words of the preacher, but as it proclaims the salvation which is in Christ. The prayer accordingly *must* have reference to the *preaching of salvation in Christ*, as the central point of divine worship. To place the sermon, and the liturgical prayer aside of each other as two distinct parts of worship, without mutual relation—as is the case in the Anglican Liturgy—would be consistent only in case we were to deny, in reference to either, that the salvation in Christ must be its inmost core. We could then, either make the Liturgical part of divine service have respect to the central point of redemption, and allow it to be sufficient for the sermon, if it only moved somewhere about the periphery; or we might insist that the sermon, in the exposition of every text, should conduct to Christ, and be satisfied, if the Liturgy furnished occasional intercessions for individual cases. Both these views are defective, and so soon as we see this, and are assured that Christ is the very heart, and core of both the sermon, and the prayers, we will be disposed to place them both in the most intimate reciprocal relation.

It follows from this, however, that a *Liturgist* in addition to the Preacher, and the Congregation, as a third subject of the Liturgy, cannot well be admitted. On the contrary, when the Congregation, together chant one part of the prayer and repeat another part, word for word, after the officiating Minister, it is only a formal difference, grounded in the fact, that standing forms are better adapted to be spoken, and prayers of special contents, to be sung. In both cases, however, the *Congregation* is the proper praying subject; and *in pleno* employed and active; and when the Minister leads in prayer, he does not pray as Priest for them, but as Pastor with them. This is the case, whether he confesses their faith, or their sins; whilst, on the other hand, when he pronounces absolution, he appears as Preacher.

But could not, and ought not the congregation again to divide itself into *two subjects*? It is on the one hand, the ideal, educational, propelling congregation, and on the other the real concrete congregation needing advancement and improvement.

In our customary worship, she appears one-sidedly, and exclusively in this last point of view. She is only the needy, the asking the receiving congregation ; and not at all the possessing and imparting congregation. This is a real misfortune. The result is, that the Minister above stands forth in the name of the educational church ; and in this way it happens also that the congregation is sometimes led to look upon the ministry as a sort of Priest-hood, and to regard their exclusive privileges with feelings of envy. And yet the means of relief are so near at hand. The remedy indeed with instinctive anticipation, even here in Switzerland has already been applied. It is the *introduction of Liturgical Choirs into Divine Worship.* The Choir thus represents the ideal congregation. Only consider the following : According to the customary mode, the congregation assembles in the vacant silent Church—not even an organ to take the place of the Choir. The people are filled with no sacred emotions—they hear no inspiring sounds—they are not made to feel that the Church of Christ is something *already existing*, independently of their assembling at the time. The individual members do not feel that they are entering into the very midst of this already present divine power. On the contrary, they rather think that the Church is first to be constituted and properly made to exist. The concrete, real congregation with its need is in the foreground ; the ideal with its divine treasures is in the rear and it is the Minister *alone* who represents it. Now think for a moment of the difference in the effect, when the people entering the Church, are received by the Choir, as the representative of the ideal congregation. They feel that they are not strangers. The Church itself, to which they belong, meets them with friendly greeting. They need not first try by their singing to inspire their hearts with devotional feelings. As they enter, their minds are carried upward and fixed in a becoming frame, to take part in the singing, and become active in the worship. And as in the commandments, so in other parts of the service, places will be found, in which the Choir may properly be introduced, as the representative of the ideal Church.

If we pass on now to the *liturgical objects*, we will find that *prayer*, *the sermon*, and *the sacraments*, are the three natural objects of Worship. I say the sacrament, and not sacraments, because only of the sacraments *essentially* belongs to the worship of the congregation, whilst the others may just as well, if not with more propriety, be performed in the family, the temple at home.

In holy baptism, the child is taken, it is true, into the Church,

but not into the particular congregation. The church, indeed, embraces all the congregations, as well as families belonging to them, and it is this *congregation in the house*, sanctified by christianity, into which the baptized child is received. It only becomes a member of the Church, the communicating congregation, when it is confirmed. Baptism *can*, therefore, take place in the Church, with the silent acquiescence of the congregation—and this for the Minister is more convenient—but the nature of the case, and experience, both assure us, that this silent acquiescence in the custom leads to a mere mechanical attention, or inattention rather, and that the advantages are greatly on the other side. The house itself is consecrated a temple, and the finest opportunity is afforded for the exhibition of a proper feeling of private pastoral solicitude.

In the judgment of the Reformed, as well as in that of the primitive christian church, there are three classes of members of the congregation: the ruling, the communicating, and the passive, or those who take no part in the active duties of religion. By baptism, we become passive, by confirmation, communicating, and when we arrive at a particular age fixed by law, we are qualified to become ruling members—the communicating members have the right to partake of the Holy Sacrament; the ruling have, besides this, the right to participate in the government of the church, in the election of deacons, elders and ministers, and are themselves eligible to the first two offices. By excommunication, the right to partake of the communion is suspended, until restored, and that of having any thing to do with government is forfeited forever.

It follows from this, that the *communicating congregation* is different from the congregation *attending upon the sermon*, and that the solemnity of the Lord's Supper differs again from the homiletical part of divine service, although it properly follows it, as the highest grade of divine service—does not precede it—and thus in connexion with it, constitutes the *communion service*. *The sermon services* may again be divided into the service for *Feast-days* (when some particular theme, appropriate to the occasion is made the subject of the discourse,)—into the *principal service for Sunday*, and *subordinate services* for the afternoon, or week. To this, may be added *special prayer meetings*, in which there is no sermon, nothing but the simple reading of Scripture, accompanied with singing, and prayer.

As to the *order* of the *principal service* on the Sabbath, I would propose the following:

Confession of sin,
Penitential passage,
Prayer before the sermon,
Hymn,
Text and Sermon,
Hymn,
Prayer and Benediction.

I need not attempt to vindicate this arrangement. It has for its ground the correct principle of the Calvinistic liturgies ; a regular ascent from a sense of the need of salvation in the invocation for the help of the Holy Spirit in proclaiming salvation, and a gradual descent again from the prayer, for special and general blessings, to the blessings themselves. It is only new, so far that the two prayers, before and after the sermon, are separated from it by the singing of the congregation ; and although they have special reference to the sermon, are nevertheless in this way, made more independent. It would be very unnatural, if the congregation were first to be prepared for the sermon, by a special introductory hymn, and then engage in a general prayer ; then listen to a very special sermon, then another general prayer and then again a special verse from the Bible ! How unnatural too for the Minister, when he has preached his sermon with great fervency of spirit, and is waiting to see the impression made by it, to be obliged himself to lead his people away from the subject of his discourse, to something entirely different ! How perfectly natural on the other hand, for the congregation to yield itself in feeling to the impression produced by the sermon, and to respond to it, in the singing of the hymn immediately following, and then after the impression is thus confirmed, and fixed, to proceed to the general prayer.

According to this order, the CONFESSION OF SIN, as the opening service, should be introduced, and chanted by the Choir, and for this purpose certain verses of Scripture should be selected, two for each of the periods of the Church year. The first of these verses should contain an exhortation to repentance, and be chanted by the Choir, as coming from the ideal, ever existing congregation, to the individual members present in the Church. The second verse should be recited by the Minister, in the name and as the response of the real, individual congregation. Can any thing be thought of, that more happily precludes the Roman idea of the priestly pre-eminence of the spiritual office, than this ?

The PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON should not be immediately appended to the confession of sin. On the contrary, the

natural order is, for the congregation, on their part, to join in with this previously made confession, in a short verse or two of a penitential psalm, to be selected for each particular service, inasmuch as the constant repetition of one and the same verse would become mechanical. The Benediction, however, may immediately follow the prayer after the sermon, although the congregation should also unite in pronouncing the intermediate "Amen." The Choir should then properly conclude the services by singing the well known brief strophe, "The grace of our Lord, &c," or the Palestrian strophe "Be with us, &c."

To those FEAST-DAYS, which are not at the same time communion occasions, are to be reckoned the First Advent, Good Friday, on which in many places there is no communion, Ascension day, Trinity-Sunday, New Year and Fast-days. These Feast days are very different in their characters and objects. The First Advent, and Trinity Sunday particularly, are only distinguished from other Sundays, as the commencement of the two halves of the Church Year. In worship they are to be distinguished no farther, than that on the first there should be a special prayer before the sermon, and on the second, the Nicene Creed should be recited before the blessing. The New Year and Fast-days have their reason in worldly occurrences which should be spiritually improved. Seasons, and political associations constitute their ground. In both instances the nature of the feast requires that the confession of sin should be more prominent than on other occasions, and that the absolution should be pronounced with due solemnity.

For the NEW YEAR the most appropriate opening would be this: NEW YEAR-EVE; singing by the Choir, Thanksgiving prayer. Singing by the congregation, in connexion with a brief address. Confession of sin and penitential passage. Absolution and Benediction. In conclusion the Thanksgiving Hymn "Bless the Lord, &c." NEW YEAR: Singing by the Choir. Feast prayer before the sermon. Hymn, in connexion with the sermon. Prayer, and Apostles' Creed. Suitable Hymn and Benediction.

FAST-DAY: Singing by the Choir. Reading the Commandments. Hymn and sermon in connexion. Principal prayer adapted to the occasion. Confession of sin, with Absolution. The object of the sermon should be to direct to the confession, and therefore should precede it.

GOOD FRIDAY and ASCENSION-DAY may properly be classed with the historical Feasts, and their special themes should be the events they are intended to commemorate. On Good Friday,

the usual confession of sin should give place to a suitable selection from the Gospel narratives of Christ's sufferings. The confession, however, should follow the sermon, as on Fast-days, and be connected with the concluding prayer. It should not be of that general description, merely acknowledging our transgressions of the Law, but a special confession, that because of our sins Jesus has *suffered and died*. After this prayer, the congregation should sing a part of the Hymn "O Lamb of God, &c," and as the prayer is long, and is broken up into several parts, it would be well, perhaps, if the congregation were to fall in, and occupy the intervals in chanting brief antiphones. The "order would accordingly be this: Chanting by the Choir—(something from Isa. 53). Prayer before the Sermon, and Lesson, with the Apostles' Creed. Hymn, and Sermon. Principal prayer. Sermon. Singing by the Congregation, the Hymn, "O Lamb of God." In conclusion, the preparatory service for the Easter communion, or the communion itself.

On ASCENSION-DAY, the usual confession of sin should give place to the lesson introduced in connexion with the Feast-prayer; and to the prayer after sermon should be added the Absolution. The order then would be; Singing by the Choir. Feast-prayer and Lesson. Hymn and Sermon. Prayer and Absolution, with the Benediction.¹

For the COMMUNION SERVICES of the three principal Feasts, that of Ascension-day will suffice; and here again the Feast-prayer, and Lesson will take the place of the Confession of sin, and the Absolution will be omitted. The Apostles' Creed, in case it is not introduced in the Communion service, will be appended to the Feast-lesson. The PREPARATORY SERVICE, on the contrary, may be commenced with the reading of the prayer, together with the Confession and Penitential-verse.

Such then are my sincere wishes and propositions for the development of the worship of the Reformed Church in general. As to the division of the Church-year into periods, the following six will naturally suggest themselves: 1. ADVENT.—Characteristics of the prayers, should be: the need, and expectation of Salvation. 2. THE EPIPHANY.—Characteristics: Christianity, the light of the world, and its reception by the world. 3. THE PASSION.—Char.: Repentance, and the Atonement. 4. EASTER—from Easter to Whitsunday.—Char.: the spiritual king-

¹ On Good Friday, the Absolution is dispensed with, because it is rendered superfluous by the Communion, which involves a Sacramentally sealed absolution.

dom of Christ, and his world-subduing victorious power. 5. **WHITSUNDAY**—from Trinity to the Autumn communion—Char.: the inward transfusion of humanity, in all its powers by the Spirit of Christ, by means of the Church. 6. The concluding period—from the Autumn communion to the end of the Church-year—reminds us, as the close of the ecclesiastical year, of the end of the world. The characteristics should be the christian's hope, his expectation of death, eternal life, resurrection and judgment. The cycle of the Feasts, including these six periods, constitutes of itself the higher *seventh*.

If now, in the grouping of these prayers, I have so managed it, that they would be applicable, at once, to such a worship as has been here described, it is hoped that no one will conclude from this, that they are to the same extent inapplicable to our existing worship. The captions for instance, in the first chapter: Advent, Epiphany, &c., compel no one to make use of these particular prayers, the one only in Advent, the other in Epiphany, and prevent no one from using them at any other time, or from using other prayers in their place. In like manner, no one is compelled to make use of the Nicene Creed, and the form of Absolution, as I have taken them from the German Reformed and Netherland Agenda. I so arranged the collection that it could be used for the order of worship described; at the same time, it may be used for other orders of worship. I would nevertheless humbly venture to hope that the arrangement I have made in my collection, so far as it brings the order proposed into view, will serve to commend it to favor.

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B. C. W.

THE HUMAN TRINITY.

It is believed that the same distinction in the Divine Nature, which is indicated by the term *Trinity*, holds also with equal force in the Human Nature. Of course, an anthropological doctrine of this sort, needs to be well supported.

To the *Theory of Humanity* thus proposed, a few of the more thoughtful will at once be disposed to listen with candor; a second class, however, will regard it as a ridiculous attempt at claiming for man a relationship altogether too high; while a third, sick with sentimental piety, will have their nerves completely shattered at a monstrosity so profane, or even blasphemous.

But this notion is not so new, nor yet so strange, as by some may at first be imagined. Indeed, if the charge of novelty could be sustained against it with any degree of plausibility, this in itself were sufficient reason for giving it up at once. There is truly no new thing under the sun ; and whenever any thing is announced as *new*, the simple fact of its novelty is *prima facie*, and even sufficient evidence against its pretensions. Even He whose advent upturned and re-shaped the entire order and form of the world, came not to "destroy" what had been, but simply to "fulfil" it. So it is believed that the philosophical doctrine here propounded, if faithfully evolved to its legitimate consequences, and to none else, instead of confounding aught that is good, beautiful or true in science, philosophy or religion, would only serve as a lamp and leading string to guide us through the labyrinth of human knowledge ; instead of destroying any thing that is now known, would only tend to fulfil it, by putting contradiction out of the way, and so making peace among the sciences ; and all this, by first stationing the human Reason in the Triune God, as its proper stand and starting point, whence it could *look through* the entire universe of being, and by referring every thing to its right relations, could *see* the harmony which the almighty Father, the all-wise Logos, and the every-where-present Spirit, have created, ordered and animated in all their works ; and whence, consequently, it could take its departure, and with absolute *a priori* infallibility, thread the remotest spheres of thought and being, without ever once losing itself for a moment.

But an historical exhibition of the notions entertained concerning a trinity in man, whether by sacred or profane writers, in ancient or modern times, is alike beyond the purpose and the learning of the writer. His present aim is simply to present such facts and considerations as may serve as hints and suggestions to others.

A human trinity, to be of any avail, must stand in three concrete personal forms of humanity ; and these last must be necessary both in themselves and to each other, in order to constitute the unity of that humanity. Such a concrete distinction, almost any one after a moments reflection, will find has ever existed, though unconsciously, in our own, and probably in every language, with more or less distinctness, as the spontaneous revelation or utterance of an internal, living reality. That distinction is into *Soul*, *Mind* and *Spirit*. In almost every species of writing, these three terms are perpetually used to indicate the entire man—not indifferently, but with instinctive discrimination, to

represent man as existing or acting in the spheres which they severally denote. There is therefore no need of manufacturing a new terminology, in order to express this idea, nor in fact any part of it, however extensively developed. All this, simple though it be, should furnish some slight presumption at least, in favor of the doctrine proposed, that humanity is constitutionally triune in principle, though formally unconscious of the fact.

Possibly it may be objected that these three terms are mere synonyms, or as nearly so as any three words can be. But this is manifestly not the case. Thus : "My *mind*, my *spirit*, is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death."—"Though absent in body, yet present in *mind* in *soul*."—"The *souls*, the *spirits* of the jury were soon made up."—Any one can see the confusion and absurdity of speaking thus. The words *soul*, *mind*, and *spirit*, are not each absolutely equal to *man*, and so equal to each other; but they are each equal to man when existing in the spheres which they severally indicate, thus : soul = man in the sphere of nature ; mind = man in the sphere of intelligence ; and spirit = man in the sphere of morality—for it is the *spirit*, whether good or bad, heavenly, human or hellish, that *moves*, that furnishes the *motives*, and so determines the character of actions and the quality of beings. Thus then soul is man, mind is man, spirit is man ; and man is soul, is mind, is spirit.

But these three do not stand apart, or simply run parallel with each other. Each has indeed its separate principle to unfold and its proper offices to fulfil ; yet for all this, it cannot be sundered from the other two, either in fact, or even in thought. The mind sees them apart, but only as it sees them together. It makes a distinction between them, but only by still keeping each full in its view. Its prismatic eye decomposes the unity wherein they stand, and refracts them into their logical and actual order and relations, like the three ground colors of the spectrum ; and yet it sees them running through and underlying each other, and thus discovers that there is not and cannot be any definite line of separation between them. Each therefore pre-supposes the other two, and is pre-supposed by them ; they all exist by, in, and for each other, and are thus absolutely necessary in order to constitute the unity of man. Root out either one, or confound them all, and the very idea of humanity is reduced to a nullity. Whatever cannot be divided, or is incapable of distinction, is a mere zero. Reduce humanity to this, and it becomes a point, the negation of all being, just as a mathematical point is the negation of space.

Of this triunity in man, the natural world furnishes complete

analogies on every side. The difficulty is not to find, but to select them. In the entire universe, however, first of all, and not merely in nature, the simplest, most fundamental category to which all things can be reduced, gives us this unity and triunity at once. This category as seen by the natural understanding, is simple *Being*; as apprehended by the reason, it is *Personality*; as viewed by the eye of the spirit, it is *God*. Each of these forms, is, from the nature of the case, cognizable, in its ground principle, only by a corresponding principle in the human constitution. Like alone apprehends like. No one of them can generate the other two, or be generated by them; it can never develop their substance out of its own, or have its substance developed out of theirs; nor, on the other hand, can it ever absorb and swallow them up, or be absorbed and swallowed by them. The distinction between them, alike when taken in their ideal, real and actual states, is an essential and eternal one. No logic, therefore, when proceeding logically, can ever confound them in one, or educe them out of each other. For instance, God and Personality can never be merged in mere Being, and so be fully measured and apprehended by the understanding; infinite spirit can never compress itself into finite Being, or thread the logic of Personality; nor can the abstract differential reason ever apprehend the concrete integral unity of either the Deity or created Being.

But though thus distinct the three can never be totally separated from each other. For, first there can be no universe of Being, save as there is a God by, in, and for whom it exists; secondly, we cannot conceive of a God that simply is, but that never acts or speaks, never creates, animates or reveals, that is all subject without either object or process, and that has beneath him no universe of Created Being; nor, finally, can we think of Personality that is wholly and absolutely abstract, totally destitute of a mutual subject and object in which it inheres. Each, therefore, in its diversity, and all in their unity, are indispensably necessary to complete the simplest and most fundamental of all categories, namely, Existence.

At this point it may be said once for all, first, that every category, whether in the sphere of soul, mind or spirit, of the relative, mediate or absolute, does at once spring asunder and polarize itself as subject and object, the static and dynamic, the real and ideal; and that in the very act of so doing, it eliminates and brings into play its third organic principle which gives us the living process of the actual: secondly, that every category presents a different triunity, according as it is viewed from the

standpoint of soul, mind or spirit : thirdly, that as these exist by, in, and for each other, the same category may be viewed by each of them from the standpoint of the other two : and fourthly, that every category thus radiates outward and spheres itself immediately into twenty seven others, alike when taken as the individual subject, the general object, and the particular process. For example, in the category of the Human, its three principles unite and sphere themselves, first, in the individual man ; secondly, in the general objective whose ground-forms are the State, the School and the Church ; and thirdly, in the family which is the mediant process between the other two. Thus every form of existence is completed only by three fully organized concentric spheres, that of the subjective in the centre, the objective in the periphery, and the mediant process between :—all of which, however, though distinct in principle and offices, perpetually permeate and fill each other at every point. Thus also every form of existence resolves itself, in the very outset of its self-evolution or revelation, into at least eighty one secondary categories.

This may in some measure account for the vast diversity of opinion among men on the same subject, their endless verbal misunderstandings, and the many contradictions or fallacies in which they involve themselves, by either unconsciously or purposely making a slight change in their standpoint.

For the sake of safety, it may be well here in the beginning to enter an effectual bar against all suspicions and charges of mischievous and heretical *Isms*, by a statement of one most obvious inference, namely, that every form of existence is complete in itself, whether dependent or independent ; relative, absolute or mediant ; in as much as it contains, in itself alike subject, object and process ; and that, too, alike in the individual, the general, and the particular ; so that however much one order of existence may be necessary to another ; may pre-suppose it, or be prophetic of it ; yet neither actually nor logically, neither in an *a posteriori* nor an *a priori* way, can one be reduced or educated, to or from another. For instance, the material world, the vegetable, the animal, and the human, though they can never be totally torn asunder from each other, can never be confounded in one, and thus be wrought out of the same fundamental principle.

That which embraces all things, is, as we have seen, Existence, which resolves itself at once into Deity, Personality, and mere Being. This last includes the natural universe, considered in itself aside from its divine Creator and that created Personality which stands as its immediate ruler and head. Of simple

Being or Nature, there are also three orders, the material, vegetable and animal, which, though mutually dependent, though as a whole falling infinitely short of the Personal and Divine, and though therefore prophetic of something higher and more perfect, are, nevertheless complete in themselves, are such that they cannot be evolved out of each other, either actually or logically, in as much as they polarize and sphere themselves separately, and thus have at least *an* end in themselves, though the lower has always a relative end in the higher, and its absolute end in the Creator himself. In the region of Nature, its lowest order, the material, as it is sufficient for our purpose, will alone engage our attention. The first step is to resolve it into the real, the actual and the ideal, and these again into the static, the organic and the dynamic. In each of these triunities, the extremes give us the subject and the object, and the middle term, the mediant process, thus:

	Static,	Organic,	Dynamic.
Real,	Matter,	Law,	Force;
Actual,	World,	Action,	Anima;
Ideal.	Space,	Motion,	Time.

This line of the ideal properly embraces all created being, and not mere matter; our present purpose however will confine it to the latter alone. As here exhibited, the polar factors of the created ideal, are space and time. The first is the maternal and passive principle and the second the paternal and active. They stand as the immediate parents of the visible heavens and earth, and constitute the volume and the perpetuity of being. Shut apart from each other, however, they dwindle in a moment to nonentities. Considered, moreover, in their ground principle, they have no ability to reach and embrace each other. Space has indeed a static and time a dynamic energy, but each in itself considered is altogether latent and powerless. But the ideal in the very act of polarizing itself into space and time, brings into view its third organic principle, namely, motion, which is their common and only measure, and which, therefore, alone has power to move and bind them together in lasting wedlock, and thus to give them that proportion, order, beauty, and consequent value which they possess.

Time thus stands as the objective, dynamic side of the ideal,

and as such, has its triunity in the past, the present, and the future. Eternity is the absolute of time, and is forever projecting itself outward into something individual and finite. In so doing, however, it is not throwing itself away piecemeal, in as much as this projection, like the tide that breaks upon the shore, or the fountain that leaps into the air, is forever flowing back upon the source whence it springs. Time is this entire projection in both its outward and its inward flow. The future is thus alone dynamic and self-moving, as it is forever coming, causing, and doing. The past, as something acquired, finished and done, is perpetually returning with its character and consequences, whose weight or gravity has a mere static pressure, urging onward from behind, just as bodies on the surface of the earth tend directly inward to the centre. The union of the past and future gives us the actual phenomenal present, just as a stream of projectiles from the earth is visible only at its turning point. Thus the present derives its motives, perpetuity, and hence its value from the future, and its consequences, character, and hence its weight or pressure from the past. Itself thus stands as the actual of time; here the past and future concentrate their substance and utter their significance; the present is thus emphatically the Word of time, by which alone it speaks and acts, commands, creates, reveals.

Without a past and a future, a whence and a whither, a history gained and an object to pursue, there can be no present, no where, and no existence; but simply a negation of all time and of all being, fully corresponding to a mathematical point, the negation of all space. There is therefore a necessity for the past, as a blushing bride, veiled in the misty dimness of recollection and robed in the welcome shades of night, to turn itself and go forth with star-torches and its train of virgin memories, to meet its spouse, the coming, the attractive and joyous future. By such lawful wedlock alone, can it become a legitimate factor, subjective and passive though it be, in the production and birth of the actual, ever-moving present. The past must roll itself onward; it can neither throw itself away nor stand still; we cannot conceive of it as a mere monotony, or as a solitary axis-revolution, fixed in either the same space or the same time; for this fixedness, taken either way, is a perfect absurdity; for, as we have seen, both space and time are made possible and actual, that is, a truth or true existence, only by the organic principle of motion. This movement is therefore not monotony but advancement; and in fact no existence, not even the earth, has an orbit that returns absolutely into itself, as Dr. Cheever a few

years ago would have it. The earth's orbit has a spiral advancement in space, and is thus tending astronomically as well as geologically, that is, in both space and time, to the accomplishment of some end. The earth beneath, therefore, and the stars above, both of them, through the living moving present as the Word of time, cry out against stagnation in the sphere of the personal and christian, whether Roman or Puritan.

This triunity of time corresponds fully to one phase of the same dynamic fact in the human constitution, namely, to memory, thought, and hope. Memory is the consciousness of identity and hence of immortality, and as such is the moral purse in which the sense, knowledge, and character already gained are treasured up. Memory is thus alike the ever-blooming mother of thought, and the perpetually ascending foundation on which thought itself continues to build its mediating tower that is ultimately to reach and ascend the skies. All this is possible, however, only as hope, which is the consciousness of life, comes with quickening, animating power from the future, and thus fills memory with vitality, and gives to thought, which is the consciousness of mere existence, the *cogito ergo sum*, its unceasing, miraculous activity. Thought in itself has, therefore, no past or future, but is altogether present. Statesmen, philosophers and artists become lost in their thoughts, theories, and ideas, "take no note of time," and have simply one continuous present. When linked with memory alone, it is lost in the past, bends over its tomb, sports the child again, or with its crutch fights anew the battle of life, totally unconscious of the *flight* of time. When arm in arm with hope alone, it plants itself in the future, dwells in the absolute ideal, builds its airy castles, and rears its lofty speculations, wholly forgetful of the *changes* of time. It is only when they all meet in the blazing focus of time, that the fully conscious present, alike as the genius of history gathers up the past, and as prophet lays hold on the future, and thus writes them as the real and ideal, the finite and infinite, the relative and absolute, and reveals their substance and power in the actual.

Space, as the subjective and static side of the ideal, resolves itself into the triunity, quantity, number, and quality. These are not mere ideas or shapes of thought, but are something essential to the natural world, and have, each of them, their three distinct forms. These in the case of quantity are solids, lines and surfaces. Here, as always, the middle term is the common divisor, and measures both itself and the other two, in as much as it alone can make known the how-much as to the contents of

solids and the extent of surfaces, and by this means reveal its own capabilities and powers. Quality as concerned with physical bodies, indicates their character in a triunal way, as subjectively good, fit and useful in their structure; as objectively symmetrical, harmonious and beautiful in form; and as possessing an affinity, proportion and agreement between their elementary poles, by which it is possible for the good, the fit and the useful, to become the symmetrical, harmonious, and beautiful. Between quantity and quality, number steps forth to declare the magnitude of the one and the worth of the other. In cardinals it gives us the multitude, weight, and dimensions of bodies; in proportionals it determines their constitution, ratios, and relations; and thus finally in ordinals assigns them their proper station, rank, and character.

Quantity, number and quality are thus in one sense manifestly something inherent in matter itself and necessary to its existence; and yet in another sense they are merely the first three fundamental forms of the human consciousness. This subjective fact in reference to space, merely corresponds to the like fact in the case of time; which, as we have seen, has a subsistence in the human constitution, fully commensurate with its subsistence in the material universe. Matter, though the lowest, is still *an* object for man, in as much as it is the first stratum in that conditional foundation on which he stands; and is hence continually telling its influence on his physical, intellectual, and moral character and condition in the various regions of the globe. Matter being thus an object for man, must of necessity have a subjective subsistence in him, in order to render its influence on him, and his comprehension of it, alike possible. Quantity, therefore, is the first form of the psychic consciousness, wherein the understanding, through the medium of natural sense, apprehends the simple extension of bodies, whether solids, lines, or surfaces. Quality is the first form of the spiritual consciousness, wherein feeling as the first germ of the moral sense, perceives and appreciates the character of bodies, (for this after all is something supersensible,) namely, their goodness, consistency, and symmetry in themselves considered; the fitness, affinity, and harmony in which they are united; and the usefulness, unity, and beauty which belong to them, rendering them worthy and necessary objects of attainment and possession as property by man. Number is the first form of the rational consciousness, which, through the medium of the logical sense,¹ distinguishes bodies

¹ The fact of a *logical sense*, is amply supported by the common notions of mankind. Thus, "a senseless fellow," does not mean one who is destitute

as one or more ; gives their sums, ratios, and differences; measures, harmonizes, and arranges ; and is thus the mediator, organizer, and revealer, alike of itself and the two poles between which it stands ; just as light plays between the sun and planets, as object and subject, and reveals them to each other, and also through them becomes its own revelation.

But the notions of space and time, however perfect in themselves when separately analyzed, are, when viewed as the poles of the same idea, altogether incomplete. The first, whether taken as the measurement of extension or as a form of thought, can be known only by an absolute movement from point to point. The traveller walks around the pyramid in order to learn its dimensions : space is thus known only by an experimental, physical movement in space. But the pyramid endures : thought moves from point to point in duration, and thus becomes conscious of the pyramid's perpetuity as well as of its own successive movements; experimental motion in time thus gives the knowledge of time. Between space and time, motion thus steps in as the only possible medium that can give intelligibility or even existence to either of them. Motion is thus the prophet, the Word of being that declares and makes it known.

Motion, however, in itself considered, has its triunal form, namely, the revolutionary on an axis, the orbital around an objective centre, and the rotary which turns on a point. This point describes the orbital, and marks the equilibrium of the revolutionary. The simple rotary has its three elements, namely, the converging occasioned by magnetism, the tangential produced by electricity, and the curvilinear or circulating caused by galvanism. The first two are always and everywhere angular to each other, and give us, when magnetism is the base, the polar, meridional or magnetic circle, and when electricity is the base, the equatorial, parallel or electric. These two, as concerned subjectively with the earth, since they are right-handed and always keep to the right, give us the diurnal motion from west to east. These same two motions, in their objective relation to the sun, under the title of centripetal and centrifugal, give us the annual motion ; and this with the former diurnal one, pro-

of the natural *senses*; nor yet one who has no moral sense, for he may be truly pious and have a keen perception of dependence and duty, and of right and wrong. It must therefore plainly mean one who is incapable of perceiving the natural, *logical* connection of things, putting them most incongruously together, and thus making himself "ridiculous" in the eyes of all "sensible" people.

duces the endless variety of temperature and climate, of day and night, and of the changing seasons. Thus then we have the simple circle as the proper measure of both space and time, whose dimensions, applied either way, are substantially the same, and constitute the elements of geometry and chronology with their kindred branches, or, more properly, the science of space and time.

But these material motions are not for the earth alone as if their only end were in themselves, but for man also, in whom they have a far higher end. Man, through his physical constitution, stands in full sympathy with these material motions: or rather it should be said that these motions have a subsistence in his own being. In his internal experience he has a perpetual succession of day and night, of action and rest, of summer and winter. The constitution of his own nature, therefore, demands a corresponding arrangement in the material world. It is this co-existence of the same motions in both man and matter, that renders it possible for the latter to lend its aid in shaping the character and destiny of men in the various localities and climates of the globe. Of course no one can be so stupid as to suppose that telluric, lunar, and solar influences are altogether mechanical on man.

Self is the axis on which man's individuality revolves. As an individual, man *must* have regard to himself; it is a constitutional necessity, and does not arise from the presence of sin in the world. Individuality, from the nature of the case, has a concern for itself, as by this means alone it sustains itself, and in the end prevents itself from being absorbed as an emanation in the source whence it springs. Were it a mere emanation it could have no end in itself, and consequently no care for itself. Self-preservation calls for spontaneous and constant self-exertion, which has its alternate seasons of wakefulness and sleep, of activity and rest. To meet this constitutional necessity in man, physical day and night were expressly made. But while the individual has an end in himself and an axis on which his daily cares must turn, he has at the same time an objective end in humanity as the immediate solar centre of his being, around which he *must* revolve, if he will live and not die; for it is only by so doing that he has his moral summer and winter, his seedtime and harvest, his proper growth in fact, wherein the fruit of one action becomes the germ of another, and so on perpetually. Thus those who will not revolve, who will bow to no authority, first stagnate in ignorance, then ferment in fanaticism, and finally perish in rebellion and anarchy. But life for self

and humanity both, can be accomplished only through the medium of a third activity, namely, thought circulating around the point of self-consciousness. It is thought alone that gives consistency and order to both private and public life. In this point of intelligence and light, the freedom of the individual subject and the authority of the general object meet as opposite poles, see each other face to face, and flow together in that vital embrace which gives to the existence of man the only *truth* it can possess.

So much then for the ideal side of the material world. Next we may take up the real side, or matter in its chaotic, unorganized state. This resolves itself into mere passive, inert matter for the static subjective pole, and into that active, energetic force, power or possibility, which is always and everywhere present in matter as its dynamic objective pole. But this possible force, when it comes to act on matter, does not move at random, but is every way orderly, having its fixed forms and regular modes and ways. Nor has matter, though perfectly passive, any disposition to put up with base confusion and ugliness, but shows itself every way disposed to a goodly, orderly and beautiful existence. But matter and force, together or separately, seem, each in its own naked principle, altogether incapable of all this. Of necessity then a third organic principle must come between these two, in order to the accomplishment of those ends to which both are predisposed, but lack the inherent ability to attain. Material law is this third directing, unitive, and thereby revealing principle.

Distinction here is not mere fancy. The forces and energies by which we are continually met and obstructed or assisted in the actual world, in earth, water and air, are evidently something innate and spontaneous, and not a mere prolongation of some outward impetus given to matter in the beginning, when, as some would seem to imagine, the Almighty gathered up a handful of it from a bank at his side, made it up like a snow ball, and then gave it a *jeck* off into space, ever more by its inertia to retain the force thus imparted to it in an external way, and thence to break it up into the countless forms in which it is now found present in the earth beneath, the floods around, and the air above. The necessity of the case requires, as we saw at the outset, that every form of being have its own active and passive, dynamic and static, objective and subjective sides, and that these be mediated by some organic process, in order to have any actual existence at all. These three moreover, though absolutely indispensable, and so standing side by side in proper

honor, as equal and necessary factors in the same reality, must nevertheless be different in degree, order and rank. Otherwise they would be without distinction, and so perfectly equivalent and identical, that is, all static, all organic, or all dynamic ; in which case the object, having no subject for its force, would waste it on a senseless void ; and the subject, having no objective energy to vivify it, would remain forever inert, motionless and dead ;—or perchance there would be a mediating process of order and law between two boundless zeroes. Each one of these cases, of course, is a perfect absurdity. Material force and law, therefore, cannot be mere properties or forms of matter in itself considered, but are together with it true existences, equal indeed, but not identical, in principle, rank, or honor.

Since force then is something essential to matter, we may naturally expect a resolution of it into three ground-forms. These are in fact gravity, affinity and caloric. The first has a consolidating, self-centering tendency inward, and the last an expansive energy outward, while affinity steps in between, weds and binds them together. Caloric in its native state is so intimately united with matter, and is withal so elastic and free, that matter, while fully surrendered to its power, is like the atmosphere almost transparent and viewless. Matter thus seems to be the proper body of caloric, the medium of its revelation ; to have been created for it and out of it, as Eve for and out of Adam, and married to it, as its passive, moulding factor, out of whose fruitful womb, all the varied forms of the material world have sprung. Matter thus existed first in a gaseous state wherein, as always, the objective dynamic was absolute ; then in the fluid state, wherein alone affinity can exert its forming and properly creative energy ; and finally in the solid, wherein the various elements of the material world appear to have been eliminated, atomized and married, and so grouped and stratified throughout the earth.

Gravity, as the subjective force in matter, in its left extreme, is merely adhesive, causing the various particles of matter to stick to each other in a merely mechanical way, by the force of external circumstances and pressure, just as when two hollow bodies with adjusted edges, if emptied of air, are, *nolens volens* whether they have any affinity for each other or not, forced and held together by mere atmospheric pressure without. But gravity in its right extreme is cohesive, where particles of the same substance cling to each other, whether in the solid, fluid or gaseous state, as by a family tie, but still are not, and cannot be, intimately united, as this would be nothing more nor less than

material incest. But between these extremes, gravity unfolds its inhesive form, wherein the atoms of elementary substances, are chemically united, married and made one, so that they cannot be divorced and separated again, save by the same chemical priest that consummated their union.

Material affinity also has its three forms. On one side it is contractive, drawing still closer together, in a cold and selfish way, those mere particles and fragments of matter, those material bachelors and old maids, which simply outward circumstance and fortune have brought together. On the opposite side it is attractive, selecting and drawing together those atoms that are still separate and strangers to each other; and thus finally in the centre it becomes unitive, where the proper chemical affinity, the priest of matter, actually unifies its subjects, and thus produces a new creation out of dissimilar and opposing ones.

Caloric also has its poles. In itself it is repulsive; its various particles fly diametrically asunder from each other in every direction, as rays from a centre and always at right angles to the direction of gravity. On the other side in matter it is vivifying and expansive, and preserves it from shrivelling up as a barren hag into a joyless nonentity. Finally in its central power, caloric is liberative; here its two sides are brought together in matter and properly united; the one is latent in the other just as the soul hides itself in the body, and the two become one existence, which freely moves and circulates according to the laws of its own inherent being.

As, already intimated, matter, the subjective side of the real, has its three different states, the solid, the liquid and the gaseous, each of which is altogether inorganic and chaotic. In the solid state, matter, in itself considered, seems to be nothing more than the dead, extended carcass of that vivifying essence which once animated its various atoms and set them free to career at pleasure on the fields of space. In its objective relations, it is stubbornly impenetrable, holding the space it occupies, with bolted doors against all intrusion. Altogether it is lazily inert, the very image of a senseless fellow that merely occupies a certain amount of space; is lifeless and motionless in itself, doggedly sullen towards all beyond itself, and withal is so stupid that it suffers itself, without any resenting reaction, to lie where it is put and to go whither any kick may send it. Perfectly passive is it, even to vileness.

In its liquid state it is far more respectable. Subjectively considered it has life enough to rest in equilibrio, to centre itself on some point, and thus to repose in perfect self-satisfaction. So

much is it in itself inclined to peace, so much attached to the quiet of its own home, that any disturbance of its equilibrium is full of peril to the intruding foe. When by any means it has been ousted from its bed, it is crushingly oppressive to the power that holds it in captivity, and at last impatiently indignant, scorns its barriers and rushes to the bosom and freedom of its home, with terrific ruin to its opposers. But though so peaceful on one side and so wrathful on the other, yet between these extremes, and as the result of them, it is exceedingly loving and affectionate, readily dividing and resolving itself into atoms or definite proportions, which by their various elective affinities, freely and actively embrace each other and then take their departure to settle in their own appropriate homes in the actual world of earth, water and air.

In its gaseous state, matter seems to have been seized and carried away by that viewless thief, caloric, which robs it of its character, alike of its inert lifeless weight, and of its active lively affinity, scatters it up and down in space, and finally leaves it, in its relation to itself, destitute of all energy, imponderable and indifferent. But then in its relation to forces beyond itself, it seems to be absolutely insuperable, offering an amount of resistance beyond all calculation. On one side it is wholly surrendered to its opposite pole, and has no proper positive character, but is weightless, odorless, tasteless, viewless and soundless, not able even to breathe. On the other side it resists any force that would compel it to any motion or compress it to any shape. This seems to have been the primitive condition of matter when called into being, a condition, as analogous as the lower can be to the higher, to that of our first parents in the garden of Eden. But though on one side wholly at the command of the power that fills and animates it, and through that power on the other, totally invincible to any external force, yet midway between these extremes, it seems to be perfectly self-possessed, and constitutionally disposed *per se* to leave its gaseous state, and, *volventibus annis*, to descend first into the fluid and finally into the solid state, and in this way to acquire character, namely, weight, taste, odor, color and sound, respectively characterizing the five primary classes of substances which answer to the five human senses, namely, earths, acids, alkalies, combustibles and minerals.

Between chaotic matter and its essential force, appears material law, which is truly worthy to be dignified with the title, organic, in as much as it is through it that we have at once the wonderful phenomena of the starry heavens and the equally wonderful, though in comparison pigmy phenomena in the struc-

ture of our globe. Indeed the common notions attached to the terms *law* and *organic*, necessarily link them together. A law that is not organic, that does not develop itself in a uniform and logical way, is no law, and whatever is organic, must be according to law. But material law of course is infinitely lower and less complicated than the laws of personality: still matter must have law, or else forever remain chaos and never come to cosmos. What this law is can be known only by the united experience of both our outward and inward life.

The force of gravity is complete only in matter in its solid state, and the particular law at this point is evidently convergency. This is the natural tendency of gravity, and by it alone does matter become solid. But in this state under the action of law, matter cannot remain shapeless and chaotic. Consequently we find it actually polarized, that is, with a right and a left side, and thence also with a front and a rear. To its objective centre, the sun, it turns neither its face nor its back, as if either to surrender itself wholly to it or else wholly to deny its authority; but to that centre it turns indeed the right hand of allegiance, while at the same time it faces its own purpose in another direction, not opposite, but at right angles. Thus neither nullifies the other, and the earth maintains its separate being: but it is the polarized sun that has thus polarized the earth, just as it is the free Deity that has created free man. Matter is thus extended in two ways, having both latitude and longitude and consequently sphericity. The spherical then is the proper form of matter in its entire mass, as also of its particles when in a free and fluid state. This form is possible, not under a law that acts in a line diametrically against itself, but in directions angular to each other as radius and tangent. Convergency is thus resolved into its elementary laws of polarity, sphericity and angularity, the central one being that alone in which the other two find their common measure and become intelligible, just as the simple circle measures the angular movements of space and time.

Affinity is free to exert its force on matter perfectly, only in its fluid state. In this state, matter, under the force of affinity, easily divides itself, or, to use a term that properly belongs to man alone, individualizes itself, and the law of this operation is atomicity, or the law of equivalent proportions. The atoms of elementary substances may either be assembled in a free and pure state, in which the law is uniformity or equiformity; or there may be a chemical union by atoms between two or three different substances, in which case the law on one side is triformity, and on the other, bifomity. The single atom of cause is the

common measure, and the three forms correspond with the three measurements of quantity, the solid, line and surface.

Caloric has expended its entire force and so brought itself to a state of equilibrium and indifference, only when it has brought matter to a perfectly gaseous state. The law of action here is divergency, not indeed diametrically against itself, but rather tangential to itself. Matter, under the forming hand of caloric, is in itself perfectly passive; and the law here, (to borrow a term that properly belongs to vegetable terminology,) is plasticity; but in its relation to other forces it is altogether rebellious, yielding it may be to violence for a moment, but only to recoil upon its oppressor with terrific vengeance. In this respect the law is elasticity. But both of these extremes are possible only through a higher principle or law, namely that of mobility, or absolute motion in space. Thus then the highest law of matter in itself considered, is sphericity; in its objective relations it is mobility; while its proper organic condition is due to the processes and laws of chemical affinity. All of this corresponds to the laws of the human world, namely, on the one hand to those of individual being, on the other to those of the state, and finally to those of the family in the centre.

Having considered the ideal and the real, we may now enter the sphere of the actual. Here that general force or essence that belongs to matter, appears in separate and distinct forms in the planets and other heavenly bodies. Each of these bodies has its own orbit and offices, and the force that fills and moves it, is a true soul or *anima*, whose body is no longer a chaos, but a cosmos or world. The world and its anima are not bound together by merely abstract law, but by this law now as a living concrete force, which gives us action as the highest, the culminating category in the sphere of matter.

In this *anima mundi* or world-soul, we have the actual dynamic agents that are concerned in all material phenomena. In the left extreme is magnetism, in the right electricity, and in the centre galvanism. These are nothing more nor less than gravity, affinity and caloric polarized, and are thus the actual of these three forces or possibilities of matter in its chaotic state. As already stated, it is the polarity of the sun, the objective centre of the earth, that polarizes this latter, just as an artificial magnet polarizes whatever is brought within the range of its influence; and thus as a matter of course polarizes those active agents which animate the world. Gravity, affinity and caloric, if not polarized, might possibly make matter up into balls; but these balls, if endowed with motion at all, would only roll and tumble about

in any and every direction, with axes as changeable and unstable as their motions.

But though polarized, still magnetism, galvanism, and electricity, if separated from each other, would be wholly powerless. But this total separation, from the *a priori* necessity of the case, is impossible, and hence the properties of each are continually appearing among those of the other two. They are therefore always actually united; but each in its turn is made the base of union, and thus owes its own proper activity and phenomena to the presence of the other two. When the left extreme is the base, we have, as stated, the actual of gravity, namely magnetism, which acts internally in matter, and not only polarizes the world as a whole, but also all its parts. Its power is altogether a subjective, individualizing one, and of course contractive in every direction from the periphery inward, as if the earth were made up of spike-form magnets with their points wedged inward towards the centre; so that if the earth were a perfect sphere, its contractive force for itself, and attractive for bodies beyond it, would not be greatest at the poles, but equal in all parts of its surface. This force of course is strongest at the surface, where alone magnetism and electricity have their angular union, and varies in the same proportion in both directions inward and outward. Thus the surface of the earth, wherein the currents of magnetism and electricity cross each other, is completely covered with a viewless muscular net work, whose tendency is to compress the earth into smaller and still smaller dimensions. In this way the contractive expels the expansive force, and thus tends by its terrific embrace, completely to exanimate the earth, and reduce it to a lifeless and motionless mass, giving us the actual night of nature, absolutely cold and silent. Darkness then, such as could be felt, would be the consummation of magnetism, and the whole earth, like loadstone, would be black as Egypt. The cold and dark silence of the polar regions of the earth, dwarfs, blackens and stupifies all that it touches.

When in the present case, the right extreme is the base of union, we have electricity, the proper concrete of caloric, or caloric in action. This does not mean caloric as eliminated from matter, that is, free and sensible as it is called, for that is heat; nor is it caloric in its latent state, for then it is properly quiescent; but it is caloric polarized by the presence of the same agent from the sun, and thus animated, vivified, and in its turn rendered vivific in its relation to objects that come in contact with it. For this reason caloric is a necessary agent in developing magnetism and electricity, or in rendering objects magnetic and elec-

tric. Hence it is electricity, or polarized caloric, that polarizes gravity, giving us magnetism proper, and the polarity of the earth. Here theory and empiricism march hand in hand to the same result, namely, that the earth, and of course also magnetism, owes its polarity to the presence of electricity. Thus it is always that the objective quickens its subject, so that the latter owes its life and all its phenomena to the presence, power and authority of the former.

As the solid earth is the home of magnetism, so air, or the actual of matter in its gaseous state, is the proper kingdom of electricity: here it reigns supreme; here it moves with astonishing celerity, and its motion is perpetual. This activity, as intimated above, is occasioned by the influence of the same agent as it reaches it objectively from the sun. Thus called into life and put in motion, it is, or ought to be, the immediate cause of all the phenomena in the region of air; occasioning evaporation and odors, raising winds and storms; kindling fires, igniting the air, tracking its course in flame; radiating, rushing, rebounding; cracking, crashing and rending the skies; bellowing, booming and thundering; till the heavens depart in terror, stagger, groan and collapse; and the prostrate earth itself shakes at the awful wrath that gleams and rolls in majesty above.

But between the darkness, cold and silence of magnetism, and this resounding tempest of electricity, we have the genial warmth, the cheering light, and the winning blush of galvanism. As we have seen, galvanism is polarized affinity, and is consequently the social principle and agent among material bodies. In the quiet earth it builds its fireside, and completes its social circle. Here it is the father of atoms, and the patriarchal priest through whose kind offices they find and unite with each other. Matter in its fluid state is the proper realm of galvanism, as it is here alone that the presence of a polarized agent can polarize atoms and thus dispose them to unite, and also render that union possible, by affording mobility to these atoms. In this wonderful process, three other distinct powers are developed, namely color, light and heat. It is said that light is the union of all colors, and doubtless this cannot be disproved. But the two opposing theories of light unite in making it altogether objective. This however of necessity cannot be the case. To be at all real, light, color and heat must have their subjects in which they naturally inhere, as well as their objects from which they proceed. Color can as well be evolved from the blackness of the loadstone, as from the whiteness of sunlight. In the former however it is latent and in the latter it is actual. Let

heat from the side of electricity be brought to act on substances blackened by magnetism, and all the different colors and their shades will soon be developed, until the substances themselves glare with the whiteness of the sun. Terrestrial light thus seems to be the product of terrestrial color and heat, the one being the passive and the other the active factor in the result.

The proper fundamental resolution of light, is into heating, coloring and chemical rays. The coloring are then resolved into the three primary colors, red, yellow and blue; the other four, orange, green, indigo and violet, being modifications of these three; and all of them, at least so far as the earth is concerned, come from the side of magnetism and are immediately vivified by heat from the fire of electricity. These are the particular subjective and objective poles in the case; though of course, as already reiterated, the sun is the general object that thus polarizes the particular. So also though sound, as the voice of electricity, is but one concrete reality, resolvable into seven discrete sounds, as light into seven colors, yet there are but three fundamental sounds, composing what is called the common chord. Give light and sound the same scale, and they will be found to coincide with mathematical exactness, so that the painter and the musician might sit side by side, and by sounds and colors in the same proportion, the mixture in one case corresponding to the chord in the other, might unfold the same idea, the one for the eye and the other for the ear. In sound, the minor and major intervals are the polar factors of music, and the "third" or mediant is indispensable to harmony, and gives character to it. When the minor interval is the base of a performance, it is, like the reign of woman, mournful from beginning to end. The major interval is the manly one, and the only one that ought to rule in music, save when sin and ruin are to be sentimentally deplored. But the two united as man and wife, can alone give us the true music of life. Then it is that the voice of each is heard in turn, neither all minor nor all major tones, but interspersed in sweet discourse, giving us alike the delicate charm of woman and the inspiring energy of man.

Finally on this point, of all the active agents in matter, not one can be spared. Cold and heat, darkness and light, silence and sound, &c' or, fire and the breathing wind, are all indispensable to give diversity, vitality and unity even to the mere material world in itself considered, and thus to render it fit for the garden, park, and dwelling of man.

We may now turn to the subjective side of matter in its ac-

tual state as a world, or a body bounded off by definite lines. Here the three forms of matter are no longer chaotic, but rather concrete, namely, earth, water and air, each having its own appropriate office to fulfil. Here however it is not necessary to dwell at much length. Solid matter is that which gives body to magnetism, and also to vegetable, animal and human life. Air is the only element in, through and by which this life can have its actual existence. Water also is necessary alike to cleanse the earth and purify the air, and also to mediate to the higher forms of life, the various materials which they need for their own growth and development.

The solid earth has its mountains, plains and vallies, not only on its surface but also down through its lowest strata. In this way we have the various groups and families of geology, which give to the various latitudes and longitudes of the earth their own peculiar characteristics, and these in their turn tell their influence on the various families and races of vegetables, animals and men in different countries, and in different elevations of the same country.

Water also has its three forms. In itself considered it is gathered into oceans, where it reposes in the bosom of earth. In its relations beyond itself, it appears perpetually as clouds in the region of air, ready to descend in refreshing torrents where it is needed. Then again it goes in countless streams both on the earth and through it. The internal streams are like the human arteries that gush from the ocean of life through the interior portions of the body, while the external ones that roll back to the sea, are like the veins that conduct the blood back to its source, there to be purified and reanimated. In this way there is an endless circulation in the ocean itself, in and on the earth and through the air, all necessary, not only for the purification of earth and air and the vivification of trees, animals and men, but also for the purity and life of water itself, just as thought, whose office in the human world corresponds to that of water in the material, must be in perpetual action in order to its own self-preservation. Stagnant water and stagnant thought make that elegant rhyme, *pool and fool*.

Air is the element of vitality and freedom, in as much as it is the proper body of electricity, as earth is of magnetism and water of galvanism. As such therefore it is indispensable to the proper individuality of our world. It is said that the moon has no atmosphere ; probably then it has no electricity, no objective side to its own separate existence, and consequently no individual axis-revolution ; but remains in a chaotic volcanic state,

forever presenting the same pale and sickly countenance to the earth ; so that not without reason has it been imagined by somebody to be the actual prison-house of the damned ; for as they have renounced obedience to the authority alike of God and man, they have also lost the objective side of their own being, so that their own chaotic, volcanic state can properly be in sympathy only with the dreary, tumultuating elements of the moon. As therefore "coming events cast their shadows before," it is no wonder that an influence from this dismal dungeon, makes all who gaze upon it sickly sentimental, and even converts some persons into lunatics long before their time. In all this there is doubtless some little truth, just enough at least to show us the necessary part which air has to perform in the daily revolution, and consequent proper individuality of the world. Of air, moreover, there are three different forms, namely, the atmosphere or atmospheric air, which is the common bearer of the gasses strictly so called, and of viewless vapors that perpetually permeate it, giving it its cheerful, luminous transparency.

We now come to the category of action, the highest in the material world, as it is in fact in all existence. Material action, however, is vastly inferior to that of reason in the sphere of personality. Action, as we have now to do with it, is the perpetual process that is going on between the world and its anima, between the concrete subjective forms of matter, and the concrete objective agents which animate them. This action on the side of magnetism is contraction, wherein we have, under the direction of the corresponding laws of polarity &c., the crystallization of solids, the congealation of fluids and the solidification of gasses. On the side of electricity we have expansion, which, under the corresponding laws of plasticity &c., gives the fusion of solids, the evaporation of fluids, and the vibration of aeriform bodies. Finally under the power of galvanism directed by the unitive law of atoms, we have the process of the actual chemical formation of all compound bodies. In the right extreme of this last action, we have the combustion of gasses, and in the left, the volitilization of solids and fluids, and in the centre, their intense ignition and the actual evolution or creation of light, the very highest action in the sphere of mere matter.

Here we have a fact corresponding to that of self-consciousness in man. The world, as a subject in reference to the sun as its object, and, as we have seen, by virtue of its perpetual presence and influence, becomes polar to itself in every respect, and thereby has all its own powers and laws set in motion and filled with action. This action finally converges in a focus

wherein it evolves light from the substance of its own being, and thus becomes luminous, both visible to itself and capable of receiving and perceiving the light of other bodies, and so of surveying both itself and them; and all this, through the power of radiating and reflecting its own light, just as man does the very same thing in an infinitely higher degree, through the light of his own self-consciousness, as called into being and action by the presence of his own immediate object, humanity, which is itself again filled with intelligence and light by the presence and power of God himself as the universal object.

Once more: On the extreme left side of the category of action, we have crystalization, which gives to matter the highest form, in the way of structure, of which in itself it is capable. This, be it remembered, is the subjective side of matter, which, as thus crystalized, receives the light as it radiates from the central, creating process, reflects, transmits, refracts, and thus decomposes it, not only into the three primary colors, and the four secondary ones, but also into innumerable shades of each and all. Thus does matter individualize light, the infinite fact of its own consciousness, into innumerable other finite facts or colors and shades, by which alone the full significance, richness and beauty of light is revealed. This corresponds in full to the action of the subjective understanding in man, which individualizes the infinite light of conscious reason, into the countless finite thoughts and shades of thought, which fill up and diversify the three spheres in which he lives as related to himself, to his family and to humanity, and thence finally to God himself as the absolute, universal object of all.

Yet once more: On the extreme right we have the act of vibration in aeriform bodies, as inspired by the material spirit, electricity, which descends in the rushing wind and lightning-flame, and utters its oracular voice in the diapason thunder. This diapason is the unity of all sounds, just as white light is the unity of all colors. The thunder goes booming through the air, and strikes the solid earth, which trembles in its turn, reflects, transmits, refracts, and thus decomposes the oracular voice of the air-spirit into innumerable tones and chords that echo from hill to valley, and mountain to rock, till the dubious oracle receives its final resolution in the cadence that dies on the tremulous air and thus departs again to the spirit that gave it birth. This corresponds throughout to the same fact in the case of man, though the latter of course is fraught with infinitely more significance. It is by virtue of the spiritual side of his being, that man is endowed with speech. Thus it was that the prophets of old spake,

not as moved by the Father or the Son, but by the Spirit. Christ also in order to utter himself fully as the living Truth, received the gift of the Spirit without measure. His apostles also were unable either to apprehend or utter this Truth, till the descending Spirit inspired them within and flamed intensely from their heads. But once filled with this Voice of all speech, this Diapason of all language, they were able to utter it in any tongue that the case required. But spirit in itself considered, is infinite, and can utter only infinite sounds. These are represented by the vowels in written language. Understanding is finite, and in itself is perfectly dumb. Its signs then in written language are the mutes. Reason in itself considered is infinite but shades off into the finite, has no distinct articulation, and has for its signs, the ever flowing but indistinct murmur of the liquids. But the dumb consonants of the understanding, when touched by the infinite voice of spirit, do themselves become tremulous and vocal, by reflecting, transmitting, refracting, and thus individualizing the diapason tones of the vowel sounds.

But the highest beauty, majesty and glory are attained, when water and air in the material world, as reason and spirit in the human, are united in action. Then it is that the air-spirit, as prophet, darts his lightning-eye and discourses his commanding eloquence, whose thunders reverberate in pauses and periods of unequalled majesty and awe, along the pillars, galleries and dome-clouds of the sky. Then it is that the congregated waters, lead by this same spirit, now as poet-king sweeping the cords of his billowy lyre, rise and roll their anthem of stupendous praise. Then it is that this same spirit, now finally as priest, raises his hands and bends the bow of benediction over a reverent world; and when at last his daily task is finished, this priest of matter, crucified in the western sky betwixt heaven and earth and a spectacle to both, suffers dissolution, and robed in clouds that drip with his own blood, expires and is buried in the deep blue east, where, animated by hope, he struggles with the powers of darkness, and at last hastens in triumph to a speedy and glorious resurrection.

Thus then is matter a complete existence in itself, as might be inferred from its own spherical shape, which is the image of perfection. There is therefore no logical necessity, nor logical possibility either, of including the vegetable, the animal, and finally the human world in that of the material, or of evolving the three former out of the latter, or *vice versa*. We may therefore safely conclude that a certain Mr. Moses did not write quite at random when he said, (Gen. ii. 4, 5, 7,) These are the genera-

tions of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, *and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew* And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, *and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ;* [that is, made merely his outward form or body out of the dust, while his life was a creation breathed into him out of himself ;] and man became a living soul.

In the way of brief recapitulation, the following table may now be presented. The extreme particulars may be, and doubtless often are, imperfect, inaccurate, trifling, or even erroneous. Making all allowances, however, for these defects which may occasion a smile or a sneer, *the method of analization here pursued, which may be styled the organic, will exhibit enough of truth for its own vindication in the eyes of the candid and thoughtful.*

[*For this table, see the following page.*]

After what has been said, a triunal constitution throughout can hardly be denied to the material world ; and the correspondence to this of facts in the human, here and there pointed out along the way, seem of necessity to call for a like constitution in man. *The PRESUMPTION in this direction is exceedingly strong.* —Moreover, if the creature be triune, then surely must the Creator be so likewise ; so that what has thus far been said, turns out to be the clear testimony of matter in favor of the Divine Trinity. Thus the very stones cry out against modern Rationalism.

Unexpectedly this part of the subject has consumed nearly all our space, and we close with a few hints to trinitarians.—Those who hold the mysterious trinity in the God-head, ought not to deny the same fact to man : for what Sacred Scripture gives on one point directly, bears indirectly but surely on the other also. The trinity as such, works the salvation of man ; it springs in the love of the Father, is possible by the mediation of the Son, is executed by the quickening Spirit.—Believers are baptized into the name of the Trinity as such ; but how could this be, unless their nature also were essentially triune ?—The Apostolic benediction commits its subjects to the love, grace and fellowship of the Trinity ; but what sense is there in this triple guard for an absolute unit ?—The first and great command demands a triple love from the *heart, soul* and *mind*, Matt. xxii, 37 ; the *xap̄dia*, as the seat of the affections, is the objective, spiritual

Static :	Organic :	Dynamic :
Matter, solid, extended, inert, impenetrable ; equilibrium, divisible, impatient ; impudent, gaseous, free, resistive.	Law, atomicity, convergency, sphericity, angularly ; triformity, uniformity, biformity ; plasticity, mobility, elasticity.	Force, affinity, gravity, adhesive, inhesive, cohesive ; contractive, unitive, attractive, expansive, liberative, repulsive.
World, earth, water, air, gas.	Action, contraction, formation, expansion, crystallization, congelation, solidification ; volatilization, ignition, combustion ; fusion, evaporation, vibration.	Animæ, magnetism, galvanism, electricity, cold, darkness, silence ; color, light, heat, fire, wind, sound.
Space, quantity, number, quality,	Motion, rotary, proportional, cardinal, ordinal ; goodness, harmony, beauty.	Time, past, present, future, meridional, diurnal, equatorial ; convergent, circular, tangential ; centripetal, annual, centrifugal.

side ; the *χρήσις* is the subjective, "natural;" the *διάνοια*, the discriminating intellect that mediates the other two. Luke adds *ἰσχὺς*, after the first two, to denote their united *strength*; for the extremes here as always, are the factors of moral ability. The middle term, *mind*, is required, since it alone is the proper principle of light and action, and no true deed can be done in darkness, that is, by mere passion without mind. Thus the Trinity creates and saves a trinity, and the latter offers a triune worship in return.

Again : Scripture declares that man was formed in the image of his Creator ; but some suppose this image to be spiritual only, and not rational and psychic also. But no trinitarian can object and say that man's Creator was the Father alone, and not the Trinity as such ; for it is the *אֱלֹהִים* that says : Let us make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness. This *אֱלֹהִים* may be resolved into the magisterial *We*, but the problem in this form is still the same, and can be solved only by the supposition of a human trinity ; for no absolute unit can say *We*. Authority thus speaks, as denoting the deliberated purpose of a man and his triunal powers in council met. The king says : *We* thus and so ordain, and no one gainsays the inward necessity and lawfulness of such form of speech. Moreover, the trinitarian finds himself bound both by Scripture and reason to connect the entire Godhead in the entire work of creation, as otherwise he is unable to vindicate the character of the Logos and Spirit as being divine. This "image," then must cover man's entire nature ; for if his spirit alone bear that image, whence comes the type of his rational and psychic being ? Human creations bear the image of man complete. On this fact is based the modern mode of history. Men, Senates, Synods, reveal themselves through their own words and works. We come not at their souls, minds and spirits immediately, but only through what they say and do. So it is with the Diety. If any one say : Show us the Father, the Son, the Spirit, and it sufficeth us, he asks for a merely abstract exhibition, which is absurd. He that hath seen the Son or his works, hath seen the Father and Spirit also; for the invisible things of him from the foundation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead. God then is known, not immediately and abstractly, but through his Word and works. These then, man inclusive, must in their nature be triune, in order to reveal a triune God.

Still the objector may say : This image touches, not the constitution of man's being, but only his character and qualities.

But what dualism is this between a subject and his character? His nature remaining incorrupt, can he make and unmake his character and put it on and off at pleasure? Very convenient this, for some folks, as it dispenses with Christ, the mediating Logos, and makes of him a mere man, who only taught his disciples the art of manufacturing characters as articles of commerce for mankind; very convenient, for if a man happens to get his character burnt off, he can soon buy another, or manufacture one for himself. To this result comes a great deal of ancient and modern error.

But from the nature of the case, man at first had no character. He was placed in the Garden in a state of indifference, bent in no particular direction, but endowed with power to bend himself either right or wrong, and so of acquiring character by his own spontaneous and free action. Analogous to this, as we have seen, was probably the first condition of matter. Being wholly surrendered to its objective essence, caloric, the two were so intimately united, that the one was entirely latent, and the other wholly imponderable, and the two thus in perfect equilibrio, or indifference, both destitute of character, the one of weight, the other of quality. Not a little absurdly then do they talk, who confine the image and the fall from it, to character alone, when as yet there was no character to fall from. The fall, then, was in the very nature and being of man, not *from* character, but *into* character, and that a very bad one.

If we had room, we could press even this sort of argument much more closely.—Should circumstances permit, (which is very doubtful,) this subject may be followed further at a future day.

Mercersburg, Pa.

A. J. M. H.

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**DOCTRINE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH ON THE
LORD'S SUPPER.**

The object of the following discussion is primarily altogether historical. It proposes simply to answer the question: What was the proper faith of the Reformed or Calvinistic branch of the Protestant Church in the beginning, as distinguished from Romanism and Lutheranism on the one side as well as from all Rationalism and false Spiritualism on the other? This in itself, it will be perceived, is no question of theology strictly taken, but a question purely and wholly of history. The answer to it carries with it no necessary authority for our own faith. To ascertain the fact of a system, is not to establish its truth. Still all must allow, that the historical inquiry here is of vast consequence for the proper settlement also of our theology. We profess to stand, as Protestants, on the theological and ecclesiastical platform of the Reformation. The question of the holy sacraments, their true nature and power, holds in this a central place; and is found, on close inspection, to be intimately interwoven with the whole scheme in its other parts. In this view of course, it challenges our solemn regard. Even to be indifferent to it only, to take no interest in it, is at once to betray an inward habit materially at variance with the faith we profess to venerate and follow; and if it should appear, on examination, that the sacra-

mental doctrine itself, as it first stood, is no longer ours, it should serve still farther certainly to make us pause and consider. We have no right here to be either indifferent or dishonest. We should be willing to see the fact of any variation in our faith from that of the Reformers, as well as able also to give a reason for it in an open and manly way. We are under no obligation to follow slavishly and blindly the authority of the Past. But we do owe it to ourselves certainly, as well as to the cause of truth, not to swerve from it either, in so great a case, with blind-folded eyes, nor yet to pretend that we follow it when we have gone aside from it in fact. In every view, as a preliminary help at least for the right settlement of the sacramental interest, it must be allowed to be of the utmost consequence to know truly and fairly, as a matter of history, on what ground here the Reformed Church stood in the beginning as compared with the Lutheran. What doctrine in particular did it hold and teach with regard to the presence and power of Christ in the holy eucharist? This is the subject of our present inquiry.

In the way of order and method, we shall transcribe in the first place the general statement of this doctrine which is given in Chap. I. Sect. I. of the *Mystical Presence*, pp. 54-62. In the next place, we shall bring into view the counter statement of Dr. Hodge, as we find it in his article on the subject in the Princeton Review for April, 1848; the only respectable or tolerable attempt yet made to set aside the historical representation contained in the *Mystical Presence*. The way will then be open for our reply to this, taken mainly though not exclusively from the series of articles which appeared against Dr. Hodge in the Weekly Messenger, during the summer of 1848. This will cover the whole ground.

I.

STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE.

[*Myst. Pres. c. I. §. I.*]

To obtain a proper view of the original doctrine of the Reformed Church on the subject of the eucharist, we must have recourse in particular to Calvin. Not that he is to be considered the creator, properly speaking, of the doctrine. It grew evidently out of the general religious life of the church itself, in its antagonism to the Lutheran dogma on the one hand, and the low Socinian extreme on the other. Calvin however was the theological organ, by which it first came to that clear expression, under which it continued to be uttered subsequently in the sym-

bolical books. His profound, far-reaching, and deeply penetrating mind, drew forth the doctrine from the heart of the Church, exhibited it in its proper relations, proportions and distinctions, gave it form in this way for the understanding, and clothed it with authority as a settled article of faith in the general creed. He may be regarded then as the accredited interpreter and expounder of the article for all later times. A better interpreter in the case, we could not possibly possess. Happily, too, his instructions and explanations here are very full and explicit. He comes upon the subject from all sides, and handles it under all forms, didactically and controversially; so that we are left in no uncertainty whatever, with regard to his meaning, at a single point.

Any theory of the eucharist will be found to accord closely with the view that is taken, at the same time of the nature of the union generally between Christ and his people. Whatever the life of the believer may be as a whole in this relation, it must determine the form of his communion with the Saviour in the sacrament of the supper, as the central representation of its significance and power. Thus, the sacramental doctrine of the primitive Reformed Church stands inseparably connected with the idea of an inward living union between believers and Christ, in virtue of which they are incorporated into his very nature, and made to subsist with him by the power of a common life.¹ In full correspondence with this conception of the Christian salvation, as a process by which the believer is mystically inserted more and more into the person of Christ, till he becomes thus at last fully transformed into his image, it was held that nothing less than such a real participation of his living person is involved always in the right use of the Lord's supper. The following distinctions may serve to define and explain more fully, the nature of the communion which holds between Christ and his people, in the whole view now mentioned, as taught by Calvin and the Reformed Church generally, in the sixteenth century.

1. The union of *believers* with Christ is not simply that of a common humanity, as derived from *Adam*. In this view, all men partake of one and the same nature, and each may be said

¹ *Coniunctio igitur illa capitum et membrorum, habitatio Christi in cordibus nostris, mystica denique unio a nobis in summo gradu statuitur; ut Christus noster factus, donorum, quibus praeditus est, nos faciat consortes. Non ergo extra nos procul speculamur, ut nobis impuletur ejus justitia: sed quia ipsum induimus, et insiti sumus in ejus corpus, unum denique nos secum efficere dignatus est; ideo justitiae societatem nobis cum eo esse gloriamur.*—*Calvin. Inst. iii. 11, 10.*

to be in relation to his neighbor bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. So Christ took not on him the nature of angels, but of men. He was born of a woman, and appeared among us in the likeness and fashion of our own life, only without sin. But plainly our relation to his nature, and through this to his mediatorial work, as christians, is something quite different from this general consanguinity of the human race. Where we are said to be of the same life with him, "members of his body, of his flesh and his bones," it is not on the ground merely of a joint participation with him in the nature of Adam, but on the ground of our participation in his own nature as a higher order of life. Our relation to him is not circuitous and collateral only; it holds in a direct connection with his person.¹

2. In this view, the relation is more again than simply a *moral* union. Such a union we have, where two or more persons are bound together by inward agreement, sympathy, and correspondence. Every common friendship is of this sort. It is the relation of the disciple to the master, whom he loves and reveres. It is the relation of the devout Jew to Moses, his venerated law-giver and prophet. It holds also undoubtedly between the believer and Christ. The Saviour lives much in his thoughts and affections. He looks to him with an eye of faith, embraces him in his heart, commits himself to his guidance, walks in his steps, and endeavors to become clothed more and more with his very mind itself. In the end the correspondence will be found complete. We shall be like him in all respects, one with him morally, in the fullest sense. But Christianity includes more than such a moral union, separately considered. This union itself is only the result here of a relation more inward and deep. It has its ground in the force of a common life, in virtue of which Christ and his people are one even before they become thus assimilated to his character. So in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; it is not simply a moral approach that the true worshipper is permitted to make to the glorious object of his worship.

¹ *Carnis et sanguinis communicationem non tantum interpretor de communione natura, quod Christus homo factus jure fraternali societatis nos Dei filios secum fecerit: sed distincte affirmo, quam a nobis sumposuit carnem, eam nobis esse vivificam, ut nobis sit materia spiritualis vite.* Illamque Augustini sententiam libenter amplector, *Sicut ex costa Adæ creata fuit Eva, sic ex Christi latere fluxisse nobis vita originem et principium.* *Calvin, De Vera Partic.* *Opp. Tom. ix.* (*Amst. Ed.*) p. 726—*Neque enim ossa sumus ex ipsis ossibus et caro ex carne, quia ipse nobiscum est homo; sed quia Spiritus sui virtute nos in corpus suum inserit, ut vitam ex eo hauriamus.* *Id. Comm. on Eph. v. 30.*

His communion with Christ does not consist merely in the good exercises of his own mind, the actings of faith, and contrition, and hope, and love, the solemn recollections, the devotional feelings, the pious resolutions, of which he may be himself the subject, during the sacramental service.' Nor is the sacrament a sign only, by which the memory and heart may be assisted in calling up what is past or absent, for the purpose of devotion ; as the picture of a friend is suited to recall his image and revive our interests in his person, when he is no longer in our sight.* Nor is it a pledge simply of our own consecration to the service of Christ, or of the faithfulness of God as engaged to make good to us in a general way the grace of the new covenant ; as the rainbow serves still to ratify and confirm the promise given to Noah after the flood.* All this would bring with it in the end nothing more than a moral communication with Christ, so far as the sacrament itself might be concerned. It could carry with it no virtue or force, more than might be put into it in every case by the spirit of the worshipper himself. Such however is not the nature of the ordinance. It is not simply an occasion, by which the soul of the believer may be excited to pious feelings and desires ; but it embodies the actual presence of the grace it represents in its own constitution ; and this grace is not simply the promise of God on which we are encouraged to rely, but the very life of the Lord Jesus Christ himself. We communicate, in the Lord's supper not with the divine promise merely, not with the thought of

* Ubique resonant scripta mea, *differre manducationem a fide, quia sit fidei effectus*. Non a triduo ita loqui incepi, nos credendo manducare Christum, quia *vere participes ejus facti in ejus corpus coalescimus*, ut nobis communis sit cum eo vita . . . Quam turpe igitur Westphalo fuit, quum diserte verba mea sonent, manducare aliud esse quam credere ; quod ego fortiter nego, quasi a me profectum impudenter obtulerer lectoribus ! . . . Ejusdem farinæ est quod mox atterit, edere corpus Christi tantudem valere, si verbis meis locus datur, quam *promissionem fide recipere*. Sed quomodo tam flagitiose se prostituere audet ? *Calvin. Adv. Westph. Opp. Tom. ix.*, p. 669.

* Ita panis non inanis est rei *abentis pictura*, sed verum ac fidele nostrum cum Christo unionis pignus. Dicet quispiam non aliter panis symbolo adumbrari corpus Christi, quam mortua statua Herculem vel Mercurium representat. Hoc certe commentum a doctrina nostra non minus remotum est, quam profanum a sacro. *Calvin. Opp. T. ix.*, p. 667.—Christus neque pictor est, neque histrio, neque Archimedes quispiam, qui inani tantum objecta imagine oculos pascat, sed *vere et re ipsa praecusat quod externo symbolo promittit*. *Ib. p. 727.*

* Panis ita corpus significat, ut vere, efficaciter, ac re ipsa nos ad Christi communicationem invitet. Dicimus enim veritatem quam continet promissio, illuc exhibiri, et effectum externo signo annexum esse. Tropus ergo signum minime vacuat, sed potius ostendit quomodo non sit vacuum. *Calv. Opp. T. ix.*, p. 667.

Christ only, not with the recollection simply of what he has done and suffered for us, not with the lively present sense alone of his all-sufficient, all-glorious salvation ; but with the living Saviour himself, in the fulness of his glorified person, made present to us for the purpose by the power of the Holy Ghost.

3. The relation of believers to Christ, then, is more again than that of a simply *legal* union. He is indeed the representative of his people, and what he has done and suffered on their behalf is counted to their benefit, as though it had been done by themselves. They have an interest in his merits, a title to all the advantages secured by his life and death. But this external imputation rests at last on an inward, real unity of life, without which it could have no reason or force. Our interest in Christ's merits and benefits can be based only upon a previous interest in his person ; so in the Lord's supper, we are made to participate, not merely in the advantages secured by his mediatorial work, the rewards of his obedience, the fruits of his bitter passion, the virtue of his atonement, and the power of his priestly intercession, but also in his true and proper life itself. We partake of his merits and benefits only so far as we partake of his substance.¹

4. Of course, once more, the communion in question is not simply with Christ in his *divine nature* separately taken, or with the *Holy Ghost* as the representative of his presence in the world. It does not hold in the influences of the Spirit merely, enlightening the soul and moving it to holy affections and purposes. It is by the Spirit indeed we are united to Christ. Our new life is comprehended in the Spirit as its element and medium. But it is always bound in this element to the person of the Lord Jesus Christ himself. Our fellowship is with the Father and with his son Jesus Christ, *through* the Holy Ghost. As such it is a real communion with the Word made flesh ; not

¹ *Neque enim tantum dico applicari merita, sed ex ipso Christi corpore alimentum percipere animas, non secus ac terreno pane corpus vescitur.* *Cab. Opp. T. ix., p. 668.*—*Sane non video, quomodo in cruce Christi redemptionem ac justitiam, in ejus morte vitam habere se quis confidat, nisi vera Christi ipsius communione imprimis fretus.* *Non enim ad nos bona illa pervenirent, nisi se prius nostrum Christus faceret.* *Inst. iv. 17, 11.*—*Satis sit monuisse lectores, Christum ubique a me vocari Baptismi Cœnæque substantialis.* *Opp. T. ix., p. 671.*—*Plus centes occurrit in scriptis meis, adeo me non rejicere substantialis nomen, ut libenter et ingenuo profitear spirituali vitam incomprehensibili Spiritus virtute ex carnis Christi substantiali in nos diffundi.* *Ubique etiam admitto, substantialiter nos pasci Christi carnae et sanguine; modo facessat crassum de locali permixtione commentum.* *Ib. p. 725.* *Substantialis communicatio ubique a me asseritur.* *Ib. p. 732.*

simply with the divinity of Christ, but with his humanity also ; since both are inseparably joined together in his person, and a living union with him in the one view, implies necessarily a living union with him in the other view likewise. In the Lord's supper, accordingly, the believer communicates not only with the Spirit of Christ, or with his divine nature, but with Christ himself in his whole living person ; so that he may be said to be fed and nourished by his very flesh and blood. The communion is truly and fully with the *Man* Christ Jesus, and not simply with Jesus as the Son of God.¹

These distinctions may serve to bound and define the Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist on the side towards *Rationalism*. All pains were taken to guard it from the false tendency to which it stood exposed in this direction. The several conceptions of the believer's union and communion with Christ which have now been mentioned, were explicitly and earnestly rejected, as being too low and poor altogether for the majesty of this great mystery. In opposition to all such representations, it was constantly affirmed that Christ's people are inserted by faith into his very life ; and that the Lord's supper, forming as it does an epitome of the whole mystery, involves to the worthy communicant an actual participation in the substance of his person under this view. The participation is not simply in his Spirit, but in his flesh also and blood. It is not figurative merely and moral, but *real, substantial and essential*.²

But it is not enough to settle the boundaries of the doctrine on the side of Rationalism. To be understood properly, it must

¹ *Neque illi præterea mihi satisfaciunt, qui nonnullam nobis esse cum Christo communionem agnoscentes, eam dum ostendere volunt, nos' Spiritus modo participes faciunt, præterita carnis et sanguinis mentione.* *Catol. Inst.* iv. 17, 7.—*Christum corpore absentem doceo nihilominus non tantum Divina sua virtute, quæ ubique diffusa est, nobis adesse, sed etiam facere ut nobis vivifica sit sua caro. . . . Neque simpliciter Spiritu suo Christum in nobis habitate trado, sed ita nos ad se attollere, ut vivificum carnis sue vigorem in nos transfundat.* *Opp. T. ix., p. 669.*—*Hanc unitatē non ad essentiam divinam restringo, sed pertinere affirmo ad carnem et sanguinem : quia non simpliciter dictum sit, "Spiritus meus vere est cibus," sed caro ; nec simpliciter etiam dictum sit "Divinitas mea vere est potus," sed sanguis.* *Ib. p. 726.*—*Fatemur ergo corpus idem quod crucifixum est, nos in Cœna edere.* *Ib. p. 727.*—*Augustino assentior, in pane accipi quod pependit in eruce.* *Ib. p. 739.*

² *Convenit etiam Christum re ipse et efficaciter implere quicquid analogia signi et rei signatae postulat ; ideoque vere nobis in Cœna offerri communionem cum ejus corpore et sanguine, vel (quod idem valet,) nobis arrham sub pane et vino proponi, quæ nos faciat corporis et sanguinis Christi participes.* *Catol. Opp. T. ix., p. 743.*

be limited and defined, in like manner, on the side of *Romanism*.

1. In the first place then it excludes entirely the figment of *transubstantiation*. According to the Church of Rome, the elements of bread and wine in the sacrament are literally transmuted into the actual flesh and blood of Christ. The accidents, outward properties, sensible qualities only, remain the same; while the original substance is converted supernaturally into the true body of the glorified Saviour, which is thus exhibited and received in an outward way in the sacramental mystery. This transmutation too is not limited to the actual solemnity of the sacramental act itself, but is held to be of permanent force; so that the elements continue afterwards to be the true body of Christ, and are proper objects of veneration and worship accordingly. This theory was rejected as a gross superstition, even by the Lutheran Church, and of course found still less favor in the other section of the Protestant communion. The Reformed doctrine admits no change whatever in the elements. Bread remains bread, and wine remains wine.

2. The doctrine excludes, in the second place, the proper Lutheran hypothesis of the sacrament, technically distinguished by the title *consubstantiation*. According to this view, the body and blood of Christ are not actually substituted supernaturally for the elements; the bread and wine remain unchanged, in their essence as well as in their properties. But still the body and blood of Christ are in their very substance *present*, where the supper is administered. The presence is not indeed bound to the elements, apart from their sacramental use. It holds only in the moment and form of this use as such; a mystery in this respect, transcending all the common laws of reason and nature. It is however a true, corporal presence of the blessed Saviour. Hence his body is received by the worshipper *orally*, though not in the form and under the quality of common food; and so not by believers simply, but by unbelievers also, to their own condemnation. The dogma was allowed in the end to involve also, by necessary consequence, the ubiquity of Christ's glorified body. Bread and wine retain their own nature, but Christ, who is in virtue of the *communicatio idiomatum* present in his human nature in all places where he may please to be, imparts his true flesh and blood, *in, with and under* the outward signs to all communicants, whether with or without faith, by the inherent power of the ordinance itself.¹

¹ Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod in Coena Domini corpus et sanguis Christi vere et substantialiter sint presentia, et quod una cum pane et

In opposition to this view, the Reformed Church taught that the participation of Christ's flesh and blood in the Lord's supper is *spiritual* only, and in no sense corporal. The idea of a local presence in the case, was utterly rejected. The elements cannot be said to comprehend or include the body of the Saviour in any sense. It is not *there*, but remains constantly in heaven, according to the scriptures. It is not handled by the minister and taken into the mouth of the communicant. The manducation of it is not oral, but only by faith. It is present in fruition accordingly to believers only in the exercise of faith; the impenitent and unbelieving receive only the naked symbols, bread and wine, without any spiritual advantage to their own souls.¹

Thus we have the doctrine defined and circumscribed on both sides; with proper distinction from all that may be considered a tendency to Rationalism in one direction, and from all that may be counted a tendency to Romanism in the other. It allows the *presence* of Christ's person in the sacrament, including even his flesh and blood, so far as the actual participation of the believer is concerned. Even the term *real presence*, Calvin tells us he was willing to employ, if it were to be understood as synonymous with *true presence*; by which he means a presence that brings Christ truly into communion with the believer in his human nature, as well as in his divine nature.² The word *real*,

vino vere distribuantur atque sumantur.—Credimus, corpus et sanguinem Christi non tantum spiritualiter per fidem, sed *etiam ore*, non tamen Capernaitice, sed supernaturali et coelesti modo, ratione sacramentalis unionis, cum pane et vino sumi.—Credimus, quod non tantum vere in Christum credentes, et qui digne ad Cœnam Domini accedunt, verum etiam indigni et infideles verum corpus et sanguinem Christi sumant. *Form. Conc. Art. vii. Hase, Lib. Symbol. p 599, 600.*

¹ Ego Christum in cœlesti sua sede relinquens, arcana spiritus ejus influentia contentus sum, ut nos carne sua pascat.—Neque enim aliter Christum in Cœna statuo præsentem, nisi quia fidelium mentes, sicuti illa est coelestis actio, fide supra mundum evehuntur, et Christus Spiritus sui virtute obstatulum, quod afferre poterat loci distantia, tollens, se membris suis conjungit.—Hæc nostra definitio est, spiritualiter a nobis manducari Christi carnem, quia non aliter animas vivificat, quam pane vegetatur corpus; tantum a nobis excluditur substantia trans fusio. Westphalo non aliter caro vivifica est, quam si ejus substantia voretur. Hoc crimen est nostrum, obviis ulnis tale monstrum non amplecti. *Catv. Opp. T. ix., p. 668, 669.*

² Communicari nobis Christi corpus et sanguinem, nullus nostrum negat. Qualis autem sit corporis et sanguinis Domini communicatio, queritur. Carnalem isti palam et simpliciter asserere quomodo andeant, miror. Spiritualem cum dicimus, tremunt, quasi hac voce realem, ut vulgo loquuntur, tollamus. Nos vero, si reale pro vero accipiant, et fallaci vel imaginario

however, was understood ordinarily to denote a local, corporal presence, and on this account was not approved. To guard against this, it may be qualified by the word *spiritual*; and the expression will then be quite suitable to the nature of the doctrine, as it has been now explained. A *real* presence, in opposition to the notion that Christ's flesh and blood are not made present to the communicant in *any* way. A *spiritual* real presence, in opposition to the idea that Christ's body is in the elements in a local or corporal manner. Not real simply, and not spiritual simply; but real, and yet spiritual at the same time. The body of Christ is in heaven, the believer on earth; but by the power of the Holy Ghost, nevertheless, the obstacle of such vast local distance is fully overcome, so that in the sacramental act, while the outward symbols are received in an outward way, the very body and blood of Christ are at the same time inwardly and supernaturally communicated to the worthy receiver, for the real nourishment of his new life. Not that the material particles of Christ's body are supposed to be carried over, by this supernatural process, into the believer's person.¹ The communion is spiritual, not material. It is a participation of the Saviour's life. Of his life, however, as human, subsisting in a true bodily form. The living energy, the vivific virtue, as Calvin styles it, of Christ's flesh, is made to flow over into the communicant, making him more and more one with Christ himself, and thus more and more an heir of the same immortality that is brought to light in his person.

Two points in particular, in the theory now exhibited, require to be held clearly in view.

The first is, that the sacrament is made to carry with it an ob-

ponent, barbare loqui mallemus, quam pugnis materiam præbere. . . . Placidis et moderatis hoc testatum volo, ita secundum nos spiritualem esse communicationis modum, ut re ipsa Christo fruamur. Hac modo ratione contenti simus, ultra quam nemo nisi valde litigiosus insurget, vivificam nobis esse Christi carnem, quia ex ea spiritualem in animas nostras vitam Christus instillat; eam quoque a nobis manducari, dum in corpus unum fide cum Christo coalescimus, ut noster factus nobiscum sua omnia communicet. *Calv. Opp. T. ix., p. 657, 658.*—Præsentiam carnis Christi in Cœna urget Westphalus: nos simpliciter non negamus, modo nobiscum fide sursum concedeat. *Ib. p. 668.*

¹ Ingenuo interea confiteor, mixturam carnis Christi cum anima nostra, vel transmutationem, qualis ab ipsis docetur, me repudiare; quia nobis sufficit, Christum e carnis suæ substantia vitam in animas nostras spirare, imo propriam in nos vitam diffundere, quamvis in nos non ingrediatur ipsa Christi caro. *Calv. Inst. iv. 17, 32.*—Manet tamen integer homo Christus in cœlo. *Ib. Opp. T. ix., p. 699.*

jactice force, so far as its principal design is concerned. It is not simply suggestive, commemorative, or representational. It is not a sign, a picture, deriving its significance from the mind of the beholder. The virtue which it possesses is not put into it by the faith of the worshipper in the first place, to be taken out of it again by the same faith, in the same form. It is not imagined of course in the case that the ordinance can have any virtue *without* faith, that it can confer grace in a purely mechanical way. All thought of the *opus operatum*, in this sense, is utterly repudiated. Still faith does not properly clothe the sacrament with its power. It is the condition of its efficacy for the communicant, but not the principle of the power itself. This belongs to the institution in its own nature. The signs are bound to what they represent, not subjectively simply in the thought of the worshipper, but objectively, by the force of a divine appointment. The union indeed is not natural but sacramental. The grace is not comprehended *in* the elements, as its depository and vehicle outwardly considered. But the union is none the less real and firm, on this account. The grace goes inseparably along with the signs, and is truly present for all who are prepared to make it their own. The signs in this view are also *seals*; not simply as they attest the truth and reality of the grace in a general way, but as they authenticate also its presence under the sacramental exhibition itself. This is what we mean by the objective force of the institution; and this, we say, is one point that must always be kept in view, in looking at the doctrine that is now the subject of our attention.¹

The other point to be steadily kept in sight is, that the invisible grace of the sacrament, according to the doctrine, is the substantial life of the Saviour himself, particularly in his human nature. He became flesh for the life of the world, and our communion with him involves a real participation in him, as the principle of life *under this form*. Hence in the mystery of the

¹ *Obtendit (Westphalus) verbo fieri sacramentum, non fide nostra. Hoc ut concedam, nondum tamen obtinet promiscue Christum canibus et porcis ita prostitui, ut carne ejus vescantur. Neque enim desinit e colo pluere Deus, licet pluviae liquorem saxa et rupe non concipient. Cib. Opp. T. ix., p. 674.—Nos ita asserimus, omnibus offerri in sacramento Christi corpus et sanguinem, ut soli fideles inestimabili hoc thesauro fruantur: etsi autem incredulitas januam Christo claudit, ut priventur ejus beneficio qui ad Corinham impure accedunt, negamus tamen quicquam decedere ex sacramento natura; quia panis semper verum est pignus carnis Christi, et vinum sanguinis, veraque utriusque exhibitio semper constat ex parte Dei. Adversarii nostri corpus et sanguinem ita sub pane et vino includunt, ut sine illa fide vorentur ab impiis. Ib. p. 699.*

Supper, his flesh and blood are really exhibited always in their essential force and power, and really received by every worthy communicant.

Such is the proper sacramental doctrine of the Reformed Church as it stood in the sixteenth century. It is easy to show that it labors under serious difficulties. With these however at present, we have no concern. They can have no bearing one way or another, upon the simply historical inquiry in which we are now engaged. Our object has been thus far only to describe and define the doctrine itself. It remains now to show, that it was in fact, as thus described and defined, the accredited established doctrine of the Reformed Church, in the period to which the inquiry refers.

II.

COUNTER STATEMENT.

The foregoing statement of the original Reformed or Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's supper, is followed in the *Mystical Presence* by a series of extracts from proper authorities, in the way of confirmation and proof. These are taken from Calvin himself, who is found everywhere to agree with his own positions and definitions on which immediately the statement is made to rest; from the original standard confessions; from Farrel, Beza, Peter Martyr, Hospinian, Hooker, and other witnesses of like weight. Then, to make the case still more clear, the reigning Puritan theory of the present time is exhibited, by another series of extracts from some of its more distinguished representatives, such as Ridgely, Hopkins, Bellamy, Dwight, Dick and Barnes; and pains are taken to show its points of material variation from the more ancient view. The contrast is reduced to five heads, all turning on a different conception in the two cases of the true and proper nature of a sacrament. In the old Reformed view, the eucharist is regarded as carrying in it a peculiar *specific* grace; as having a truly *mystical* character; as possessing an *objective* force; as including a real participation in Christ's *person*; as reaching this through the medium especially of his *flesh and blood*, that is, his true human life; all which points the modern Puritanism virtually repudiates and denies.—*Myst. Pres.* p. 117-126.

The review of the *Mystical Presence*, in the *Biblical Repository* for April 1848, undertakes to make out a different account of the original and proper Reformed doctrine of the holy eucharist; by which the variations of the modern Puritan theory

are virtually reduced to nothing, being taken in fact for the only fair and legitimate expression of what has been the true sense of the doctrine from the beginning.

This is not done however in the most direct manner; nor in such a way as to meet distinctly and set aside the precise allegations of the book reviewed, or the force of its quotations either from the older or the more modern authorities. Neither is it pretended by the writer, to enter into any extended or exact historical criticism in the case. He proposes simply to take up the whole subject in an *ex cathedra* general way, lumping the authorities to suit his own mind, and ruling their testimony thus to such results as the investigation in his judgment is felt to require. In this process, no essential new testimony of any sort is adduced. It is indeed insinuated that the historical evidence brought forward in the Mystical Presence, though entitled to scientific respect, is still one sided and defective; but no serious attempt is made after all to furnish any other proof, whether from Calvin or from other sources, for the purpose of correction and supplement. The only show of anything like this is the stress laid upon the *Consensus Tigurinus*, the memorable bond of agreement completed between the Zuinglian and Calvinistic sections of the Reformed Church in the year 1549; but this, as we shall see hereafter, adds nothing in reality to the amount or sense of the testimony as before given, and needs only to be interpreted from its own historical relations, instead of being violently forced into another tissue of thought altogether, that it may be found in clear and full consent with the very view, against which it is here paraded with so much triumphant assurance as a rebutting witness.

According to the Reviewer, the whole question concerning the eucharistic doctrine of the Reformed Church in the sixteenth century, is embarrassed with special difficulty. One source of this is found in the confessedly mysterious nature of the subject itself. Another is made to lie in the fact, "that almost all the Reformed confessions were framed for the express purpose of compromise;" an object which is supposed to have prevailed on this side especially so far, as in many cases to carry the confessional *language* quite into the orbit of Lutheranism, making it incapable in truth of any fair reconciliation with the true sense of the Reformed doctrine itself, as this fell into a more natural expression at a later day, when the pressure of that early antagonism was no longer felt. This suggests, we are told, a third source of difficulty, the ambiguity of the terms used in these early confessions. "The words, presence, real, true, flesh

and blood, substance, &c., are all employed, in many cases, out of their ordinary sense. We are said to receive the true body and blood, but nothing material; the substance, but not the essence; the natural body, but only by faith. It is not easy to unravel these conflicting statements and to determine what they really mean." Then again, to crown the embarrassment of the case, there is said to be no fixed rule by which to settle here the proper creed of the Reformed Church. "Shall we look to the private writings of the Reformers, or to the public confessions? If to the latter, shall we rely on those of Switzerland or on those of the Palatinate, France or Belgium? These, though they have a general coincidence, do not entirely agree. Some favor one interpretation, and some another." The writer has no sense, apparently, of anything like an inward unity or wholeness in the Reformed doctrine as such, over against either the Roman or the Lutheran, and recognizes accordingly no sort of historical necessity in its form one way or another. He takes it throughout for a sort of outward accident or loose appendage of the general system in which it appears, which circumstances were allowed to shape, very much at private pleasure, according to the wants of the time. It seems to be his wish, to reduce the question as much as possible to such confused and inorganic form, to rob it of every sort of objective immanent reason and law, for the very purpose of feeling himself more at liberty thus to construct from its chaotic material an answer to please his own taste. "The most satisfactory method of proceeding," he tells us, "will be to quote, in the first instance, those authorities which represent the Swiss views; secondly, those which present the views of Calvin; and thirdly, those symbols in which both parties concurred. Having done this, we propose to analyze these statements, and endeavor to determine their meaning."

According to this plan, we have then a course of extracts from the original authorities, for the most part repeating as before said, and in no case contradicting, the quotations presented in the *Mystical Presence*. Special weight is laid on the *Consensus Tigurinus* and the *Heidelberg Catechism*, as being supposed to show an amalgamation finally of the Calvinistic and Zuinglian views, under a form precisely answerable to the reigning Puritan faith of the present time.

Next follows a general analysis of this mass of authorities, with little or no regard to historical connections and relations, intended to bring out of them their *mean sense*, as we might call it, or wholesale average value, in favor of what the Reviewer holds to the proper doctrine of the Reformed Church on the whole subject in debate.

Much of this argument however has in fact no bearing whatever on any question, really in controversy between this writer and the book he reviews; although it is made to carry throughout, (unfairly we think,) the show and form of a contradictory statement; covertly implying at least that the positions it sets aside, in each case, belong fairly and truly to the opposite cause. To make this fully evident, it will be enough simply to bring into view the several heads or topics, under which successively the material in hand is applied to the elucidation of the general subject.

1. *In what sense is Christ present in the Lord's Supper?*—In reply to this, we are informed that while the Reformed doctrine acknowledged Christ's actual presence in the sacrament, in some way, it carefully excluded the conception of his being present under a *corporal* or *local* form. This point, of course, it is found very easy to establish. Quotations for the purpose offer themselves from every quarter. But is it necessary to say, that it is wholly aside from the real issue in hand? There is not a word in the *Mystical Presence*, from beginning to end, which can be said to affirm what is here denied, or to deny what is here affirmed. On the contrary, the greatest pains are taken in the book to place the Reformed doctrine, as regards this point, in its true light. The *presence* it is made to assert in the eucharist, is always most carefully represented to be spiritual and not material, dynamic and not local, for the apprehension of faith and not for the apprehension of sense. This is sufficiently clear from the extract which goes before. The "statement" here given, is such as to shut out in regard to it all ambiguity or doubt. It is quite as clear, and quite as strong, to say the least, as any language employed by the Reviewer himself, in separating from the doctrine in question the notion of everything like a local or tactful presence, and restricting it to the idea of a presence brought to pass in a wholly different way by the power of the Holy Ghost.

2. *What is meant by feeding on the body and blood of Christ?*—This question regards the mode of receiving, in the sacrament, or the proper nature of what is sometimes styled sacramental manducation. "In reference to this point," we are told, "all the Reformed agreed, as to the following particulars: 1. This eating was not with the mouth, either after the manner of ordinary food, which the Lutherans themselves denied, or in any other manner. The mouth was not in this case the organ of reception. 2. It is only by the soul that the body and blood of Christ are received. 3. It is by faith, which is declared to

be the hand and the mouth of the soul. 4. It is by or through the power of the Holy Ghost. As to all these points there is a perfect agreement among the symbols of the Reformed Church." We find no difficulty of course in granting all this. The proof of it is clearly and largely presented in the *Mystical Presence* itself; every chapter and section of which is constructed on the assumption, that the Reformed doctrine of the eucharist excluded throughout the conception of an *oral* manducation, and resolved all into the activity of faith on the one side and the power of the Holy Ghost on the other.

3. *What is meant by the body and blood of Christ as received in the sacrament?*—The various expressions employed in answer to this question, the Reviewer informs us, do *not* mean with the Reformers "that we partake of the material particles of Christ's body, nor do they express any mixture or transfusion of substance." Here again there is no controversy. The very same representation reigns throughout the *Mystical Presence*. Most certainly the eucharistic doctrine of the Reformed Church, as we have it in Calvin and the early confessions, knows nothing of a Capernaitic translation of the material flesh of Christ over into the bodies of his people in any way; and there is not a single syllable in the book now mentioned which can be said to exhibit it, directly or indirectly, in any such monstrous sense.

So far then there might seem to be no strife at all between the Princeton Review and the work it seeks to oppose. It sets up a man of straw, and shows off a harmless sham battle in bringing him to the ground. And yet it would be a mistake, to suppose the two parties really of one and the same mind, even in regard to the points thus far brought into view. The agreement after all is more in sound than in actual sense. The issue which comes into view is indeed false; but behind that there lurks another which is most true and real, as well as vastly important, whose presence is more felt than expressed, through the counterfeit that is made to stand in its place. The agreement in the case is negative only, not positive.

Thus as regards the presence of Christ in the eucharist, it is allowed all round that the Reformed doctrine makes it to be not corporal or local, but spiritual. Such denial of an outward presence in space however, is not by any means at once the assertion of a presence merely in and through the human mind. Yet it is evidently taken in this sense by the Princeton Review. "Presence is nothing" it tells us, "but the application of an object to the faculty suited to the perception of it. Hence there is a two-fold presence, viz: of things sensible and of things spir-

itual. The former are present, as the word imports, when they are *præ sensibus*, so as to be perceived by the senses; the latter, when they are presented to the intelligence so as to be apprehended and enjoyed." So in the sacrament, "the presence is to the mind, the object is not presented to the senses, but apprehended by faith." The only alternative to a local presence, is taken to be a presence in the intelligence or a simple influence from abroad. But this is not allowed on the opposite side. 'The Calvinistic doctrine, we contend, knows nothing of any such bald alternative as this. It never opposes a simply intellectual presence to a gross sensible presence; but holds either of these, and the first full as much as the last, to be a presence in the sphere of mere nature or flesh.

On the mode of manducation, the false position of the Reviewer towards the doctrine, whose negative side he is so ready to acknowledge and honor, comes still farther into sight. The terms which exclude the idea of an oral participation, and resolve all into an act of the soul, he is ready to construe at once in favor of a purely subjective process; although by his own confession he is met here with something, which he finds it hard to understand, the question namely, whether any difference is to be made between eating and believing. Some of the authorities, he allows, insist on a distinction; while others directly declare them to be the same thing. The question however, we are informed, "is of no historical importance, and created no diversity of opinion in the Church." But this way of sliding over the subject is by no means satisfactory. Calvin was not a man to play with words on such a point, without sense; and it is not difficult to see what he is concerned here to save and secure. It is the objective power of the sacrament, as the real presence of Christ's life by the Holy Ghost, mystically brought into the soul of the worshipper through the receptivity of faith, as something different from the subjective working of this faith itself as well as from all its accompanying exercises. There is much more here, for the Reformed doctrine, than any mere relation of the believer's mind to the general truth of the gospel, viewed as an object of knowledge or belief or trust. Right or wrong, Calvin held and taught all his life, that we have in the Lord's supper something far beyond a mere occasion for the exercise of our faith; that it carries in itself, by the Holy Ghost, an objective mystical force, by which directly we are made to participate in the true mediatorial life of the blessed Redeemer, as the element of immortality as well as righteousness. And if this "created no diversity of opinion in the Church," it was

simply because the same view entered prevailingly into its creed as a whole.

It is however under the third question more particularly, relating to the sense in which we are said to receive the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, that the divergency now in consideration comes at last plainly into view. The negative side of the answer, as we have just seen, is free from all difficulty. The Reformed doctrine means *not*, that the flesh and blood of Christ materially considered are made to mix in any way with the bodies of his people. The affirmative side of the answer too is clear enough to a certain extent; and yet the Reviewer is evidently embarrassed from the start, to make out precisely the force of the terms in which it is given. The sacramental phraseology of the sixteenth century, when it speaks of "feeding on the substance, virtue or efficacy, of Christ's body and blood," goes quite beyond his system, and carries with it a sound of extravagance which he finds it hard to reconcile fully with the sober standard that reigns in his own mind. He is forced to admit in the first place generally, that this language means, in the old symbols, *more* than the common indwelling of the Spirit in our hearts; which of course contradicts his own assertion previously made, that the grace of the sacrament was not taken to be something special, in the judgment of the early Reformed Church, but was looked upon as of one kind simply with the life of religion in other forms and at other times. "There is one thing in which all parties agreed, viz: that our union with Christ was a real union, that we receive him and not his benefits merely; that he dwells in his people by his Spirit, whose presence is the presence of Christ." But, it is added, (and the concession deserves attention,) "though all mean this, this is not all that is intended by the expressions above cited." These, it is acknowledged "indicate the virtue, efficacy, life-giving power of *his body*." A strange and difficult conception truly. How is it to be put into rational sense and form? On this point, let the Reviewer be heard in full.

"There are two ways," he writes, "in which this was understood. Some intended by it, not the virtue of Christ's body and blood as flesh and blood, but their virtue as a body broken and of blood as shed, that is, their sacrificial, atoning efficacy. Others, however, insisted that besides this there was a vivifying efficacy imparted to the body of Christ by its union with the divine nature, and that by the power of the Holy Ghost, the believer in the Lord's supper and elsewhere, received into his soul and by faith this mysterious and supernatural influence. This was

clearly Calvin's idea, though he often contented himself with the expression of the former of these views. His doctrine is fully expressed in the following passages. 'We acknowledge, without any circumlocution that the flesh of Christ, is life-giving, not only because once in it our salvation was obtained ; but because now, we being united to him in sacred union, it breathes life into us. Or, to use fewer words, because being by the power of the Spirit engrafted into the body of Christ, we have a common life with him ; for from the hidden fountain of divinity life is, in a wonderfully way, infused into the flesh of Christ, and thence flows out to us.' Again : 'Christ is absent from us as to the body, by his Spirit, however, dwelling in us, he so lifts us to himself in heaven, that he transfuses the life-giving vigour of his flesh into us, as we grow by the vital heat of the sun.' From these and many similar passages, it is plain, Calvin meant by receiving the substance of Christ's body, receiving its virtue or vigour, not merely as a sacrifice, but also the power inherent in it from its union with the divine nature, and flowing from it as heat from the sun.

"The other explanation of this matter is that by receiving the substance of Christ's body, or by receiving his flesh and blood, was intended receiving their life-giving efficacy as a sacrifice once offered on the cross for us. This view is clearly expressed in the Zurich Confession of 1545. 'To eat the bread of Christ is to believe on him as crucified . . . His flesh once benefitted us on earth, now it benefits here no longer, and is no longer here.' The same view is expressed by Calvin himself in the Con. Tig. 1549. In the 19th article we are said to eat the flesh of Christ, 'because we derive our life from that flesh once offered in sacrifice for us, and from his blood shed as an expiation.' With equal clearness the same idea is presented in the Heidelberg Catechism, 1560. In question 79, it is his crucified body and shed blood which are declared to be the food of the soul. The same thing is still more plainly asserted in the Helv. Confession 1566, c. 21. In the first paragraph, it is said, 'Christ as delivered unto death for us and as a Saviour is the sum of this sacrament.' In the third paragraph this eating is explained as the application, by the Spirit, of the benefits of Christ's death. And lower down, the food of the soul is declared to be *caro Christi tradita pro nobis, et sanguis ejus effusus pro nobis*. Indeed as this confession was written by Bullinger, minister of Zurich, the great opponent of Calvin's peculiar view, it could not be expected to teach any other doctrine. In what is called the Anglican Confession, drawn up by Bishop Jewell

1562, the same view is presented. It is there said : ' We maintain that Christ exhibits himself truly present. . . that in the supper we feed upon him by faith and in the spirit (fide et spiritu) and that we have eternal life from his cross and blood.' To draw life from the cross is here the same as to draw it from his blood, and of course must refer to the sacrificial efficacy of his death.

"The question now arises which of the two views above stated is entitled to be regarded as the real doctrine of the Reformed ? The whole church united in saying believers receive the body and blood of Christ. They agreed in explaining this to mean that they received the virtue, efficacy or vigour of his body and blood. But some understood, thereby, the virtue of his body as broken and of his blood as shed, that is, their sacrificial efficacy. Others said that besides this, there was a mysterious virtue in the body of Christ due to its union with the divine nature, which virtue was by the Holy Spirit conveyed to the believer. Which of these views is truly symbolical ? The fairest answer to this question probably is, neither to the exclusion of the other. Those who held to the one, expressed their fellowship with those who held the other. Calvin and Bullinger united in the Consensus Tigurinus from which the latter view is excluded. Both views are expressed in the public confessions. Some have the one, some the other.

"But if a decision must be made between them, the higher authority is certainly due to the doctrine of sacrificial efficacy first mentioned. 1. It has high symbolical authority in its favour. Its being clearly expressed in the Con. Tig. the common platform of the church, on this whole subject, and in the Second Helv. Con. the most authoritative of all the symbols of the Reformed church, and even in the Heidelberg Catechism, outweighs the private authority of Calvin or the dubious expression of the Gallican, Belgic, and some minor Confessions. 2. What is perhaps of more real consequence, the sacrificial view, is the only one that harmonizes with the other doctrines of the church. The other is an uncongenial foreign element derived partly from the influence of previous modes of thought, partly from the dominant influence of the Lutherans and the desire of getting as near to them as possible, and partly, no doubt, from a too literal interpretation of certain passages of scripture, especially John vi. 54—58, and Eph. v: 30. It is difficult to reconcile the idea that a life-giving influence emanates from the glorified body of Christ, with the universally received doctrine of the Reformed Church, that we receive Christ as fully through the ministry of the word as in the Lord's supper. However

strongly some of the Reformed asserted that we partake of the true or natural body of Christ, and are fed by the substance of his flesh and blood, they all maintained that this was done whenever faith in him was exercised. Not to urge this point however. All the Reformed taught, Calvin perhaps more earnestly than most others, that our union with Christ since the incarnation is the same in nature as that enjoyed by the saints under the old dispensation. This is perfectly intelligible if the virtue of his flesh and blood, which we receive in the Lord's supper, is its virtue as a sacrifice, because he was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. His sacrifice was as effectual for the salvation of Abraham as of Paul, and could be appropriated as fully by the faith of the one as by that of the other. But if the virtue in question is a mysterious power due to the hypostatical union, flowing from Christ's body in heaven, it must be a benefit peculiar to believers living since the incarnation. It is impossible that those living before the advent could partake of Christ's body, in this sense, because it did not then exist; it had not as yet been assumed into union with the divine nature. We find therefore that Romanists and nominal Protestants, make the greatest distinction as to the relation of the ancient saints to God and that of believers since the advent, between the sacraments of the one dispensation and those of the other. All this is consistent and necessary on their theory of the incarnation, of the church and of the sacraments, but it is all in the plainest contradiction to the doctrine of the Reformed Church. Here then is an element which does not accord with the other doctrines of that church; and this incongruity is one good reason for not regarding it as a genuine portion of its faith."—P. 249-252.

Another good reason for this conclusion is found in the fact, that the element here noticed gradually lost its power and died out of the Church. It had no root in the system we are told, and could not live. "It is of course admitted," the Reviewer goes on to say, "that a particular doctrine's dying out of the faith of a church, is, of itself, no sufficient evidence that it was not a genuine part of its original belief. This is too obvious to need remark. There is, however, a great difference between a doctrine's being lost by a process of decay and by the process of growth. It is very possible that a particular opinion may be engrafted into a system, without having any logical or vital union with it, and is the more certain to be ejected, the more vigorous the growth and healthful the life of that system. The fundamental principles of Protestantism are the exclusive normal authority of scripture, and justification

by faith alone. If that system lives and grows it must throw off every thing incompatible with those principles. It is the fact of this peculiar view of a mysterious influence of the glorified body of Christ, having ceased to live, taken in connection with its obvious incompatibility with other articles of the Reformed faith, that we urge as a collateral argument against its being a genuine portion of that system of doctrine. According to the most authoritative standards of the Reformed church, we receive the body and blood of Christ, as a sacrifice, just as Abraham and David received them, who ate of the same spiritual meat and drank of the same spiritual drink. The church is one, its life is one, its food is one, from Adam to the last of the redeemed."

—P. 253-254.

All this deserves close attention; as it serves well to reveal the true beginning, and at the same time the deep inward significance, of the great doctrinal schism which we have now historically in hand. The Reformed doctrine, it is acknowledged, was *not* at first of one sort throughout with the common Puritan theory, so free from all mystery and easy to be understood, that has since come so generally to bear its name. It had two aspects or modes of representation. At times, all stress is laid on the *sacrificial efficacy* of Christ's death, as the great object appropriated in the sacrament; but it is not to be concealed, that equal stress is laid again, at other times, on the idea of a *life-giving power* to be received through it from the human side of Christ's life, that is from his body and blood, as the real source of immortality for the world. Some, we are informed, had only the first view, while others along with it held also the last. This was the case in particular, very clearly, with Calvin. Both views then are allowed to have been of symbolical authority and right. The Reformed doctrine, in the beginning, embraced both. And yet, strange to say, it showed itself a real Janus in doing so; for the faces looked quite opposite ways, and had no inward correspondence whatever. How such a man as Calvin could have failed to see and feel the contradiction, is indeed surpassingly strange; but it only goes to show how little regard was had to the logical unity of doctrines, in the theology of the sixteenth century. The symbolical dogma in this case, if such it might be called, was in truth two views outwardly joined together, which had no inward affinity or connection whatever, and whose union accordingly, as it was altogether nominal from the start, proved to be subsequently of very short duration. Only one of these views, according to the Reviewer, was really at home in the system to which it belonged, as being in harmo-

ny with the other doctrines of the Reformed church. "The other is an uncongenial foreign element," brought in by Calvin, and kept up for a time in some of the confessions, without due reflection. In the progress of time therefore it died out of the system altogether. The reigning modern doctrine of the eucharist, it is granted, no longer recognizes *this* view as of any force for the Reformed faith. It has outgrown it long ago most effectually; and this *development* must be taken at once as a clear argument, that what has thus been cast out historically from the life of Protestantism, should never have been suffered to have any place in it at the beginning.

We are now prepared to follow the Princeton Review, in its application of the testimony in hand to the decision of two other questions, belonging to a full view of the subject under discussion.

4. *What is the effect of receiving the body and blood of Christ?*—This question, we are told, is nearly allied to the one that goes before. "In general terms it is answered by saying, that union with Christ, and the consequent reception of his benefits, is the effect of the believing reception of the Lord's supper." This union, of course, involves no sort of corporeal contact or mixture in any way. Still the Reformed doctrine required always the idea of a real, and not simply an imaginary or moral union, in this case. "This is often expressed by saying we receive the substance of Christ, that is, as they explain it, Christ himself, or the Holy Spirit, by whom he dwells in his people." Thus far there is no room for controversy. But the language after all is ambiguous, and covers plainly enough a latent difference of thought, by not being urged fully out to its ultimate meaning. The reception of Christ by the Spirit, is taken to be exclusive of the true and proper life of Christ himself; and in this way a sense is put on the Reformed doctrine, which on the other side is held to be at war with the original constitution of the doctrine altogether. The general nature of the disagreement, is brought out to some extent in what follows.

"The only question is," says the Reviewer, "whether besides this union effected by the Holy Spirit, there is on our part any participation of Christ's human body or of his human nature as such. This takes us back to the question already considered, relating to the mode of reception and the thing received, when it is said in scripture, that we eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man. As to these questions, it will be remembered the Reformed agreed as to the following points: 1. That this reception is by the soul. 2. Through faith, not through the

mouth. 3. By the power of the Holy Ghost. 4. That this receiving Christ's body is not confined to the Lord's supper, but takes place whenever faith in him is exercised. 5. That it was common to believers before and after the coming of the Son of God in the flesh. We have here a complete estoppel of the claim of the authority of the Reformed church in behalf of the doctrine that our union with Christ involves a participation of his human body, nature, or life. If it be asked, however, in what sense that church teaches that we are flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones? The answer is, in the same sense in which Paul says the same thing. And his meaning is very plain. He tells us that a husband should love his wife as his own body. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. His wife is himself, for the Scriptures say, they are one flesh. All this he adds, is true of Christ and his people. He loves the church as himself. She is his bride; flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones. If the intimate relationship, the identification of feelings, affections and interests, between a man and his wife, if their spiritual union, justifies the assertion that they are one flesh, far more may the same thing be said of the spiritual relation between Christ and his people, which is much more intimate, sublime and mysterious, arising, as it does from the inhabitation of one and the same Spirit, and producing not only a union of feeling and affection, but of life. The same apostle tells us that believers are one body and members one of another, not in virtue of their common human nature, nor because they all partake of the humanity of Christ, but because they all have one Spirit. Such as we understand it is the doctrine of the Reformed church and of the Bible as to the mystical union."—P. 255-256.

According to this, the only union with Christ which the Reformed doctrine allows, is one that holds under a purely mental form between him and our souls, through the intervention of the Holy Ghost, exclusively altogether of his human life as such. Our relation to his body is at best remote and indirect. This is not in any way the bond and medium of our communication with his higher nature. When we are said to eat his flesh and drink his blood, the language must be taken as a violent catachresis; the meaning of which is simply, that we have a very close spiritual conjunction with him by being made to experience in ourselves the influences of the same Holy Ghost that dwells also gloriously in his person. The idea of any participation, in the case of believers, in Christ's human body, nature, or life, as such, is declared to be foreign entirely from the original faith of the Reformed church.

5. *What efficacy belongs to the Lord's Supper as a Sacrament?*—"On this point," according to the Princeton Review, "the Reformed, in the first place, reject the Romish doctrine that the sacraments contain the grace they signify, and that they convey that grace, by the mere administration, to all who do not oppose an obstacle. Secondly, the Lutheran doctrine, which attributes to the sacraments an inherent supernatural power, due indeed not to the signs, but the word of God connected with them, but which is nevertheless always operative, provided there be faith in the receiver. Thirdly, the doctrine of the Socinians and others, that the sacraments are mere badges of profession, or empty signs of Christ and his benefits. They are declared to be efficacious means of grace; but their efficacy, as such, is referred neither to any virtue in them nor in him that administers them, but solely to the attending operation or influence of the Holy Spirit, precisely as in the case of the word. It is the *virtus Spiritus Sancti extrinsecus accedens*, to which all their supernatural or saving efficacy is referred. They have, indeed, the moral objective power of significant emblems and seals of divine appointment, just as the word has its inherent moral power; but their efficacy as means of grace, their power, in other words, to convey grace depends entirely, as in the case of the word, on the co-operation of the Holy Ghost. Hence the power is in no way tied to the sacraments. It may be exerted without them. It does not always attend them, nor is it confined to the time, place or service. The favorite illustration of the Lutheran doctrine is drawn from the history of the woman who touched the hem of our Saviour's garment. As there was always supernatural virtue in him, which flowed out to all who applied to him in faith, so there is in the sacraments. The Reformed doctrine is illustrated by a reference to our Saviour's anointing the eyes of the blind man with the clay. There was no virtue in the clay to make the man see, the effect was due to the attending power of Christ. The modern rationalists smile at all these distinctions and say it all amounts to the same thing. These three views however are radically different in themselves, and have produced radically different effects, where they have severally prevailed."—P. 256-257.

There is no controversy in regard to what is here said, if it be taken to refer simply to the outward or earthly side of the sacramental transaction; only in that case no proper justice is shown towards either the Roman doctrine or the Lutheran, as set in opposition to the Reformed. It is easy enough to show, that the Reformed authorities agree in rejecting the notion of every-

thing like an *opus operatum* in the sacrament; that they dream of no magical virtue or force resting in the elements as such; that all saving power which belongs to them is referred continually to the accompanying agency of the Holy Ghost, without which they would be wholly destitute of any such grace. All this is most abundantly allowed in the Mystical Presence. But under cover of what thus amounts only to a theological truism, the passage just quoted brings in *another view*, which means a great deal more than this, and involves a most material divergence from the truth of the Reformed doctrine as set forth in the book now named. This is done, by taking advantage of the loose use of language in regard to the sacrament, so as to extend to the whole transaction what holds good in fact only of a part of it separately taken. The *idea* of the holy mystery is thus perverted and made to be false from the start; its divine side is divorced from its human side; the body of it is emptied of its living soul, as though this last were no part of its constitution whatever; and then it becomes an easy thing of course to make out that the *corpse* which is left behind, is in all respects intrinsically powerless and dead. The Reformed doctrine is wronged, however, in being made to rest in a theological mutilation here, which it never acknowledged in truth, but on the contrary took all pains continually to disown and disclaim.

"Such then, as we understand it," the Reviewer tells us in conclusion, "is the true doctrine of the Reformed church on the Lord's supper. By the Reformed church, we mean the Protestant churches of Switzerland, the Palatinate, France, Belgium, England, Scotland and elsewhere. According to the public standards of these churches: The Lord's supper is a holy ordinance instituted by Christ, as a memorial of his death, wherein, under the symbols of bread and wine, his body as broken for us and his blood as shed for the remission of sins, are signified, and, by the power of the Holy Ghost, sealed and applied to believers; whereby their union with Christ and their mutual fellowship are set forth and confirmed, their faith strengthened, and their souls nourished unto eternal life."

"Christ is really present to his people, in this ordinance, not bodily, but by his Spirit; not in the sense of local nearness, but of efficacious operation. They receive him, not with the mouth, but by faith; they receive his flesh, not as flesh, not as material particles, nor its human life, but his body as broken and his blood as shed. The union thus signified and effected, between him and them is not a corporeal union, nor a mixture of substances, but spiritual and mystical, arising from the indwelling

of the Spirit. The efficacy of this sacrament, *as a means of grace*, is not in the signs, nor in the service, nor in the minister, nor in the word, but solely in the attending influence of the Holy Ghost. This we believe to be a fair statement of the doctrine of the Reformed church."—*P.* 258—259.

This is worthy certainly of the general historical inquiry, whose results it is made to embrace in the way of summary recapitulation; and may be taken as strikingly characteristic of the manner and tone, in which it is conducted throughout. The article affects to expound the Reformed doctrine of the eucharist historically *in opposition* to the view taken of it in the Mystical Presence; and here we have a flourish of results and conclusions, that are intended plainly to be passed off on the unwary reader as fully sustaining this magisterial pretension. And yet, strange to say, with the exception of the single clause, touching our participation in the *human life* of Christ, there is nothing here absolutely, which as far as it goes is not most fully and distinctly admitted and endorsed by the Mystical Presence itself. This any one may see with very little trouble, who has interest enough in the subject to examine the book with his own eyes. But still, with all this, the two representations, as already shown, come by no means at last to one and the same sense. The difficulty is only that the counter statement of the Reviewer is not so carried out for the most part, as to set forth clearly where the divergency begins and to what it amounts; while it urges terms and propositions which are in truth of *common acknowledgment*, quietly filling them always with its own sense, as though they could admit no other, so as to make the impression that they are in conflict with what has been asserted on the opposite side, and that the whole question in debate turns thus on their negative signification simply and nothing more.

The real issue lies away beyond this, and is concerned with the proper *positive* import of the sacramental phraseology, in current use with the Reformed church of the sixteenth century.

It is agreed all round, that the Reformed doctrine allowed no local presence, no oral communication, no material contact, no physical intromission of Christ's flesh and blood into the bodies of his people, no mechanical virtue in the sacramental elements, no magical power belonging to them in any way to confer grace apart from the action of the Holy Ghost. Also, that it affirmed, as the contrary of this, a spiritual presence, a communication through the soul by faith, the power of the Holy Ghost as its necessary medium, union with Christ in this way as a supersensible fact in the case of believers, and the fruition thus of his

redempational benefits, particularly the atoning efficacy of his death of which the sacrament is itself the perpetual picture and pledge. What these forms of speech signified, up to the extent of what they are employed to exclude and deny, is for all persons clear enough. But what were they designed to say and signify, on the other side of this limitation? Here is the question we are required to meet.

According to the Princeton Review, the only proper opposite of sense, in this case, is intelligence or thought; to deny a local presence is to affirm an actual absence; what is spiritual and accomplished by faith must be held to exclude all action from Christ's body; an efficacy which is from the Holy Ghost can not be at the same time bound to sacramental signs; and the intervention of this agency, as a connecting bridge between Christ and his people, serves only to show at the same time how fully he is parted from them in his own life, and particularly in his own life under its strictly human view.

We have seen where this scheme starts. Two phases of thought, it is admitted, come together to a certain extent in the early history of the Reformed doctrine; one which lays all stress on the *sacrifice* of Christ, as an atonement for sin; and another, specially insisted upon by Calvin, which carries back our salvation to the idea of Christ's *life*, as its necessary perpetual source and ground. This latter view, it is allowed also, made the *human* side of Christ's life to be in some mysterious way the depository and seat of the grace now mentioned, and so the medium of its communication to our souls. The sacramental manducation was held to bring into the soul of the true worshipper, a vivific power or virtue from the Saviour's *flesh*, once slain on Calvary, but now gloriously exalted at the right hand of God in heaven. This thought however, if we are to believe Princeton, though in the Reformed doctrine for a time, was never of it in any inward way; it was a relic only of the old traditional superstition, which it was found hard at once to lay entirely aside; it lingered accordingly, while it lasted, only as a foreign element in the system, with which it vainly sought assimilation; and so finally forsook the doctrine altogether, leaving it in the bald Puritanic form in which it has come to prevail generally in modern times. Calvin himself, it is argued, could not have seriously intended here what his language seems to mean; for he held constantly that the Old Testament saints had the same communion with Christ, which it is the privilege of believers to enjoy now; which could not have been the case, if his flesh and blood are to be taken as the medium of life in a real way;

since the incarnation had not then taken place. The notion of a life-giving virtue from Christ's body, then, must be given up, as no part of the Reformed faith. We have to do, in the sacrament, only with the value of his death as a propitiation for sin. This is set before us as a fact, under fit memorials and symbols; and by the help of these, we are required to embrace it with our intelligence or thought, in the exercise of faith, firmly believing that Christ's blood is sufficient to remove all guilt, and looking for righteousness and salvation only in his name. This grace is not lodged objectively even in the actual humanity of the Son of Man; much less in any mystical exhibition, to which this may be supposed to come in the holy eucharist; but only and wholly in the Divine Mind, from which the plan of salvation proceeds and which imparts to it at last all its efficacy and force. The object to be embraced thus is a truth simply of general force, based on a past event which the sacrament commemorates, but in no way necessarily bound now to any such representation. It is not in the transaction in any sense, but out of it and beyond it altogether; so that this serves only as a stepping stone, or ladder, by which the mind of the worshipper is engaged and assisted to enter into direct correspondence with it under another form. It turns of course then wholly on the worshipper's mind at last, whether the relation between the sign and the thing signified shall be of any force whatever in the transaction; if his faith be so exercised as to bring the general truth of the atonement into connection with what is going forward, the truth will be there; otherwise the institution will stand shorn of its celestial significance altogether. An objective force must be allowed indeed to attend the sacrament, where it is rightly used; but it is simply the influence of the Holy Ghost, as he is active also at other times in bringing the faith of the truly pious into felt communication with God's truth and grace. Where faith is at hand, it may be expected that this heavenly agency will fall in concurrently with the use of the sacrament; just as it has power to make itself felt, (to "blow where it listeth,") in connection with any other outward occasion or spectacle. The Spirit may work on men's minds, exciting pious thoughts or feelings of devotion, by the presence of a majestic cataract, or a whirlwind, or a smiling beautiful landscape; and why not then with equal ease through the graphic and affecting representation of the blessed eucharist? In one case however, as in the other, the relation between the earthly object and the grace thus made to go along with it, is wholly external. The sacrament, like the storm or the landscape, is in no sense an actual embodiment of

the presence of this last, but an *occasion* merely, in its own nature accidental though here of divine appointment, by which it is brought to reveal itself under an independent and wholly different form. No *specific* force is to be imagined in the institution as such; it serves only to bring to mind a general grace, which is always just as near at hand without it, where faith is prepared to embrace it, for the accomplishment of the same end. No peculiar *mystery* of course is to be regarded as entering into its constitution. The working of God's Spirit is indeed universally something mysterious, the action of a higher world on the sphere of our common natural life; but the grace of the sacrament in this respect is just like all other grace. To dream of it as mystically present at all in the sacraments themselves, is a superstition that ends legitimately at last in Rome.

Such in a general light, we say, is the shape given to the sacramental theory of the Reformed church in this Princeton analysis, by way of counter statement to the view taken of it in the Mystical Presence. It will be seen, that the two representations are indeed materially different, and that the difference regards points of no common interest and consequence. The statement and counter statement are fairly and completely at issue on the following particular heads, the one denying what is by the other affirmed.

1. The analysis before us grounds itself, as we have seen, in the assumption that the Calvinistic conception of a life-giving virtue extending itself from Christ's body to the souls of his people, never entered constitutionally into the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's supper, as distinguished from the Lutheran and Roman; that it is at war intrinsically with the general Protestant creed, and particularly with the doctrine of justification by faith; that Calvin himself, in his better moments, treated it as a practical nullity; that it was always only an outward and foreign element in the theology of the Reformed church generally, kept up to save appearances towards those without, rather than to satisfy the heart and soul of the church itself; and that it gradually fell away therefore from the doctrine altogether, died out of it, and thus left it in its proper pure original and distinctive form, as held by the Puritan world at the present day. All this we broadly and firmly deny. There is no inward contradiction between the two views of the christian salvation, which are here taken to stand in such relation. The life of Christ is the true and real basis of his sacrifice, and so the natural and necessary medium of communion with it for the remission of sins. This Calvin saw clearly, and urged ac-

cordingly the vivific side of the christian mystery always as the proper complement of the sacrificial. From this order of thought, he never swerved in the least; and so far was he from dropping it to please the Swiss, as here pretended, that we find this very order, and no other, settled with general consent, under his auspices, as a true and right expression of the Reformed faith universally. We meet it in all the standard confessions of this faith, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is distinctly recognized in the whole sacramental controversy of the same period, under such symbolical view. That a change has taken place in later times, is not denied. But this, we contend, has been for the worse and not for the better, so far as the idea of Christ's life in the sacrament has come to be divorced from the idea of his death. It is no growth, no development of the true sense and import of the doctrine as it stood in the beginning, but the distortion of it rather into a different import altogether. The two sides in question entered organically into the contents of the old doctrine. With their divorce, the idea of the sacrament itself is no longer the same. We have in truth under this name a different conception generally, from what it is made to be by the older view. Here is the root of all the other variations and issues, that enter into this historical controversy.

2. According to the same analysis again, the Reformed doctrine excluded the reality of Christ's presence from the sacrament, (save as he is everywhere present in his divine nature separately considered,) resolving it altogether into a simply mental presence, as distinguished from every sort of local or material contact. This we deny. The Reformed doctrine did indeed reject the last; but not in such a way as to make the other its only and necessary alternative. It asserted always a real presence, not simply as an object of thought or intelligence on the part of men, but in the way of actual communication on the part of Christ; a presence not conditioned by the relations of space, but transcending these altogether in a higher sphere of life; a presence, not material, but dynamic, like that of the root in its branches, and only the more intimate and deep by its distance from all that belongs to the experiment of sense.

3. The Reformed doctrine, we are told still farther, recognized especially no participation of believers in the human side of Christ's life; the reference to his flesh and blood has no significance in this view, but must be taken as a bold metaphor simply, setting forth the thought of our participation in the benefits procured by his bloody death upon the cross. This again we deny. The doctrine in question never set aside the true mean-

ing of the incarnation in any such Gnostic style. It made Christ to be a fountain of life for the world ; and the immediate seat of this grace it represented always to be his human nature. Here it was regarded as coming to its primary revelation, for the use of the race at large ; in which view, his flesh is taken to be the medium truly of life as well as righteousness, (life we may say in order to righteousness,) for all his people. They participate in the vivific virtue of his humanity ; and in such high mysterious sense may be said actually to eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as the antidote of death and pabulum of immortality.

4. The Princeton analysis finds in the intervention of the Holy Ghost as constantly affirmed in the Reformed doctrine of the eucharist, a full exclusion of Christ's proper presence, especially of his presence under any human view ; the stress laid on the agency of the Spirit is taken to mean clearly, that no communication is to be thought of in the case with the true and proper life of the Saviour himself. But this whole construction, we contend, is false and wrong. The intervention of the Spirit, in the old Reformed doctrine, stands opposed only to the idea of all action that falls within the sphere of mere nature, and was never designed to be set in this way over against the reality of Christ's presence. On the contrary, the mystery of the transaction is taken to lie especially in this, that in a mode transcending the experience of sense, by the mirifical power of the Holy Ghost, the life-giving virtue of his flesh and blood is made to be dynamically at hand, in a real and true way, for the use of his people.

5. According to Princeton, the sacramental doctrine of the Reformed church knows nothing of an efficacious virtue in the holy sacraments themselves ; the relation between them and the grace that may go along with them in another form, is taken to be altogether outward and loose ; they point to it only like dead finger-boards, or as signs in algebra, giving notice of truth which is not in themselves, and that can have no presence save by the mind and will of those who are led to think of it in this way. We affirm on the contrary that the Reformers, with the whole ancient Church, acknowledge a real conjunction between the outward form of sacraments and their inward grace. The latter was taken to belong to their very constitution as truly as the first. That the union between them could not be regarded as physical or magical, was not felt to set aside at all its actual force. It was still held to be mystically sure and firm. The idea of a sacrament embraced both, the terrene side having its

necessary complement always in the celestial. Sacramental grace thus was no fiction. It lay with objective force in the solemnity itself; not of course in the outward elements or signs in themselves considered; but in the transaction taken as a whole. How far it might take effect on the subject, would depend still on the posture in which it should be received; but this posture was not to be confounded with the grace itself. This must be held to have an actual exhibition in the divine transaction, whether met with a right reception or not.

6. In robbing the Reformed doctrine of this conception of objective grace in the sacraments, the analysis before us finally strips it at the same time of all mystical character; since in such view no significance belongs to any institution of the sort, other than what the truth of the gospel carries with it in its general form. But this, we contend is to wrong the doctrine, as it comes before us in the sixteenth century. The faith of the Reformed church in the beginning, no less than the faith of the Lutheran church, saw in the Lord's supper the presence of a heavenly mystery; something more in this respect than the high nature of the truth here represented, under its general form; something different from the word, in no connection with such solemnity. An inward bond was acknowledged to hold, by the power of the Holy Ghost, between the visible and invisible sides of the holy transaction. It was allowed to carry in it thus a mystical force, a meaning above sense and natural reason, to which especially faith was encouraged and required to have regard in using it as a medium of worship.

We are now prepared to pass on to the trial of these points of controversy, at the bar of history. This will not require however an examination of evidence for each question separately taken. The several questions run more or less together, and gather themselves up at last to some extent in the first; so that in showing the true sense of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's supper with regard to this, we in a great measure settle its meaning at the same time in regard to all the rest. Or rather the settlement of the first point is so connected with what is true in regard to the others, that it can be reached only by bringing this at the same time continually into view.

III.

HISTORICAL TRIAL.

Dr. Hodge is right in saying that the Reformed doctrine of the eucharist shows two phases, in the sixteenth century, as taking its complexion sometimes from the atoning efficacy of Christ's death, and at other times from the vivific power of his life. But he is wrong when he conceives of these two views as bearing at best only an outward and temporary alliance in the same system, and sinks the last into a character of merely accidental importance as compared with the first. The Reformed doctrine starts in Switzerland under the first aspect, but completes itself finally, through Calvin, under the second; not in such a way as to drop the old view, but so as to bring it to its full significance, by joining it to its proper basis in the other. *This union of the two views forms the true sacramental creed of the Reformed church, as it appears in all the later confessions.* It is the misery of our modern divinity, on the other hand, that it has so widely fallen away again from this divine synthesis, sundering the atonement of Christ from its necessary ground in his life, and then arraying the one against the other as though they were opposite and rival powers. For what less than this is it, when we hear it gravely asserted, that the doctrine of a life-giving power mysteriously flowing from Christ's person, as taught by Calvin, is incompatible with the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, and on this account could not hold its place, as a foreign element, in the faith of the Reformed Church! Alas, for the memory of Luther, that he should not have understood better the sense of his own great article of a standing or falling Christianity.

The Princeton view, as we have seen, bases this representation not so much on history as on its own sense of theological propriety. It is first settled, that the two interests here distinguished are of contradictory character; that "the higher authority is certainly due to the doctrine of sacrificial efficacy;" that the other idea was a foreign element in the system, which never entered truly into its life, and *therefore* in the course of time died out of it altogether: and then the voice of history is construed in obedience simply to the demands of this hypothesis. It is assumed that no inward order requires to be acknowledged or considered in the case; and witnesses are brought up accordingly and questioned in the most promiscuous style, as though any testimony seeming to carry the right sound might be at once

weighed against any other, without regard to dates or any relations whatever. But we have no right to treat the subject in this way. There is a history here, which we may not thus make or unmake at our theological pleasure. In the Mystical Presence, we have endeavored at least to do some justice to the actual relations of the age, by tracing the progress of the Reformed doctrine, from its somewhat confused incipient form in Switzerland, onward through the architectonic agency of Calvin to the complete character in which it appears in the later confessions. No attempt has been made to examine or refute this analysis; it is simply nullified, on the side of the counter statement, by convenient silence. We have no mind however to acquiesce in any such nullification; especially not in favor of a method, which ignores from the start the whole conception of anything like historical order or connection, in the progress of the subject with which it is called to deal. What we have to do with in the case before us, is not a collection of isolated notices merely, picked up like shells from the sea-shore of past time, but the living sense of history itself as the very image and echo of that great and wide sea from which it comes. We insist that this shall be taken as a whole, that it shall be allowed to carry in it under such view an objective order and method of its own, and that all parts of it shall be interpreted in obedience to this as the necessary measure of their true meaning and force. If there be no such order here in the nature of the subject itself, or if it may not be ascertained and understood, the inquiry in hand might as well be dismissed at once and in full as altogether without rational object or aim.

We return again then to the general view before asserted, as the only right order to be followed in the present historical discussion. Providentially we are now assisted and supported, on this field, by a new and most powerful ally, in whose favor we may well feel authorised to bespeak a more than common measure of attention, and to whose voice on this subject especially all are bound to listen with respect. We refer to Professor Ebrard, formerly of Zurich in Switzerland, now of Erlangen in Germany; the second volume of whose great work entitled, *Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl und seine Geschichte*, a recent publication, is devoted especially to the history and criticism of the sacramental controversy, as it was agitated in the age of the Reformation. Favorable notice is taken of the first volume of the work in the Mystical Presence, and a regret expressed at the same time that the second had not then made its appearance; as it might have served to relieve and facilitate the

investigations of this book, by its resources and results turned with more than usual learning in the same direction. It is on the whole well, however, that this was not the case. Exhibiting as it now does the results of a wholly separate inquiry, it is of so much the more force in favor of the cause, which it comes in thus as auxiliary evidence to establish and confirm. We need not say that it has been highly gratifying to us, to find ourselves so ably backed, in such independent style, from so respectable a quarter. Dr. Ebrard is indeed a German, which some may count an objection to his theological credit; but his nationality can not alter the nature of his actual merits in other respects. He belongs by birth and education confessionally to the Reformed church, as distinguished from the Lutheran, and is known to make common cause with it both in doctrine and worship. His scholarship is acknowledged on all hands as of the very highest order. He has made it his business moreover to study the subject here in hand, in the most full and patient use of all the original sources of knowledge, not to see how things *should* have been, but to learn of history how they were in fact. The result is the volume just mentioned, (800 pp. 8 vo.,) reproducing the sacramental life of the sixteenth century, as we have it exhibited in no work besides; and tracing in particular the rise and progress of the Reformed doctrine, in its relation to the high Lutheran, in such a way as to leave almost nothing to be desired in regard to the whole subject. The work is of truly classical authority and weight, for the field it is found to occupy. There is no other that can at all pretend to come into competition or comparison with it, in this view. This seems to be quietly acknowledged on all sides in Germany itself; and so far as we have seen, it has not been pretended in any quarter to call in question, either the fact of its learning, or the general truth and fairness of its historical statements. Such a book, the fruit of long and laborious study on the part of one of the most accomplished theological scholars of the age, and passing thus with universally acknowledged credit in the world of letters to which it immediately belongs, is not of course to be ruled out of the way by the mere flourish of a contrary hypothesis, resting on no scientific examination whatever. It comes before us in the form of true manly science, and nothing less than such science can have a right to confront it in the way of contradiction. It deserves in such case, as it claims and demands, a learned answer.

Now this work of Ebrard, thus critically thorough and complete, we take pleasure in saying, corroborates and sustains, with unanswerable evidence, every material historical position affirmed

in the *Mystical Presence*; and just as clearly, of course, convicts the counter statement arrayed against it from Princeton of error and mistake.¹ It may be understood accordingly, that we look to it, and make use of its assistance continually, in the conduct of the present argument. It insists throughout on the same order in the history of the Reformed doctrine, assigns the same central position to Calvin, finds the same sense in the confessional settlement that grew out of his agency and influence, brings the whole investigation in a word to the same conclusions and results. His work has served greatly to strengthen the force of the convictions we had reached before we saw it; and under its shelter now, and in its name, we feel ourselves authorised to assert them with a tone of more positive determination, than we might have felt it proper to employ under other circumstances.

In any true historical study of the case, it must appear at once that we have no right to mix and confound authorities, in the style of the Princeton criticism. It is plain that the sacramental controversy of the sixteenth century, comprehended in itself a movement or process, to which regard must be had continual-

¹ Dr. Ebrard himself, since the *Mystical Presence* came into his hands, has acknowledged this full agreement with it, first in the way of private correspondence, and recently in a more public manner by a very favorable review of the book in Ullmann's "*Studien und Kritiken*"—republished in this country in Dr. Schaff's *Kirchenfreund* for May and June.—It is curious to consider in this case the difference of theological relations, between Germany and America. The positions taken and maintained in the *Mystical Presence* and in Ebrard's *Dogma vom h. Abendmahl*, are in all material respects the same. In Germany however they appear throughout in polemical reference to Lutheranism, and on this side only are the object of suspicion; while here in America this antagonism is found to be the next thing to zero, and all weight falls on the antithesis from the contrary side. So completely has our predominant Partianism destroyed all sense for the old confessional issue of the Reformation, that even the Lutheran church itself of this country, could see in the views in question, for the most part, only a powerful leaning towards Puseyism and Rome. "The author of the *Mystical Presence*, (Dr. Ebrard tells us,) defends the conception of the *unio mystica* as a continuous central life-communion of Christ with us, and of the holy supper as an act of *renewal* for this perpetual life-communion, in substance thus the Melanethonian view, especially against the '*Lutherans*' of N. America, just as the writer, (Ebrard himself,) has endeavored to maintain the same view in scientific opposition to the '*Lutherans*' of Germany. But strangely enough! not the view of Luther, but Zwingli's view, is held up against him by the North American Lutherans, and he himself is charged by them, not with Zwinglianism, but with crypto-papery!" It is set down as a curiosity accordingly, with an eye to Dr. Kurtz and the *Lutheran Observer*, that in the United States the *Reformed* must vindicate the real presence of Christ in the sacrament against the *Lutherans*; and possibly it may be so remembered also in time to come.

ly, to understand and explain properly either its earlier or later phases. We must not jumble together the beginning and the end, and then arrange all wilfully after any measure we may happen to prefer; but are bound rather to follow the life of the movement as it actually went forward, with due respect throughout to all relations both of time and place. The earlier Swiss confessions can never be allowed to stand parallel with the later Reformed symbols, (much less to take precedence of them,) without such violence to history as may be said to kill it altogether. It is arbitrary, in the extreme, to exalt the *Consensus Tigurinus* to the rank of a supreme law for the entire creed of the church. No less arbitrary is it, to question the right of Calvin to be regarded as the great organ, by which this creed came to its full and final expression. All history has but one voice here. Beyond every sort of rational doubt, Calvin does form the medium of clear transition, from the older Helvetic faith to a higher power, as we may call it, of the same faith as presented in the later confessions; all of which express here his theory, with most remarkable agreement, and can be rightly interpreted in no other sense. The only proper classification of the confessions, is into those before Calvin and those that follow; and the only proper relation between the two classes, is that which subordinates the first entirely to the second, as the acknowledged consummation at last of the whole confessional process. The earlier symbols lost their authority in fact, with the appearance of the later, Gallic, Scotic, Belgic, Second Helvetic Confessions, and the Heidelberg Catechism.

According to this division, it is true that the older Swiss doctrine of the Lord's supper lays weight mainly, (though not exclusively,) on the sacrificial interest in Christ, whilst it is in the later confessions mainly that we find urged also the idea of a participation in his life. The second view might seem in this way to have supplanted the first, rather than to have been expelled by it as a foreign element from the system. The truth is however, the two views stand in no such hostile and mutually exclusive relation to each other, as is imagined by Dr. Hodge. That they should seem to do so in his theology, only shows that this itself is something different from the old Reformed creed. With Calvin, the idea of a life-union with Christ stood not at all in the way of the sacrificial interest, which it had been the great object of Zwingli and the first Swiss divines generally to assert. On the contrary, that interest for him could not be properly supported in any other view; and it was his zeal for all that is precious in the doctrine of the atonement, along

with his zeal for all that is precious in the believer's union with Christ, which engaged him to insist on this last so constantly as the indispensable basis of the first. 'The merit of Christ was not, in his view, as it might seem to be for the view here opposed to it, a mere thought in God's mind to be set over to the credit of sinners in an outward way ; it was something real and concrete, which as such could never be sundered from the life to which it belonged ; on which account this life itself must be made to reach over to all who are to have the benefit of it, as the necessary and only bearer of such high grace. Christ *first*, and *then* his merit ; the life of the Son of Man made ours, in order to a true and full interest in the wealth of this life ; such was the steady, unvarying order of Calvin's creed, a hundred times repeated, from the commencement of his ministry to its close. And in this form, it passed into all the later Reformed Confessions ; not with the sacrifice certainly of the old Zuinglian way of looking at this subject ; but so, at the same time, as to carry this forward to its full sense, by coupling it with the idea of the mystical union, completing thus the whole doctrine in the proper combination of its two different sides.

Zwingli and Luther.

Both of these great men were led to take their position in regard to the Lord's supper, in an independent way, and without any reference on either side to the other. The view of Zwingli was called out primarily, in opposition to the Roman doctrine of the mass, and had regard to the general act of the church in the sacramental solemnity, rather than to its power inwardly for the individual worshipper. Is the Lord's supper in itself a true sacrifice for sin, repeating perpetually the propitiatory act of Christ's death ? To this question Zwingli answered, against the Romanists : No ; it is simply a memorial or *sign* of the one christian sacrifice originally made on Calvary. In such reference, of course, the answer was correct. The eucharist does not repeat, but only comminorates, Christ's death. Zwingli was right too in referring the ordinance, as he did, to the idea of the atonement, as the great object to be apprehended in order to our salvation. The words : 'This is my body *broken*, and my blood *shed*, do look undoubtedly, in their direct sense, to Christ on the cross. We are saved by the merit of his death, made ours by faith. But the question still remains : *How come we to have such part in Christ's death ?*

Luther, by his whole nature and inward history, had his mind

turned more to the question : What is the significance and value of the Lord's supper for the subjective life of the particular communicant? Hence his tendency was, from the start, to lay emphasis on the idea of a communion in it with Christ's *life*, rather than with his death. He made large account also, of course, of the sacrificial side of Christianity. But this we appropriate through the ordinary actings of faith in his view, as something purely objective, in opposition to all personal activity in the way of merit, as taught by Rome. In proportion, however, as objective and subjective were thus held asunder, faith coming to no real union with the life of its object, in the reception of Christ's righteousness, it became the more necessary with him to provide for this union, (*felt* to be indispensable to all true salvation,) in a different way ; and hence he was led to resolve it into another order of grace altogether, secured through the mystery of the holy sacraments. The Lord's supper especially became for him the medium of a direct communication with what might be considered the outward person of Christ ; and he was led to refer it accordingly, not to his death so much as to his life, and so of course to this only under its present glorified character. With such inward frame, he fell into collision first with the wretched rationalism of Carlstadt ; a man, with whom, to their credit be it spoken, the Swiss divines never made common cause. Against his shallow destructional spirit, Luther stood forward, as against the whole tribe of the Anabaptists also, in an earnestly and severely conservative tone. The idea of a real life-union with Christ in the Lord's supper, as it had been held by the holy Catholic Church from the beginning, he made to be just as necessary to Christianity as the idea of justification by faith without works. In all this however, laudable as his zeal was in its own nature, he was naturally brought to overlook too much the other side of the sacramental transaction, its reference namely to the atonement. The idea of Christ's death here was thrust aside, to make room for the idea of his glorified life.

Thus differently conditioned by their different rise and growth, the Zuinglian and Lutheran views came at last, a. 1526, to a direct and open conflict. This went forward actively afterwards, with much more dignity on the side of Zwingli than on that of Luther, till the parties were brought finally to a personal meeting, a. 1529, in the memorable conference at Marburg.

This whole controversy was very important, as opening the way for a deeper apprehension of the sacramental question in a following period. It is easy to see, however, that in itself it did not bring this question to its true ground. Both Luther and

Zwingli were to a certain extent right in their different positions; while, on the other hand, both became wrong again, by refusing to see and acknowledge the truth that lay on the contrary side. Luther had good reason to insist on the idea of a real life-union with Christ in the sacrament; but he had no right to deny, at the same time, the direct reference it bears to the sacrificial value of his death. Here palpably Zwingli showed himself more sound than his opponent, by intonating as he did the commemorative relation of the ordinance to the broken body and shed blood of the Redeemer, and insisting on a metaphorical sense in the words of institution. But he had no right, on the other side, to press this view, at the cost of the mystical union. To such extreme antagonism, however, the controversy, as in all similar cases, naturally tended throughout; and we find both parties accordingly, at the Marburg conference, as also more or less before, firmly planted on their opposite portions of truth, in the way of abrupt contradiction, as though one must be necessarily all right and the other all wrong.

How far Zwingli may have had a correct apprehension of the life-union of believers with Christ, is not clear. Dr. Ebrard, who shows himself throughout his great admirer and zealous apologist, puts him in this respect on higher ground than we have assigned to him in the *Mystical Presence*.¹ His idea is that

¹ The view of Zwingli, with regard to the Lord's supper, is not always consistent with itself. At times, he appears to take the proper ground, as afterwards more clearly established in the Reformed church; and it may well be doubted whether he could have been deliberately satisfied at all with the poor, bald conception, which is too often made to pass under his name at the present time. Still it must be confessed, that his theory of the sacraments, altogether, was too low, as compared with the doctrine of Calvin for instance, or the Heidelberg Catechism; and in some cases he allows himself to speak of them in a way that sounds perfectly rationalistic. He tells us indeed: "Verum Christi corpus credimus in Cœna sacramentaliter et spiritualiter edi, a religiosa, fidei et sancta mente;" but in the same connection resolves all into the most common moral influence. For the sacraments have their value and efficacy, he says, in this, that they are venerable institutions of Christ,—that they are *testimony* to great facts,—that they are made to *stand for* the things they represent and to bear their *names*,—that these things are of vast worth, and *reflect* their own value on their signs, as a queen's wedding-ring, for instance, is more than all her other rings however precious besides,—that there is an *analogy* or resemblance between the signs and the things they signify,—that they serve as *sensible helps* to our faith,—and that they have, finally, the force of an *oath*. See his *Claræ Expos. Fidei*, addressed to the king of France shortly before his death, and published afterwards in the year 1536; quoted by *Hospius*, II, p. 239—241. "Credo, omnia sacramenta tam abesse, ut gratiam conferant, ut ne offerant quidem aut dispensent." *Ad Car. Imp. Fidei Ratio*—"Sunt sacra-

Zuingli all along regarded an inward union with Christ's life, as the necessary foundation of all the grace that is brought nigh to us in the Lord's supper, and that it was only his fear of losing the other interest that led him, in the pressure of controversy, to thrust it more and more out of sight. How precisely this may have been, we will not pretend to say; Ebrard brings forward some strong passages; it must be confessed, from his earlier writings, in support of what he supposes; and it would be a great satisfaction certainly to have the point fully established, in favor of a man whose memory has so many claims on our affectionate respect. There is much, however, in the case to create perplexity and doubt, and it is not easy to forget the unfavorable judgment given of him by Calvin. But so much in any view we owe to his great name, not to estimate his position from relations that come into view only after his death; but to take him as he stood, in the first stadium of the sacramental controversy, and entangled in the false antithesis or issue, (*Gegensatz*), which it carried in his controversy with Luther. As we have no right to burden a father of the third century, for instance, with christological consequences that hang on new issues created in the fourth, so also it is unbecoming to saddle Zuingli with sacramental consequences, that come fairly and fully into view, only under a wholly new phase of the controversy in the days of Calvin and Joachim Westphal. The Calvinistic issue was never clearly presented either to him or Luther. Had it been exhibited in full form at the conference at Marburg, it is by no means improbable that it would have brought both these patriarchs of the Reformation to join hands on the same ground; unless indeed the pride of *committal*, strong as we all know even in partially sanctified minds, might have stood in the way. Perhaps, however, the process of the controversy itself required that it should be otherwise. That first abrupt antagonism was itself needed, to make room for the deep irenical view that followed. Still it is consoling to know, that neither Zuingli nor Luther ever distinctly negatived the sacramental doctrine of Calvin; for

menta signa vel ceremoniae—quibus se homo *ecclesiae probat* aut candidatum aut militem esse Christi, reddunque ecclesiam totam potius certiorem de tua fide, quam te."—*De Vera et Falsa Rel.* This is low enough, certainly, and in full contradiction to the true Reformed doctrine. Calvin went so far as to call it *profane*. See quotation from a letter to Viret in *Henry's Leben J. Calvin's*, vol. I., p. 271: Nunquam ejus (Zuinglii) omnia legi. Fortassis sub finem vitæ retractavit et correxit, quæ primum invito exciderant. Sed in scriptis prioribus memini, quam profana sit ejus de sacramentis sententia.—*Myst. Pres.* p. 64.

it was not properly at hand to them, for any such purpose. Zwingli, in this view, is no proper representative of the low rationalistic theory of the Lord's supper, which is now so widely prevalent in his name. It may indeed be questioned, whether he could ever have been satisfied to acknowledge it as his own. Our full persuasion is rather, that most of this modern thinking, as familiarly illustrated on all sides, finds its true historical type, not in genial faith of the great Swiss Reformer at all, but in the far less respectable spiritualism of Andrew Bodenstein Carlstadt.

Bucer and the Wittemberg Concord.

The Marburg conference seemed, in one view, to be a failure. Luther and Zwingli parted, as they met, without agreement, each to appearance more firmly fixed than before in his own mind. In another view, however, the occasion was of vast importance. It made the parties better acquainted with each other than they had been previously. It brought the old controversy to its utmost tension; and in doing so opened the way for a salutary remission and pause, in which room was found for a new and better view of the whole question to take root extensively in the mind of the church. It is remarkable, that both Oecolampadius and Melancthon, from this time, seem to have modified considerably their previous theories, approaching each other on what was felt to be deeper ground. Evidently indeed, in different directions, both in Germany and Switzerland, a tendency was at work towards a conception of the sacrament, which promised finally to reconcile and unite the interests so long divided in this unhappy conflict. Even Luther himself showed signs of being at least wearied with the strife, and in the end carried his concessions in favor of union much farther, than could have been expected of him at an earlier day.

The divines of Strasburg, with the excellent Bucer at their head, were particularly active in seeking such a reconciliation. Placed by geographical position between Saxony and Switzerland, and in intimate friendly communication with both, they were led to assume also, almost from the start, a sort of middle ground in the sacramental controversy, on which it became their great interest and endeavor subsequently to effect a junction of the Lutheran and Zuinglian views. Unfortunately, however, they had no clear insight into the nature of the real point of difference between these views, and the true sense of their own position as including in fact a real advance of the whole question to new and higher ground. So instead of addressing them-

selves to the business of an *inward* settlement of the difficulty, as they should have done, by proper exposition and criticism, we find them throughout laboring rather for a merely external reconciliation, in which the difficulty was to be simply hushed; or treated as though it did not exist. Bucer tried to persuade himself that both sides in reality meant the same thing, and then toiled heroically to bring them to the same opinion. The effort of course could not be successful; but it formed notwithstanding a vastly important act, in the progress of the great theological drama to which it belonged.

In the year 1530, the *Augsburg Confession* was formed. On the subject of the Lord's supper, it affirmed, in the tenth article, that "the true body and blood of Christ are actually present, taken and received, under the form of bread and wine," (that is, under *both* forms, and not simply the form of bread as taught by the Romanists,) in the sacred ordinance. It did not assert a local inclusion of the body and blood in the elements; avoided thus in truth Luther's conceit of an *oral* manducation; while, at the same time, it proclaimed, with proper antithesis to Zwingli's tendency to resolve all into a simply monumental character, the fact of an actually present fruition of the Saviour's mediatorial life.

Southern Germany at the same time, under the guidance particularly of Bucer, presented a separate confession, (the so called *Tetrapolitan*,) in which Christ is said to give in the sacramental mystery his true body and blood, "to be truly eaten and drunk as the food and drink of souls, by which they may be nourished into everlasting life." This at once raises the mystery distinctly into the sphere of the spirit, and corresponds fully with the view of Calvin. It expressed, however, only the sense of the Augsburg Confession itself, as it stood at least in Melanchthon's mind; and we find the "four cities" accordingly admitted, on this basis, to the general Lutheran confederation.

Zwingli's life was brought to an untimely end, soon after, a. 1531, on the bloody field of Cappel. Luther was so affected with the intelligence, as he tells us himself, that his sleep was turned into a night of weeping and tears. Alas that he had not wept sooner, when challenged by the streaming eyes of Zwingli at their only meeting in Marburg!

Now followed, through a series of years, the well meant, but badly conducted, negotiations of Bucer, to effect a general concord. These we have not room here, of course, to follow in detail. First, it was necessary to satisfy Luther, that the Tetrapolitan Confession itself involved no essential variation from that

of Augsburg. Next we have Bucer, on his first campaign, a. 1533, in Zurich, trying to persuade the Helvetic divines, that they might easily come to a similar pacification. They were too honest, however, to fall in with his imagination that the difference could be thus reduced to nothing; and charged him with being unfair either to them or Luther, in pretending to agree with both. After proper preliminary preparations, we find him, a. 1535, again on the field; negotiating now with Melancthon and Luther; coming to the result finally of the "Declaration of Cassel," in which the bread and wine were said to be *exhibitive* signs involving, by *sacramental* union, the simultaneous presence of Christ's flesh and blood. Then came the third and last campaign, a. 1536, resulting in the celebrated Concord of Wittemberg. The object was first to unite the Helvetic Church in the Cassel declaration. Switzerland, at this time, was not itself of one mind. Nearest to Strasburg stood Basel, whose First Confession, as drawn up by Oecolampadius, contained in truth the very view of Bucer. Zurich was more disposed to adhere to the Zwinglian conception, though favorably inclined also to the project of union. Bern for a time clung most stiffly of all to Zwingli's particular stand-point, under the influence especially of Megander; a zealot on the Swiss side, who may be taken as a fair counterpart to Westphal subsequently on the Lutheran side. A strong counter influence, however, gained ground here also, more and more. Finally, Bucer and Capito were empowered to represent the general Helvetic church, and to negotiate on its behalf articles of agreement with Luther and the Saxon divines, on the basis substantially of the First Helvetic Confession published a short time before. This negotiation led to the Wittemberg Concord; a contradictory formula, which first denies the local inclusion of the body of Christ in the bread, and then asserts that it is truly received with it by unbelievers as well as believers.

To such a concord, of course, Switzerland could not consent; and all pains were taken to let the fact be known. A delegation waited on Bucer from Basel, to protest. Eight days he labored to satisfy them; but in vain. Gryneus told him plainly, that he wrested the sense of Luther in trying to bring it into harmony with that of the Helvetic church. Then came new public transactions in Switzerland; in which Bucer labored still in vain to reconcile the Swiss to his construction of the Wittemberg Concord. At last, it was determined to write to Luther himself on the subject, and get his sense as it were directly from his own mouth. Honest Helvetians! How little evidence we

see in all these transactions of a disposition to "conciliate Luther," at the cost of truth and sincerity, or to bend and strain their own true creed, as much as possible, "to meet the views of the Lutherans," or to frame confessions "for the express purpose of compromise;" according to the general charge preferred by Dr. Hodge, against the whole Reformed church of this period. Clearly their great care was to avoid every sort of misunderstanding, as well to shun even the most remote implication in what they conceived to be the great error of Luther's doctrine, the idea namely of anything like a local presence or oral manducation in the mystery of the holy supper.

In the letter to Luther now mentioned, the Swiss divines laid before him a copy of Bucer's exposition of the Concord, and declared that if *this* were its true sense, they were ready to accept its articles. Then, to cut off all possible mistake, they state their general creed, and their view of the Lord's supper in particular. In this sacrament, they say, "the main thing is God's gift, namely the body and blood of Christ, yea *the body which has been delivered to death for us, and the blood which has been shed on the cross to wash away our sins.*"—"We deny not that the body and blood of Christ are eaten and enjoyed, in the supper, as the food of souls and unto eternal life. But this have we with our predecessors denied, and deny it still to *this* day, that the body of Christ is eaten in itself corporeally or as flesh, or that he is everywhere present with his body in a corporeal and natural way."

This letter was carried to Luther by Bucer himself. His answer came nine months afterward; respectful and friendly; and, strangely enough, acquiescing in their explanation and position.

Thus the old controversy came to at least a sort of outward pacification, which continued in force subsequently for fifteen years. During this calm, time and opportunity were allowed for the quiet development of what may be denominated the Melanchthonian and Calvinistic theory, in opposition to crass Lutheranism on the one side and crass Zuinglianism on the other. The way was already open, in different directions, for this auspicious advance. There was indeed a portion of the Swiss church, represented by such men as Megander, which was disposed to cling to the separate stand-point of Zuingli, even when it was becoming clear that it needed to be made complete, by admitting the presence of Christ's *life* in the sacrament, though not in Luther's sense; but the other deeper view, as held by men like Oecolampadius, Myconius, Grynæus, and we will add Bullinger also, and as we have it exhibited in the First and Second

Confessions of Basel, was gradually unfolding itself, at the same time, more or less clearly also, on all sides, in the general consciousness.¹ The Helvetic church is exhibited to us under an aspect of confusion, (not without some contradiction,) in the process of an inward transition towards the true Reformed creed as subsequently spoken with clear full voice; not of course with the abandonment of Zwingli's doctrine as absolutely false, but so as to save its true force rather in a higher conception and definition.

This is *not* the period then to which we are to look primarily, for finally definitive testimony in regard to the sacramental doctrine of the Reformed church in the sixteenth century. To make it the measure of interpretation for the period immediately following, is to do violence to all history. The church gain-

¹ The *First Confession of Basel* was published January, 1534, in compliance with Bucer's request, to show the world that the Swiss were not fairly liable to the reproach of "having the supper without Christ. It is supposed to have been the production originally of Oecolampadius, revised and improved by his successor Oswald Myconius. On the subject of the Lord's supper, it uses the following language:

"In the Lord's supper, (in which with the bread and wine of the Lord are represented and offered to us by the minister of the church the true body and blood of Christ,) bread and wine remain unchanged. We firmly believe, however, that Christ himself (ipsummet Christum,) is the food of believing souls unto eternal life; and that our souls, by true faith upon Christ crucified, are made to eat and drink the flesh and blood of Christ; so that we, members of his body as of our only head, live in him, as he also lives in us; whereby we shall at the last day, by him and in him, rise to everlasting joy and blessedness."—*Art. 6.*

The *Second Confession of Basel*, more commonly known as the *First Helvetic Confession*, was framed by Bullinger, Myconius and Grynæus, a. 1536, under the appointment of an ecclesiastical convention, which had assembled in the name of the different Protestant cantons at Basel for this purpose; by whose authority also it was afterwards ratified and made public. Its language on the Lord's supper is as follows:

"Concerning the mystical supper we thus judge, that the Lord in it truly offers to his people his own body and blood, that is himself, to the end that he may live more and more in them and they in him. Not that the body and blood of the Lord are naturally united with the bread and wine, or locally included in them, or are made carnally present in any way; but that the bread and wine are, by divine appointment, symbols under which, by the Lord himself, through the ministry of the church, the true communication of his body and blood is exhibited, not as perishable food for the belly, but as the aliment of eternal life."—*Art. 23.*

This Confession was submitted to Luther, on the occasion which led to the Wittemberg Concord. Strange to say, he pronounced it orthodox; although it contradicts palpably enough his own system, and falls short even of the full force of the Reformed doctrine, as afterwards more clearly and successfully stated.

ed a new stadium, by the ministry of Calvin. He did not indeed create or originate its faith; but he was beyond all controversy, the organ or medium, by which it came at last to its full expression.

"To learn the true character of the eucharistic doctrine of the Reformed church in the sixteenth century, we must have recourse to the time when the doctrine had become properly defined and settled in the church itself. The representations of this period are not to be ruled and interpreted by statements drawn from an earlier day, but on the contrary, these earlier statements, springing as they do from a comparatively rudimental state of Protestant theology, must be of right interpreted and ruled by the form in which the doctrine is made to appear afterwards, when the same theology had become more complete. This later form of the doctrine moreover, as developed and enforced especially by Calvin, is the same which it is found to carry in the symbolical books of the church generally, and in this view again must be regarded of course as of paramount and exclusive authority in the present inquiry."—*Myst. Pres.* p. 64–65.

In assigning so central and prominent a place to Calvin here, we follow no arbitrary choice simply of our own mind; as little as we could be fairly charged with doing so, in making General Washington the central figure in the war of our American Revolution. The one case is full as clear in the light of history as the other, and just as little open to any sort of scientific contradiction or doubt. No other construction can be entitled to the least historical respect.

With such preparation we pass on now to the doctrine of the mystical or spiritual real presence, as we find it fully proclaimed in the end by the great reformer of Geneva.

Oecolampadius and Melancthon.

We have glanced rapidly over the *first* section of the sacramental history of the sixteenth century, extending from the birth of the Reformation to the formation of the Wittemberg Concord, in the year 1536. The whole controversy, through this period, turned on the antithesis or issue first joined between Zuingli and Luther. The first, in opposing the mass, had been led to press the simply monumental side of the holy mystery; the second, by his inward and outward relations, had his mind more turned towards its mystical, directly life-giving value for the individual worshipper. Zuingli insisted on the *sacrifice* of Christ as the great object of appropriation in the ordinance;

Luther on the presence of his glorified life. Both had right on their side, so far as their main positions were concerned; but each fell into wrong again, in refusing to recognize and admit the truth maintained by the other. To save his conception, Luther required a sort of *outward* entrance of Christ's life into ours; it must be by the mouth, and independently even of faith. This Zwingli, with good reason, rejected. Such a participation seemed to him carnal and useless. What we need in Christ is his sacrifice already made for sin; this we reach by faith; which is the only organ of communication with him in the Lord's supper, as well as in all other acts of worship. The words of institution he made accordingly to be figurative; and in this he was right; they do refer certainly to the power of his death immediately, and not to the idea of his glorified life. Luther's exegesis here was always pedantic and violent in the extreme. But was it necessary for the two views absolutely to exclude each other?

The controversy, in this first form, in due time spent its force. We find it lulled to rest finally in the Wittemberg Concord. Zwingli had gone to his reward. Luther never came to a clear sense of the precise defect of his own system; but evidently he had some misgivings in relation to it, which prevented him from taking any firm stand against the new tendency, that was silently at work on all sides, during the latter part of his life.

In the mean time a deeper and better view of the sacramental presence was quietly striking its roots into the consciousness of the Protestant world, and mounting upwards to mature strength. This was not confined to any one section of the church, but comes before us rather as the spontaneous product of its general life, starting forth at various points from the fermenting process which had gone before.¹ We find it widely

¹ "We find thus, between the onesided views of Luther and Zwingli, at many points, without concert, under different forms and by different authors, the appearance of a third way of looking at the Lord's supper; which holds fast on one side the *reality*, on the other side the *centrality*, of the communion Christ makes of himself in the sacrament, and rejects alike his reception by mere thought and his reception by the bodily mouth. This view forms the higher unity of the other two; as the truth of both is fully saved by its means. On one side, it carries out the proper sense of what Zwingli aimed at; for it starts from the exegetical basis, that the Lord's supper is designed to confirm the christian in the new covenant founded in Christ's *broken body* and *shed blood*; but it goes on still farther to the full evolution of the truth of which we have only the germ with Zwingli, that this covenant with Christ is no covenant in thought, but a covenant that stands in *union* and perpetually renewed communion with Christ's life. So on the other

active in the German church, under the banner of the Augsburg Confession. Its main representative here was Melancthon himself, the author of the Confession ; and one striking evidence of it, is exhibited to us in the alteration introduced into the tenth article of this symbol, by his own hand. The alteration simply expressed the sense of the article, as understood by himself, in its first form ; and that he was not singular at all in such view, appears from the fact that the alteration was at once very generally accepted as fully right and valid. And yet the article, so defined, makes no account of a local presence or oral communication whatever. It simply affirms the *fact* of a real participation in Christ's mediatorial life, without determining the *mode*. It soon appeared, that a large part of the Lutheran church rested in this Melancthonian view as the only proper sense of the Augsburg Confession. In the Helvetic church, as we have seen, there was a parallel movement, that served to bring in gradually a very material modification of the Zuinglian doctrine. The significance of the eucharist as a memorial of Christ's sacrifice was still insisted on as at first ; but attention was now turned besides, more than in the beginning, to the idea of a real participation in his life, as the necessary condition and support of the other interest. The question came into view : Admitting our communion with Christ here to be, not by the mouth but only by faith, not in the flesh but only by the Spirit, does it not still involve in this way an actual appropriation of the life or substance of his person, as the bearer of his merit and righteousness ? How Zwingli might have replied to this question, sundered entirely from the old Lutheran antithesis, is not clear ; it was not properly the issue on which he was called to pronounce. We know, however, how it was answered by Oecolampadius, in the latter part of his life. We know too, that this view, as expressed for instance in the First Confession of Basel, became always more and more predominant as the true sense of the original Helvetic faith.

side, it is a purification also of the proper sense of Luther; for it takes the doctrinal ground, that for the appropriation of Christ's merits mere subjective faith is not enough, but that it requires also real union with Christ; while however it goes beyond the dualistic distinction still made by Luther between such faith apart from the sacrament and a corporeal union in the sacrament, to the idea of *one*, neither merely spiritual nor merely corporeal but *psychically central*, union with Christ (embracing at once both body and spirit) which begins in regeneration, and is of continuous character, but receives in the holy supper new advances by renewed real communication on Christ's side."—*Ebrard, vol. II. p. 435-436.*

As in the Lutheran church we meet afterwards an interest, led on by such men as Westphal and Hesshuss, which violently refused to quit the old Lutheran stand-point, even after it had become plain that it could be made complete only by being advanced to the ground occupied by Melanchthon; so in the Swiss church also a like onesided tenacity of the past discovered itself, in men like Megander, against the corresponding advance of which we now speak. This gave rise to a good deal of confusion and contradiction. Megandrian Zuinglianism and Flaccian Lutheranism are the opposite sides of the old antithesis, refusing to follow now the stream of history towards a true union of these divided interests in a higher view. That higher view, as it comes out at last in its full proportions, may be denominated Melancthonian Calvinism.

Calvin did not create this system, and then convert the Swiss church to it as a new theory. Nothing can well be more unhistorical, than to conceive of the Helvetic divines, with Bullinger at their head, as standing, down to the time of the *Consensus Tigurinus* for instance, in the same relation precisely to the sacramental question, in which they stood at Zwingli's death. The question in fact was no longer the same, and as a general thing they were no longer on the same ground. Zuinglian still, so far as the old issue went, they felt very widely the necessity of so extending their system as to include in it the substance also of what had been contended for by Luther. In these circumstances it was, that Calvin, admirably formed for such service by the whole constitution of his mind, became the distinguished organ in God's hands for unfolding into clear and full statement the sense which the church was struggling to reach; all with so happy a success, that Zuinglianism was brought in a very short time to surmount itself completely in the true position of the Reformed church, as we have it embodied subsequently in all the symbolical books of that age.

"This view," says Professor Ebrard, "was not brought in, as modern polemics may represent, in the way of temporary compliance towards the Lutherans, as though the Reformed church had to thank the Lutheran for such a morsel of truth as she came thus to possess; but we find it, long before Bucer's negotiations, uttered independently by Oecolampadius in the *Confessio Mylhusiana*, as Calvin brought it with him independently also from France."

Calvinistic Theory.

Calvin published the first edition of his *Institutes*, a. 1535, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and before he had come into connection with either the Lutheran or Helvetic system of thinking. Here we find very distinctly stated, the sacramental doctrine which he continued to hold to the end of his life. With Zuingli, he rejects every idea of a *local* presence, and places Christ's body circumspectively at the right hand of God; but he will not allow this to stand in the way at all of a real communication of his mediatorial life to our persons. With Luther, he asserts an actual presence of Christ's life in the sacrament; but he will not admit the thought of any corporeal ubiquity for this purpose. The mystery transcends all the conditions of common natural experience; falls not within the sphere of sense; holds out of space and above it; and is not therefore to be apprehended or explained by the natural understanding. It is effected, superlocally, by the Spirit. Christ's flesh and blood are at hand, not in the bread and wine as such, but in the transaction; not materially or by mechanical contact in space, but *dynamically*, in the way of living substance and power; not for the outward man primarily and separately, as Luther contended, but for the *soul* (by no means to be confounded here with mere understanding or mind,) as the central life of the whole person, so as to flow out from this to the *body* also as the true pabulum of immortality. The circumscription of Christ's person, says Calvin, soaring in this thought above both Luther and Zuingli, is not such as to impose any restriction on his activity; "that he should not put forth his energy wherever he may please, in heaven or on earth; or exhibit himself as present in power and virtue; or be always at hand to his people; live in them, sustain, confirm, quicken and preserve them, as fully as though he were at hand in the body."¹

It is easy of course, to turn all this into the common place thought, that Christ, by his Spirit or in virtue of his divinity, sways a universal empire in the Church from which his proper human life is excluded; but no one at all familiar with Calvin, can suppose him to be chargeable with any such frigid sense in

¹ Hoc regnum nec ullis locorum spatiis limitatum, nec ullis dimensionibus circumscripsum, quin Christus virtutem suam, ubicunque placuerit, in celo et in terra exserat, quin se praesentem potentia ac virtute exhibeat, quin suis semper adsit, in iis vivat, eos sustineat, confirmet, vegetet, conservet, non secus ac si corpore adset. Instit. ed. prim. p. 246; as quoted by Henry.

the use of such strong language. He means to assert a real presence of Christ's full mediatorial being, only under a super-local order of existence. Those who choose to do so, may pronounce this unintelligible mysticism ; our business here is not to defend it, but only to represent it as a historical fact. And yet, why should it be deemed so incredible for Him, who is raised in our nature over all material limitations, (in the *full sense* of the eighth psalm, the whole world under his feet,) to reveal the force of his entire being wherever he may please ? Have we not analogies enough even in our present natural sphere, to show that separation in space is no bar whatever to the most intimate and complete *dynamic union* ? Is not the root of the tree *in its* branches, and the head of the body *in its* members, far more really than they could possibly be by any mechanical juxtaposition or conjunction ? See *Mystical Presence*, p. 172-173. To the profound and comprehensive mind of the great christian philosopher, Leibnitz, this idea carried no absurdity or insuperable difficulty whatever. The true reconciliation of the two confessions, Reformed and Lutheran, he finds just in this ; "that the substance of the body consists in its *primitive power*, active and passive, and that the immediate application of this power forms the *presence* of such substance, *even without dimensions*."¹ It is a most low view of the body, in any case, to make it consist of a given quantum of matter in space ; its fundamental character is found only in the psychic force which comes to its revelation in this form. So Calvin saw and felt ; and in such view it is, that he rejects the crass notion of Luther ; not to sunder the body of Christ from the mystery of the holy eucharist, but only to make the more sure of its presence in its true vital energy and virtue.

Soon after, a. 1536, we find Calvin settled in Geneva. A very important ecclesiastical convention, the so called *September Synod*, was held the following year, a. 1537, at Bern. On this occasion, the three Genevan divines, Farel, Calvin and Viret, presented their memorable "confession of faith in regard to the eucharist." It well deserves here our special attention. "The spiritual life which Christ bestows upon us," it is here affirmed, "consists not merely in this, that he vivifies us *by his Spirit*, but that by the power of his Spirit also he makes us to partake of

¹ *Pensees de Leibnitz*, Paris 1803, p. 106, as quoted by Ebrard : "que la substance du corps consiste dans la puissance primitive, active et passive, et que c'est dans l'application immediate de cette puissance que consiste la presence de la substance, même sans dimensions."

his *life-giving flesh*, (*carnis suæ vivificæ*), by which participation we are fed unto everlasting life." This is the Calvinistic *mystical union*, as it enters into the general christian life. It holds only through the soul, as the proper centre of the new man, and is wrought by the Spirit in conjunction with the activity of faith; but it is notwithstanding a real making over of Christ's human life dynamically to his people, in such a way that this is carried out into their bodies also as the principle of the resurrection and the pabulum of immortality. How far this goes beyond the notion of the mystical union as now generally held, we need not say. Calvin shows here a clear sense of the central unity of our life, as embracing corporeity and spirituality at last in the form of a single fact; and it is only the stubborn dualism which too generally characterizes our modern thinking, that makes it so hard for many to get at his sense. Our union with Christ is not outward or mechanical; it rests in no local descent or contact; but it is in the fullest sense vital, and involves an actual organic reproduction or birth in us of his very life. So the confession goes on; "When therefore we speak of the communion which believers have with Christ, we mean that they communicate with his flesh and blood not less than with his Spirit; so as to possess thus the whole Christ." This is said to be clearly the sense of the Scriptures, and it is added: "Nor is it a small or common thing the apostle teaches, when he asserts that we are *flesh of Christ's flesh and bone of his bones*, but he so designates the admirable *mystery* of our communion with his *body*, which no one may adequately describe in words." All this, it is next said, requires no *local* presence; "for the efficacy of his Spirit is not so limited by any bounds, but that he can *truly copulate and gather into one*, things that are locally disjoined. We acknowledge accordingly that his Spirit is the bond of our participation in him"—not so however, let it be well noticed, as if the Spirit simply flowed here from Christ to us in an outward way, leaving his proper life behind, in the way represented by Dr. Hodge—"but so, that he *feeds us truly with the substance of the Lord's flesh and blood unto immortality* and vivifies us by *their participation*." Then comes the relation of the general mystery to the eucharist: "This communion of his flesh and blood, Christ *offers and presents* in his holy supper, under the symbols of bread and wine, to all who rightly attend upon it in its proper character."¹ Here is

¹ *Vitam spiritualem quam nobis Christus largitur, non in eo duntaxat sicut esse confitemur, quod spiritu suo nos vivificat, sed quod spiritus etiam*

the objective force of the sacrament, recognized in full. It is a real *act*, on the side of Christ. Along with the outward service, proceeds an inward divine mystery, *actus in actu*, of which the outward is to be regarded as the symbol and pledge. Christ "offers and presents," in a real way, the very thing, (viz., the living and vivific virtue of his flesh and blood,) which the elements of bread and wine externally represent.

This confession is exceedingly important. It was presented to a synod of the Helvetic Church, fully alive on all sides to the bearing and force of its several positions, and by no means disposed to fall blindly over into Luther's arms. A strong Megan-drian interest prevailed in Bern, and just at this time no small amount of prejudice was roused by the negotiations connected with the Wittemberg Concord. Bucer and Capito found it necessary to attend the Synod, in their own defence. The subject led to large discussion and debate. Such, however, was the prevailing tendency, that in the end the scale turned, even here in Bern, in favor of Bucer's view. Megander felt himself defeated. He had formed a Catechism, in which the Lord's supper was declared to be a mere *memorial* of Christ's death; this the Synod ordered to be changed; and another section was substituted for this part of it accordingly, not long after, composed by Bucer. "The epidemic of Bucerism," it was said complain-

sui virtute carnis sue vivificæ nos facit participes, qua participatione in vitam æternam pascamur. Itaque cum de communione, quam cum Christo fideles habent, loquimur, non minus carni et sanguini ejus communicare ipsos intelligimus, quam spiritui, ut ita totum Christum possideant. Siquidem cum asserte testetur scriptura, carnem Christi vere nobis esse cibum, et sanguinem ejus vere potum, ipsis vero nos educari oportere constat, si vitam in Christo quærimus. Jam nec exiguum quiddam aut vulgare docet apostolus, cum nos carnem de Christi carne et ossa de ossibus ejus esse asserit, sed eximum nostræ cum ipsis corpore communionis mysterium ita designat, quod nullus verbis satis pro dignitate explicare queat. Ceterum istis-nihil repugnat, quod Dominus noster in celum sublatus, localem corporis sui præsentiam nobis abstulit, quæ hic minime exigitur. Nam ut-canque nos in hac mortalitate perigrinantes in eodem loco cum ipso non includimur aut continemur, nullis tamen finibus limitata est ejus spiritus efficiacia, quin vere copulare et in unum colligere possit, quæ locorum spatia sunt disjuncta. Ergo spiritum ejus vinculum esse nostræ cum ipso participationis agnoscimus, sed ita, ut nos ille carnis et sanguinis Domini substantia vera ad immortalitatem pascat, et eorum participatione vivificet. Hanc autem carnis et sanguinis sui communionem Christus sub panis et vini symbolis in sacrosancta sua coena offert et exhibet omnibus, qui eam rite celebrant juxta legitimum ejus institutum.—*Henry, Leben Calv. I. Beilage*

5. How any scholar can pretend to question Calvin's faith in a real life communication for believers in Christ's humanity, in the face of such a passage, it is not easy to comprehend.

ingly by Megander and his friends, "spread daily more and more." The Genevan divines stood openly of course on the same ground. Bucer and Capito subscribed their eucharistic confession, and it became, in fact, an official act of union, "between the Strasburgers and the Swiss."

Calvin at Strasburg.

Soon after, we find Calvin fairly in the bosom of the Lutheran church itself. His banishment from Geneva, a. 1538, led him subsequently to Strasburg, where he was settled as minister and theological teacher for a period of between two and three years. Here of course he signed the Augsburg Confession.¹ It is not clear, whether in its altered or unaltered form; but this is a point of no consequence whatever, as the first only expressed the sense which was attached to the last by Melancthon himself. Calvin thus had no difficulty with either. He stood on common ground with Melancthon, Bucer, and a wide section of the Lutheran church besides, and considered himself of the same confession without the least force put on his previous convictions. The case required no explanation, and cost no sort of trouble. And yet, as we have seen, the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession explicitly affirms, that the body and blood of Christ are truly presented, in the Lord's supper, along with the bread and wine. Did Calvin play the hypocrite here? Or was he the clever church politician simply, paying outward court to Lutheran prejudice and power? It needs some courage, to say or think anything so bold as that.

More than this. During his settlement at Strasburg, Calvin is found entering, without the smallest embarrassment, into ecclesiastical relations and transactions of a wholly Lutheran character, as one fully naturalized and at home in his new church sphere. In 1539, he attended the Frankfort convention; in 1540, the conferences at Hagenau and Worms; in 1541, the transactions at Ratisbon; as a delegate from the Strasburg church; and was looked upon as altogether Lutheran, no less than Bucer himself. At Frankfort, he met first with Melancthon, and had full communication with him on the subject of the Lord's supper. "He assured me," says Calvin, "that he had no other

¹ *Nec vero Augustanam confessionem repudio, cui pridem volens ac ludentis subscripsi, sicut eam author ipse interpretatus est.—Letter to Schaling, a. 1557.*

view than the one my words expressed." The two great men entered into a bond of the most intimate friendship, which lasted through life ; with the full understanding that on the mystery of the real presence they thought alike.

So little however did Calvin find it necessary to conceal or modify his sacramental doctrine in Strasburg, in favor of Luther's theory, that we find him here writing and publishing on the whole subject exactly as before. The second edition of his *Institutes* was issued from this place. Here also he published his *Catechism*, in its last complete form ; also his admirable tract *de Cœna*, the great object of which was precisely to carry the whole question above the old Zuinglian and Lutheran antithesis, to the higher form in which this had come to an end in his own mind. Not the shadow of a wish do we see to strain the doctrine as he held it, either towards one side or the other.

The Catechism repeats in full the view presented at the September Synod in Bern. Quotations here would carry us too far. The christian life is represented as holding always in the form of a mystical union with Christ, accomplished by the Spirit through the soul or central principle of our two-fold life, but extending from this into the whole man ; in the Lord's supper, this communication, always only partial in our present state, is confirmed and increased ; the bread and wine are symbols, of no power aside from the action of the Spirit, but along with them is offered really and truly the life-giving virtue of Christ's flesh and blood ; they are not merely significative, but also exhibitive, signs ; whence the catechumen is made to say : " I do not doubt, but that as the words and signs testify, so he makes us partakers also of his substance, that we may coalesce with him into one life." By substance is meant of course, not matter in any sense, but the virtue and active energy in which pre-eminently, Calvin supposes Christ's glorified body to consist. All again as a mystery, transcending the categories of space and sense ; " by the mirific and hidden power of his Spirit, for whom it is not difficult to bind together things which are otherwise locally far apart." We must look then not to the bread and wine as such, but to Christ in heaven ; not however in the flat sense of reaching him only by our subjective thought and feeling ; and still less in the dream of anything like a real local ascent of the soul to his presence, such as some have charged Calvin with teaching, to make his theory absurd ; but in such a way as to expect from him superlocally, and not from the local signs in any material mode, the objective grace of the holy sacrament, a true participation namely, by the mirific power of the Holy

Ghost, in the very substance of Christ's life. Such is the clear sense of Calvin's Catechism.

The tract *On the Supper*, (de Coena,) is only a more extended and minute exposition of the same doctrine. See *Calv. Opp. T. IX.* p. 1-9. He blames both Luther and Zwingli, for pushing their separate views to an extreme. The elements are signs; but they are sure pledges also of the accompanying presence of the things they represent. Christ hangs out here no *false colors*. "We have a very fair parallel, in an analogous case. When the Lord was pleased to manifest his Spirit at Christ's baptism, he represented it under the figure of a dove. John the Baptist, narrating the event, says that he saw the Holy Ghost descending. If we look at it closely; we will perceive that he *saw* nothing but the dove; for the essence of the Holy Spirit is invisible. As he knew however that the vision was no vain show, but the most sure sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit, he hesitates not to say that he saw it, as having been represented in such way as the case allowed. So in the communion which we have in Christ's flesh and blood, we must say, the mystery is spiritual, such as cannot be seen with the eyes nor comprehended by human understanding. It is shown to us accordingly by figures and signs that fall under the cognizance of sense, as is required by the imbecility of our nature; in such way however, that it is *not a naked and simple figure*, but joined also *with its own truth and substance*. The bread thus is of right termed Body; since it not only represents this, but actually offers it to our use." Could any statement well be more explicit and clear. Calvin employs the same striking parallel elsewhere also, to illustrate his view of the mystical or sacramental presence.

"Calvin rendered an incalculable service here to the church," says his biographer Henry, "in directing the attention of one wide section of it to the force and power of the Lord's supper, which some in Switzerland were disposed to turn into a mere commemoration. Millions of christians in the Reformed church owe it to him, that they have enjoyed the supper in its right sense, so as to partake in it of the true, spiritual, glorified Christ. His deep view moreover has almost everywhere become prevalent now in the Evangelical church." This last remark is made of Germany of course, and not of our evangelical American churches. It is somewhat queer, that the same number of the Princeton Repertory which sinks the Reformed doctrine of the

eucharist so low, in its review of the Mystical Presence, has an article highly commendatory of Calvin's Life by Henry.¹

The Consensus Tigurinus.

Such was Calvin in Strasburg. In 1541, he was restored again to Geneva. Switzerland, in the mean time, continued to rise more and more to the proper ground, in regard to the sacraments. Bern had come to stand in great part with Strasburg; Basel leaned strongly the same way; only the small territory centering in Zurich refused to obey the onward movement, and seemed disposed to stick in Megandrian Zuinglianism, as the absolute truth. Calvin undertook now to bring up this interest to the proper line, and to unite thus the whole Helvetic church in the same sacramental doctrine. In the face of such design indeed, an unfavorable reaction was created, towards the close of Luther's life, bearing strongly in the opposite direction. Still Calvin persevered mildly in his good endeavor. The case required, first of all, that he should come to a right understanding with Bullinger, the worthy and influential antistes or superintendent of Zurich. Bullinger held him in considerable suspicion, not knowing fully his sacramental views. This was allayed to some extent by proper correspondence. Finally, Bullinger invited him to a personal interview, on the subject, in Zurich. Calvin declared that no letter was ever more welcome to him than this; and two days after he was on his way to the place, in company with his friend Farel. The conference lasted several days, and resulted in the articles of the famous *Consensus Tigurinus*, which became now, a. 1549, the basis of agreement for the Swiss church in general.

These articles go as far as the case could possibly allow towards the Hélvetic side, in the old controversy; exclude distinct-

¹ In this article the whole sacramental controversy of the 16th century is spoken of, as a foul excrescence simply on the Reformation; without the least sense apparently of its theological necessity in the life of the glorious movement itself; while Luther is said to have disgraced himself by his unexampled "revilings lavished on Zuingli and Calvin." Luther however never had any direct controversy with Calvin; on the contrary, he is reported to have expressed himself with regard to him, on meeting his earlier publications towards the close of his own life, in the most tolerant if not actually favorable terms. The Repertory has no right whatever to carry Zuingli's relations forward to Calvin; just as little as it has to assume either that the faith of Calvin stood in harmony here with its own; which, as we see from Henry himself, was far enough from being the case.

ly Luther's local presence and oral communication ; and lay marked stress on the sacrificial interest, as contended for by Zwingli. But it is not true that they involve, as ultra Lutherans have pretended, an abandonment of the ground previously occupied by Calvin himself in Strasburg and Geneva. On the contrary, they show the triumph of Calvinism over what was still defective in the old Swiss view. Zuinglianism here completes itself publicly, by associating with its primary position distinctly the enunciation of the sacramental *life* mystery, as the necessary basis of all interest in the *sacrifice* to which the transaction refers. It is Bullinger that rises above his old position, as Farel had done before, in free obedience to the superior mind of Calvin ; not Calvin that descends, as the Princeton Review would seem to imagine, to common Megandrian ground. Every such supposition as this last is unhistorical in the extreme. It turns Calvin into either a fool or a knave. No one however can suppose him a fool ; it was not possible for such a man to make so great a transition, and not be aware of the change, if it actually occurred. It comes to this then, that he played a false game either at Strasburg or Zurich. The case is of too grave a character entirely, to be resolved into holy policy and skill. But to say that Calvin played a part here, in such style, is just to pronounce him an unworthy hypocrite throughout. All can see where he stood before, and where he continued to stand afterwards. Even Dr. Hodge himself is forced to admit, that he attributed a mystical efficacy of some sort to Christ's body, which *he* cannot allow or comprehend. And yet he will have it, that this *Consensus Tigurinus* is down to a full level, with the sacramental faith of our modern American churches generally ! If it be so, Calvin was a crafty jesuit indeed.

All that the case requires is, that the document should be interpreted according to the *usus loquendi* of the sixteenth century, and not after the sound it carries to merely modern ears.

The seventh article is quoted by Dr. Hodge in such a way as to obscure, (undesignedly of course,) its true sense. Among other ends of the sacraments, it is there said, "this one is the *principal*, that by them God may *attest, represent and seal* to us his grace. For although they signify nothing different from what is announced in the word itself, it is still a *great thing*, that they are set before our eyes as if *living images*, that may the better affect our senses by conducting as it were to the thing ; while they bring to mind the death of Christ and all his benefits, that faith may be the more exercised, and *besides this confirm and ratify, as with seals*, what God had by his mouth de-

clared.” Dr. Hodge refers the idea of *sealing*, no doubt, to the general grace of God as proclaimed in the gospel. But it lies in the whole doctrine of Calvin as elsewhere declared, and also in the phraseology of the age, that it should be taken in the sense of an authentication of what is at hand mystically in the sacramental transaction itself. The elements have not merely a doctrinal, but also a *pignoral* force, (like the dove in the Baptist's vision,) attesting the presence of Christ's life at the time, not locally but superlocally by the Spirit, for the fruition of all believing communicants. This accordingly is expressly asserted in the next article. “What the sacraments *figure* to our eyes and other senses, the Spirit truly works *within*, namely, that we first enjoy *Christ* as the fountain of all blessings, and then are reconciled to God by the benefit of his death, &c.” All of course depends on the invisible side of the transaction; the elements are “*inanes larvæ*” separately considered, (and the Baptist's dove was no better;) but still the sacraments are *organs*, by which God works “efficaciously” where it seems good. Most plainly the Consensus Tigurinus understands by *signs, seals, fruition of Christ*, &c., something far more deep and real than the simply mental process into which all is resolved apparently by Dr. Hodge.

¹ Art. VII.—Sunt quidem et hi Sacramentorum fines, ut note sint ac testaræ Christianæ professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitamenta et exercitia fidei ac piæ vite, denique syngraphæ ad id obligantes. Sed hic unus inter alios *praecipitus*, ut per ea nobis gratiam suam *testetur* Deus, *repraesentet* atque *obsignet*. Nam etsi nihil aliud significant quam quod verbo ipso annunciatur, hoc tamen magnum est, *subjici oculis nostris quasi vias imagines*, quæ sensus nostros melius afficiant, quasi in rem ducento: dum nobis Christi mortem omniaque ejus beneficia in memoriam revocant, ut fides magis exerceatur: *deinde*, quod ore *Dei renunciatum erat, quasi sigillis confirmari et sancti*.

² Art. VIII.—Quum autem vera sint, quæ nobis Dominus dedit gratiae sua testimonia et sigilla, vere proculdubio *prestat ipse intus* suo Spiritu, quod oculis et aliis sensibus figurant Sacraenta: hoc est, ut potiamur Christo, tanquam omnium bonorum fonte; tum, ut beneficio mortis ejus reconciliemur Deo, Spiritu renovemur in vita sanctitatem, justitiam denique et salutem consequamur, simulque pro his beneficiis olim in cruce exhibitis gratias agamus.

Connect with this the immediately subsequent article, which clearly affirms an objective force in the sacrament to uphold and carry forward the life union of believers with Christ.

Art. IX.—Quare, etsi *distant vires*, ut par est, inter signa et res signatas: tamen non *disjungimus* a signis veritatem; quin omnes, qui fide amplectantur illic oblatas promissiones, Christum spiritualiter cum spiritualibus ejus donis recipere, adeoque et qui dudum participes facti erant Christi, communionem illam *continuare et reparare* fateamur.

Dr. Ebrard goes into a particular review of the historical relations of the *Consensus Tigurinus*, and examines its several articles in detail, for the purpose of showing that it was in truth the triumph of Calvinism in Switzerland over all that Megandrian tendency, which in the name of Zwingli was actively at work, in certain quarters, to bring the whole idea of the mystical presence into discredit, by confounding it wrongfully with Luther's revolting dogma. The view that makes this document a sort of theological summer-set in Calvin's history, (a plausible Lutheran in Strasburg just before and now in Geneva at once again a thorough Zwinglian,) betrays extreme ignorance, he thinks, of the entire course of facts belonging to the case. Calvin had distinctly in view throughout the object of winning the Swiss church, by mild negotiation, to the acknowledgment of what he conceived to be the true ultimate sense of its own doctrine, in opposition to Megandrianism; and he showed himself patient and conciliatory, for this purpose; but never in such a way as to change or conceal any essential part of the doctrine itself whose interest he was thus anxious to advance. He made open cause for instance, after his return to Geneva, (along with Farel and Viret,) with the leaders of Lutheranism in Bern *against* the Zwinglian extreme, which there threatened to carry all its own way; and this went so far, that Viret in Lausanne came near losing his credit with the Bernese magistracy just on its account. Calvin even found fault with the concessions made on the Lutheran side here, to secure toleration. "See to it," he writes to Viret, 23 Aug., 1542, "that there be no shrinking in such case from this testimony, that the communion which we have with Christ is not merely figured, but also exhibited, in the supper, and that not only *words* are there given us from the Lord, but the truth also and thing which they express; that this communion moreover is not *imaginary*, but such as involves a coalescence into one body and one substance with the head."¹ Again, in 1545, when the embers of the old controversy were made to glow again by Luther's rash passion, we find Calvin, always true to his own position, firmly interposing to rebuke the ultraism of both sides. Bullinger's answer is just as little pleasing to him,

¹ Hoc tamen velim tibi curæ esse, apud eum (the Dean of Lausanne) efficere, ut apud quoscunque loquatur, non dubitet hoc testatum relinquere, non modo figurari in Cœna communionem, quam habemus cum Christo, sed etiam exhiberi, neque verba illic nobis dari a Domino, sed veritatem a rem constare cum verbis. Hanc porro communionem non imaginariam esse, sed qua in unum corpus unamque substantiam cum capite coalescamus.—Quoted by Ebrard, II. p. 490.

as Luther's attack. "The Zurichers may have had just cause for writing," he says in a letter to Melancthon; "but it had been better not to write at all than to write in such style. Their whole book, (by Bullinger,) is jejune and puerile; since in many things, with more pertinacity than learning, they not very modestly excuse and defend their own Zuingli, and at some points assail Luther without cause; while in the treatment of the main subject, that is in the very cause at issue, they conduct themselves in my judgment unfortunately. And yet you cannot think, what satisfaction they have with themselves, as though they had done their part excellently well." But Luther, he goes on to say, is still more in fault. "With what intemperance your Pericles is carried away in his fulminations! And this too, while *his own cause is not a whit better!* And what does he gain from raving in such style, unless to be set down by all the world as mad?" All this looks very little like truckling to either of the two extremes, between which Calvin always felt himself standing, on ground that placed him above both. He took pains to set himself in right view before the Swiss, by disowning the Lutheran consequences with which he was falsely charged; but in doing this, he showed no coquetry towards Zuinglianism. His correspondence with Bullinger is open and firm, in maintaining the proper points of his own doctrine. "When we say," he concludes in one case, "that we partake of Christ's flesh and blood as he dwells in us and we in him, and in this way enjoy all his benefits, what is there, I pray, either absurd or obscure in such language?" (Henry II. Beil. 18). A general synod was held at Bern, March 19, 1549. To this he forwarded *twenty articles* on the Lord's supper; which are found in full harmony again with what he had before published at Strasburg. His visit to Bullinger took place the same year, resulting as we have seen in the *Consensus Tigurinus*. Is it for a moment imaginable, that Calvin deliberately designed it to be a surrendry of his own previous doctrine in favor of Megandrian Zuinglianism? The whole character of the man forbids such a supposition. All historical documents show it to be false.

Ebrard's analysis of the *Consensus* brings out clearly the same result. The points of distinction in it from such Zuinglianism, are sufficiently plain. Some confusion is allowed at the same time to characterize the document at one point; which however Ebrard refers to the disturbing force of the doctrine of predestination, brought in unnecessarily to embarrass the sacramental doctrine in its proper form. "To affirm, (he says,) that Calvin accommodated himself to Zuinglianism, and relaxed

somewhat from his original view, is as we have well seen palpably untrue. As regards the point of difference with Bullinger, he did not yield an iota ; that the earthly elements have no efficacy of *themselves* and by their own force, but are seals of a concurring operation from *Christ*, he had himself taught years before at Strasburg ; he made not the least approach towards Zuinglianism, except in the way of *personal acknowledgment* in favor of its advocates and friends. Whilst for instance he had only two years before even heartily despised this whole way of thinking, he now saw that it had still something *true* for its object ; that as the truth on Luther's side was opposition to *empty* figures, so the truth on the side of the Zuinglians was opposition to the *deification* of creaturely signs. This truth however, he had not first learned now himself from any such quarter, but had always possessed it before in his own doctrine. That he was led then to make concessions to Zuinglianism in any way, is a pure chimera !"

But we have a better witness here, than either Dr. Ebrard or any other modern critic, for the true meaning of this famous Consensus of Zurich. This is no other than Calvin himself, in his tract *Consensionis Capitum Expositio*, (Opp. T. IX. pp. 653–659,) addressed to the Swiss churches four years after its appearance, for the purpose of explaining and defending it, against the assaults particularly of Westphal. "The sacraments," it is here explicitly declared, "are helps and media, by which we are either inserted into the body of Christ, or being so inserted coalesce with it more and more, till he unites us with himself in full, in the heavenly life."¹ We must "coalesce into Christ's body," to have part in his grace ; he "diffuses his life into us, only as he is our head, from which the whole body," by joints and bonds, increases and grows through all its members.² Christ truly acts what the signs show ; it is no "theatrical process;" nothing is signified "which is not given."³ The

¹ Adminicula et media vocantur, quibus vel inseramur in corpus Christi vel insiti magis ac magis coalescamus, donec solide nos secum uniat in cœlesti vita.

² Jam si queritur, qualis ista sit communicatio, sic paulo ante a nobis erat descripta, ut fictitia et umbratilis dici nequeat : nempe, (quod etiam est proprium fidei munus ac perpetuum,) coalescere nos oportere in Christi corpus, ut gratia sua effectus in nobis compleat : quia non aliter vitam in nos suam diffundit, nisi dum caput nostrum est, ex quo totum corpus compactum et connexum per omnem juncturam subministracionis secundum operationem in mensura cujusque membra augmentum corporis faciat.

³ Primum quidem satemur, Christum quod panis et vini symbolis figurat,

pledge is accompanied with the very thing it brings to view. It is no perception "simply in the way of "thought or memory;" the "flesh of Christ is truly vivific;" life, from the fountain of the Godhead, is wondrously poured into it, (as a general reservoir for our fallen nature,) "from whence it flows unto us," by the superlocal or space-transcending power of the Holy Ghost, "so that we have with him one and the same life."¹ No crass carnal mixture is to be imagined here, of course; the mystery is allowed to be too sublime for our apprehension. He "trans-funds into us the life-giving energy of his flesh;" as the vital heat of the sun enters really and truly into the vegetation that grows by its beams."

"When they hear us confess on our side," it is said in this Defence of the Helvetic articles, "that the sacraments are neither empty figures, nor outward badges simply of piety; but *seals* of the promises of God; *attestations* of spiritual grace for cherishing and confirming faith; *organs* also by which God *efficaciously*, (efficaciter,) works in his elect; and that the signs thus, although *distinct* from the things signified, are still not *disjoined* from them and *separate*; that they are given to ratify and confirm what God has promised by his word, and especially to seal the *mysterious communication we have with Christ*: surely there is no cause left, for thrusting us into the rank of enemies. When, as I have said, their cry is on all sides that they wish only this doctrine to stand good, namely, that God employs the sacraments as helps for promoting and increasing faith, that the promises of eternal salvation are *engraven on them*, so as to be offered by them to our consciences, and that they are *not* empty signs, since God joins with them the *efficacy* of his Spirit; all these points granted, what is there to hinder now their cheerfully giving us their hand? And not to turn to secondary private authorities, *our readers will find in this Consensus all that is con-*

vere præstare, ut animas nostras carnis suæ esu et sanguinis potionie alat.
Facessat igitur putida illa calumnia, theatricam fore pompam, nisi re ipsa
prästet Dominus quod signo ostendit. Neque enim dicimus quidquam os-
tendi quod non vere detur.

¹ Carnem ergo Christi sine ullis ambagibus fatemur esse vivificam, non tantum quia semel in ea nobis salus parta est, sed quia nunc, dum sacra unitate cum Christo coalescimus, eadem illa caro vitam in nos spirat, vel, ut brevius dicam, quia arcana Spiritus virtute in Christi corpus insiti communem habemus cum ipso vitam. Nam ex abscondito Deitatis fonte in Christi carnem mirabiliter infusa est vita, ut inde ad nos fluat.

* In celum ad se ita nos attollit, ut vivificum carnis suæ vigorem in nos transfundat, non secus ac vitali solis calore per radios vegetamur.

tained in the so called Augsburg Confession, as published at Ratisbon, provided only it be not strained, through fear of the cross, to please the papists. The words are: *In the holy supper, with the bread and wine are truly given Christ's body and blood.* Far be it from us, either to rob the eucharistic symbol of its truth, or to deprive pious minds of such vast benefit. We say accordingly, lest our senses should be mocked with bread and wine, that *to their outward figure is joined this true effect, that believers there receive the body and blood of Christ.*"

Such is the view taken of the sacramental doctrine of the Consensus Tigurinus, by Calvin himself, the author of the instrument, and the best judge certainly of its true purport and sense. He finds it in full harmony with the Augsburg Confession.¹ Is it not strange now to hear Dr. Hodge say: "In these articles there is not a word, which any of the evangelical churches of the present day would desire to alter. We should like to print them all as the confession of our own faith on this subject!" Perfectly honest of course; but who can fail to see that the imagination has its birth in a theological consciousness, widely different from that which reigned in the Reformed church of the sixteenth century?

Calvin and Westphal.

This brings us to what may be denominated the Second Sacramental War of the sixteenth century; to which the Consensus Tigurinus served in part as an outward occasion; although its true cause lay much deeper, in the bosom of the general Lutheran church itself. The issue here was widely different from the old antithesis between Luther and Zwingli. Both parties moved, to a great extent, under the common banner of the Augsburg Confession. The controversy lay between extreme Lutheranism on the one side, and the widely extended doctrine of Melancthon and Calvin on the other; forms of thinking,

¹ "By the terms of this agreement, it was now plain that the Swiss, in the main matter were one with the Lutherans. For until this time there might be a doubt, whether they admitted in the supper a true substance of Christ's body and blood, but now doubt was no longer possible. A true presence and a real participation of Christ's body was settled. The difference regarded only the manner in which Christ is present, the Lutheran view binding the Lord's body or its substance by miracle to the sign, the Calvinistic making the believer rise to Christ to be united with him; this rising however was only metaphorical, as Christ is spiritually present."—*Das Leben Calvin's von Paul Henry, abridged edition* p. 278.

which had thus far felt themselves to have equal right in the bosom of the German church ; but whose difference came now to an open rupture, resulting finally in a formal separation under the distinctive titles of Lutheran and Reformed. We have given some account of the movement in the *Mystical Presence*, and also more fully in a small work on the *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*.

Westphal came out with a public assault on the Swiss churches, a. 1553. The next year a second pamphlet followed from the same violent pen. Calvin replied, with an exposition and defence of the *Consensus Tigurinus*. Westphal wrote again, a. 1555. Calvin's *Second Defence* appeared in 1556. The controversy thickened now on all sides. Calvin added, in 1557, his "*Last Admonition* to Joachim Westphal."

In these publications, we have in full again the very same sacramental doctrine he had taught before in Strasburg. It will be observed too, that all has regard to the *Consensus Tigurinus* in the way of vindication and commentary ; and the case is made still more interesting from the fact, that the very same use seems to have been made of this document by Westphal, only with a different view, that is now made of it by Dr. Hodge. Throughout indeed, there is a very remarkable correspondence between the treatment of Calvin by the ultra Lutheran school, and that to which he is now generally subjected from the opposite extreme. In both directions, it has been insisted that he played an adroit game, stretched his own convictions to please the Lutherans, paltered in double senses and ambiguous terms, involved himself in contradictions, and took refuge in unintelligible distinctions. Westphal calls him an *eel*, which no one could hold by the tail. Dr. Hodge is more respectful, but it comes much to the same thing at last. Now it so happens, that the charges of both, (for they are directly or by implication the same,) are met in the publications here before us by Calvin himself, and very summarily disposed of as false and injurious slanders. We should be glad did our limits allow, to take some notice of these in detail. One of the very best replies to Princeton, so far as Calvin is concerned, would be simply a full republication, in clear intelligible English, of his memorable *Second Defence* "adversus Joachimi Westphali *calumnias*." As a substitute for this, we can offer here only a most cursory glance over the leading points of cripniation and reply. This may be done best perhaps, in the form of a regular dialogue between the parties themselves.

Westphal.—Here we have it at last. An open confederation

with the Helvetians! What is this *Consensus Tigurinus* but a barefaced transition to the camp of the accursed Zuinglians, a crafty compromise with Bullinger, which goes to undermine the whole cause of Lutheran Protestantism in favor of its enemies? And yet you have professed to stand in the bosom of Lutheran Protestantism, and to be a true friend to the faith of the Augsburg Confession. Before all Germany, I proclaim you, John Calvin, a hypocrite and a traitor.

Calvin.—Your charge is false. I am guilty in this case of no duplicity nor change. My relation to Lutheranism remains what it was ten years ago. To one part of his sacramental theory, I never could assent; while the mystery itself which it sought to maintain, had my full faith; as for the person of the great reformer also, I have ever cherished the most profound reverence and regard. I might easily prove moreover that Luther himself looked upon my views with favor. Let Philip Melancthon however be my one voucher, in place of all others.¹ We have been of one mind here, and are of one mind still. I did subscribe the Augsburg Confession at Strasburg; taking it in its generally acknowledged sense, as settled by the authority of its illustrious framer, the excellent Melancthon himself; and to this subscription I still adhere, without any sort of mental reservation whatever.²

Westphal.—A fine story truly; when we see you walking arm in arm with the Zuinglians, and passing yourself off as one of their own kidney.

Calvin.—All turns again on your own hasty construction. I have always set my face openly against the view commonly laid to Zuingli's charge, by which the idea of an actual communication with Christ's life is excluded from the mystery of the Lord's supper. This I have not hesitated heretofore to stigmatize as absolutely profane; and I trust I shall never cease to regard it in the same light. The *Consensus Tigurinus* however proceeds on the supposition throughout, that the proper Helvetic faith involves nothing really of this sort; and it is an effort simply to carry it out, by suitable explanation and definition, to such a full statement, as might serve to relieve it from this reproach, and set it in a correct light before the christian world. The

¹ Quinetiam Lutherus ipse, quum scripta mea inspexisset, quale de me iudicium fecerit, mihi per testes idoneos probare non difficile erit. Sed mihi unus pro multis erit Philippus Melancthon.—*Adv. Westph. Opp. T. IX. p. 661.*

² See quotation, page 476.

statement is no act of subscription, of course, to the system of Luther strictly so called. I have always rejected that; and it is openly rejected also in this Consensus. But the instrument is not for this reason a simple falling over to the contrary extreme. It is fairly and truly a bond of union and peace, between the Helvetic churches and the faith of the Augsburg Confession.

Westphal.—Nonsense! You do not pretend, that this Consensus agrees with the Confession of Augsburg!

Calvin.—Take the tenth article of this last in the sense of its author, without any popish perversion or gloss, and I contend that the sacramental doctrine of the two instruments is in truth the same.¹

Westphal.—You can hardly expect the world to give you credit for honesty and plain dealing, in this business. You have been playing a game. You carry two faces.

Calvin.—God knows, that this is not the case. I have had no worldly interest to serve; and I have used no concealment or reserve. On the contrary, I have tried always to be both candid and clear, as far as language would admit; and it will be found, I think, that few men have taken more pains to let their position be known, or have less differed from themselves with the onward progress of time. My views now are just what they were clearly stated to be twenty years ago, in the first edition of my Institutes.²

Westphal.—Be it so then; it only shows that you have been all along a false teacher. For only look at this Consensus Tigurinus. It evacuates the sacraments of their mystical force, and turns them thus into mere void signs.

Calvin.—That is a gross slander. Both the Consensus and the Exposition attached to it, most distinctly affirm the contrary.*

¹ Si nos in consensu quod continet Augustana Confessio complexos esse dixi, non est quod me astutus insimulet. Verbis enim subscribo, quæ illic etiam recitavi. De sensu, quia idoneus judex non est Westphalus, ad quem potius, quam ad auctorem ipsum provocabo! qui si verbulo declararet me a tua mente deflectere, protinus desistam. Lutheri alia est ratio; in cuius verbis quid ego desiderem semper ingenuo professus sim: tantum abest ut me obstrinxerim.—*Ib. p. 667.*

² Hoc quidem mihi jure vindico, nunquam me ambigua loquendi forma, captioe aliud præ me tulisse, quam sentirem.—*Ib. p. 661.* Hoc reperient lectores, mihi nihil suisce majori curæ, quam ut omni ambiguitate discussa, enucleate tradarem quod ego quotidie in Ecclesia profiteor ac doceo, et quod Deus ipse me ex animo sentire optimus testis est ac judex.—*Ib. p. 668.*

* Testamur passim in scriptis nostris longe differre ab inanibus figuris, quæ Dominus nobis reliquit gratiæ suæ testimonia et sigilla. Diserte hoc Consensus prædicat, Dominum qui verax est intus præstare suo Spiritu quod

Westphal.—You make the elements mere *signs*.

Calvin.—Signs certainly; but by no means naked and empty signs. Christ uses here no false colors. The verities represented, by the power of God are made to go along with the signs. The last divinely certify the presence of the first.¹ The things represented are at the same time *exhibited*, or made to be actually at hand.

Westphal.—Exhibited, you mean, in the way of image or picture; but not as they are in their own nature; for you explicitly deny, in the case of the Lord's supper, the actual presence in any way of Christ's body and blood, materially considered, along with the bread and wine by which they are represented.

Calvin.—Certainly, I have always rejected, and reject still most firmly, the idea of every sort of presence here, that is to be regarded as local or material; or that may be said to fall within the experience and measure of mere nature as such. But this by no means implies, that the realities signified by the symbols are absent, or that they are at hand only in the way of picture. When I acknowledge their exhibition or presentation in the sacrament, my meaning is always that they are made to be actually present in the whole power of their own proper nature, only not in the way of sense, but in a higher way.²

Westphal.—All is made to depend at last, however, on the exercises of the worshipper. The verities exhibited are present only in thought and contemplation, as these enter into the action of faith.

Calvin.—I mean not so. The verities are at hand objectively; the inward grace in the outward transaction. Faith is only the condition, not the cause, of our mystical participation of

oculis figurant Sacraenta; nec quum distinguimus inter signa et res signatas, disjungere a signis veritatem. Hunc locum luculentius et uberiorius persequitur *Defensio*.—*Ib.* p. 666.

¹ Secundum nos, panis ita significat, ut vere efficaciter, ac re ipsa nos ad Christi communicationem invitet. Dicimus enim veritatem quam continet promissio, *illic exhiberi*, et effectum externo symbolo annexum esse. Tropus ergo signum minime evacuat, sed potius ostendit quomodo non sit vacuum.—*Ib.* p. 667.

* Ita panis non inanis est rei absentis pictura, &c. See quotation before note 2, p. 425.—Corpus suum se dare promittit Filius Dei: verbum ejus apud nos sine controversia plenam fidem obtinet. Ac quanquam reclamat carnis sensus, et natura tam sublime arcanum, angelis etiam admirable, non admittit: certo tamen credimus *intus caelesti virtute impleri*, quod nobis visible signum figurat.—*Ib.* p. 673.

Christ in the holy supper. God forbid, that I should think of turning the process into a mere mental exercise of any kind.¹

Westphal.—Still you will have it, that the process is altogether spiritual; and any objective force you may allow to the transaction, will be found to resolve itself thus into the mere agency of the Holy Ghost, exciting faith, love, and other graces.

Calvin.—Spiritual the process is, as distinguished from your crass conception of an oral manducation. The mystery centres in the soul, and is wrought by the vivific power of the Holy Ghost, under a mode of existence that transcends all natural experience and conception. But it is not a mere influence. 'The Spirit actually binds Christ and his people into one life; not as a river may join two cities which are many miles apart, by merely flowing through both; but as being the very form and medium, ("modus habitationis Christi in nobis,") under and by which the life of the first is made to pass over into the last.'²

Westphal.—The communion you think of in this way, must be regarded as holding at last only with the *divine* nature in Christ, if it be allowed to have any reality at all; for your theory completely excludes the presence of his body.

Calvin.—It does so only in a local or material view; but not at all, as regards living power and force. The communication which we have with Christ in the sacrament, is by no means limited to his divine nature, but extends to his humanity also, as the real seat and fountain of salvation for our dying world; in which sense it is, we are said to eat his flesh and drink his blood unto everlasting life.³

Westphal.—You take the word *body* in an ambiguous sense; for all that you allow in the end, is that we partake of Christ's benefits; which, as they were procured by his sufferings in the body, may be spoken of under the name of his flesh and blood. But all runs out in this way into a bold metaphor. You substitute in your mind an imagination merely, for the true and proper body of our blessed Lord.

¹ Ubique resonant scripta mea, differre manducationem a fide, &c. See quotation before, note 1, p. 425.

² Haec nostra definitio est, spiritualiter a nobis manducari Christi carnem, quia non aliter animas vivificat, quam pane vegetatur corpus; tantum a nobis excluditur substantia transfusio. Westphalo non aliter caro vivifica est, quam si ejus substantia voretur.—Neque enim simpliciter Spiritu suo Christum in nobis habitare trado, sed ita nos ad se attollere, ut vivificantum carnis sua vigorem in nos transfundat.—*Ib.* p. 669.

³ Ita Christum corpore absentem doceo nihilominus non tantum divina sua virtute quoque ubique diffusa est, nobis adesse, sed etiam facere ut nobis vivifica sit sua caro.—*Ib.* p. 669.

Calvin.—I never confound the benefits which we have by Christ with the idea of his life. It is idle to remind us then, that his merits and benefits are not his body. The insinuation, that this is all I mean by the communion of his flesh and blood, is purely gratuitous and does me gross injustice.¹ I own no fiction or metaphor whatever, in the case. The body of which we partake in the blessed sacrament, is the same that once hung upon the cross, and is now glorified in heaven.²

Westphal.—And yet you will not hear of this being present in the sacrament, but hold it to be absent from us by an immense distance. How then can we be said to partake of it in any real way?

Calvin.—The whole is a mystery, as I have said before, in the sphere of the Spirit. Dynamically and organically things may be joined together in the most intimate unity, which are at the same time wide apart in space. Christ's body remains indeed always in heaven; but by the power of the Holy Ghost, as something which transcends all local and mechanical relations, not only his divine life, as this is present in all places, but the proper life of his body also, the quickening vigor of his flesh and blood, is made to pass into the souls of his people, as a true aliment of immortality.³

Westphal.—You confess this, however, to be only for the soul or mind of the communicant, not for his body.

Calvin.—Not for the body indeed in a direct and outward way, as your theory requires; but just as little either for the mind separately considered. Soul and mind are not the same thing. I mean by the soul, the central principle of our whole life, which in the end reaches out to the body also no less than

¹ Excepit Westphalus, merita Christi vel beneficia non esse ejus corpus. Sed cur locutionem, qua splendide nostram communionem commendō, maligne extenuat? Neque enim tantum dico applicari merita, sed ex ipso Christi corpore alimentum percipere animas, non secus ac terreno pane corpus vescitur.—*Ib. p. 668.*

² Excepit me ambigua Corporis significatione fallere. Atqui toties repetendo verum et naturale illud corpus, quod in cruce oblatum est, putabam his cavillis satis superque esse occursum.—*Ib. p. 668.*

³ Ex abscondita Deitatis fonte in Christi carnem mirabiliter infusa est vita, ut inde ad nos fluat.—*Ib. p. 657.* Christum corpore absentem doceo nihilominus non tantum Divina sua virtute, que ubique diffusa est, nobis adesse, sed etiam facere ut nobis vivifica sit sua caro. Nam quum arcana Spiritus sui gratia ad nos penetret, non necesse est, ut alibi diximus, ipsum corpore descendere.—*Ib. p. 669.*

the spirit. In this way, Christ is the true food, by which our whole nature is nourished unto immortality.¹

Westphal.—A purely spiritual transaction thus, and nothing more, is made to stand for the whole mystery. The flesh of Christ, with you is not present in the supper. You do not allow an actual giving and receiving of his body.

Calvin.—The presence is spiritual, allow me to repeat, only as it is not material and local; but not at all in any such sense, as may be taken to overthrow its reality. As regards this, there is no difference nor debate. I freely allow here what the sacrament requires, an actual participation in Christ's flesh and blood; and this without any sort of metaphor or rhetorical fiction. Only I cannot yield to your view of the *mode*, in which this is brought to pass; for it seems to me to be at war with the very object of the mystery itself; and I see no reason in the Bible or elsewhere, for its being made to hang exclusively on so gross a conception; but every reason rather, for insisting on a higher view. You seem to have no idea of presence in the case, save in the way of physical contact and transfusion. To my mind, I confess, it is something far more real, in the form of a *living* entrance into the inmost sanctuary of the believer's life.²

Westphal.—You take away the donation of the true and proper body, and give us what you are pleased to call its virtue and vigor merely in its stead.

Calvin.—When I say that Christ reaches us with the virtue of his life, I deny that any substitute is brought in that sets aside at all the donation of his body. I only explain the mode of the donation.³

Westphal.—It is a plain case, however, that what is given

¹ Nunc anima est quæ corpus vivificat, ne sit mortuum cadaver: ergo ab ea jure denominationem sumit. Post resurrectionem vero præstantior erit vis illa vivifica, quam a Spiritu accipiet.—*Comm. in Ep. I. ad Cor. XV. 44.*

² Respondet, fallaciter id præsentia et sumptioni veri corporis opponi. Ego autem excipo, nisi astute fucum faciat, turpiter ipsum hallucinari, quia non de sumptione, sed tantum de sumptionis modo nobis controversia est. Præsentiam corporis nullam concipit, nisi ubique diffusum sub pane delitescat: nisi idem corpus deglutiens fideles, privari ejus manducatione putat.—*Opp. T. IX. p. 668.* Reclamat hic Westphalus, me *spiritus præsentiam* opponere *carnis præcentiae*, sed quatenus id faciam ex eodem loco clare patere, malevolentia excœcatus non inspicit. Neque enim simpliciter Spiritu suo Christum in nobis habitari tradō, sed ita nos ad se attollere, ut *spiritum carnis suæ vigorem in nos transfundat*.—*Ib. p. 669.*

³ Ego vero quum dico Christum ad nos sua virtute descendere, nego me substituere aliquid diversum, quod donationem corporis aboleat, quia modum donationis simpliciter explicō.—*Ib. p. 668.*

and taken in the sacrament, as you hold it, is not the real matter of Christ's body, but something else. You will not allow that we partake of his *substance*.

Calvin.—Not of the outward material of his nature certainly in any way; but still of its actual substantial life; the vivific virtue of his true flesh and blood. Put away the crass thought of a manducation of the flesh, as though it were to enter the stomach by the mouth like common food, and there is no reason to deny that we are fed with Christ's flesh *substantially*. His body remains in heaven, while nevertheless life flows out from its very substance, and reaches down into the persons of his people, just as the substance of the head passes over continually to the members in the natural body.¹

Westphal.—You are a perfect eel, sir; as all the world may see; slimy and slippery to the very tail. There is no such thing as holding you fast.² Your "virtue" and "vigor" of Christ's body resolve themselves, when all is said, into the idea of a mere influence proceeding from him through the Spirit; and mean simply the efficacy and value of his death, made available for our benefit by God, and so appropriated on our side by faith.

Calvin.—Miserable misrepresentation. How often must I protest against your trick of turning my words into a sense, which they openly disown? Have I not said in all possible ways, that Christ must be distinguished from the fruits he brings to pass, and that he must go before them also in the way of actual and real appropriation on the part of his people? Christ *first*; and only *then* his merits and benefits. By "virtue" or "efficacy" here, I understand always the essential living force of the Redeemer's body, once slain and now in heaven; as I use the word "vigor" also to express its actual power and substance, the very sap of its heavenly constitution. This in its glorified state is all "life and spirit;" a body of course still; but

¹ De voce substantiæ si quis litem moveat, Christum asserimus a carnis suæ substantia vitam in animas nostras spirare; imo propriam in nos vitam diffundere, modo nequa substantiæ transfusio fingatur.—*Ib. p. 660.*

² In hac doctrina sic persto, ut me non minus inscite quam inique Westphalus anguillæ comparet. Quid enim dubii vel perplexi in hac doctrina reperit? Corpus Christi vere spiritualem esse cibum, cuius substantia animæ nostræ pascuntur, et vivunt: idque non minus vere in sacra Cena nobis præstari, quam externo symbolo figuratur: modo ne corpus quasi e cœlo detractum, in pane quispiam falsa imaginatione includat. Quia Westphalum offendit hæc exceptio, anguillam cauda non posse teneri clamat.—*Ib. p. 667.*

not such as belongs to our present mortal condition. It is capable thus of reaching over, by the Spirit, and we may say also *in* the Spirit, into the souls of his people on earth; as the head is able to live itself, in a lower sphere, into its members, or the root into its branches, independently of all local contact.¹

Westphal.—Clouds! clouds! Spare us, if you please, these transcendental flights. We have no wings, to soar behind you into regions so high and *thin*. Seriously, we want no philosophy in this matter. Let us stick to the plain sense of the Bible. What is the voice of reason, with its carnal perplexities and plausibilities, over against the voice of Christ?²

Calvin.—I would a hundred times rather die, than weigh the smallest single word of Christ against the whole world of philosophy. My theology comes from another quarter. It is not philosophy which teaches, either that human flesh is endowed with life-giving virtue, or that this life breathes from heaven, or that we come into possession of it efficaciously under the outward symbol of bread; nothing of this sort falls in with common sense, or comes forth from the philosophical schools. The word of Him who founded the sacrament, is held up to us in opposition. But what is it, that he says? That he gives us his own body. This promise I reverently embrace; not stopping in what is before the eyes only, the mere bread and wine, but accepting by faith the life itself, which proceeding from Christ's flesh and blood, is secretly conveyed into our very souls. The charge of substituting philosophy for God's word, holds in truth only against the other side. It is Westphal that *theorizes* here, not Calvin.³

¹ Quia dico Christum in nobis habitantem ita ad se nos attollere, ut vivificum carnis vigorem in nos transfundat, non secus ac vitali Solis calore per radios vegetamur: item, Christum in cœlo manentem ad nos sua virtute descendere, me fidem Ecclesie pervertere arguit, acsi negarem Christum nobis dare suum corpus. Ego vero quum dico Christum ad nos sua virtute descendere, nego me substituere aliquid diversum, quod donationem corporis aboleat.—*Ib.* p. 668.

² Quare non est quod philosophia et theologia conflictum ebuccinet Westphalus. Neque enim philosophia nobis dictat, vel spirituali virtute praeditam esse humanam carnem, ut animas vivifacet, vel hanc vitam e cœlo spirare, vel efficaciter sub externo panis symbolo eadem nos vita potiri. Nihil tale vel communis sensus capiet, vel ex philosophicis scholis prodibit.—*Ib.* p. 670.

³ Ego vero centies periisse malim, quam unum Christi verbum cum tota philosophia ad trutinæ examen appendere, sicuti Westphalus postulat. —Injuste Westphalus ex philosophia dictatis nos magis pendere insimulat, quam ex verbo Dei. Ego autem meo jure ipsum admoneo, ut suse pervica-

Westphal.—It is fine for you to talk in that style! Your theory is made up of speculation; and is so full of riddles and contradictions, that a plain Bible christian, like myself, must puzzle himself in vain to say what it means. It may be questioned, whether you understand your own meaning.

Calvin.—God knows the simplicity and honesty of my faith; while I am not ashamed freely to acknowledge here the helplessness of my poor understanding. St. Paul himself pronounces the whole subject a “great mystery.” So I feel it to be in my inmost soul. My faith bows before it with childlike homage.

Such we conceive to be a fair representation of Calvin’s doctrine, as it may be extracted from this controversy with Westphal, as well as from his writings in general. Even the difficulty of the Old Testament saints is urged against him by Westphal, as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*, in the same way that Dr. Hodge now brings it forward to set his view aside. How he disposes of it, we shall see presently.

“*Ad Discutiendas Nebulas.*”

His whole sacramental doctrine is brought out, under its most round and complete form, in the *third edition* of the Institutes, a. 1559. It is strange that any one should read this, and make any question about Calvin’s faith in the mystical presence of Christ’s flesh and blood in the eucharistic transaction. By calling himself the bread of life, our Lord teaches, he says, “not only that we are saved by believing in his death and resurrection, but also that by the true communication of himself, *his life is made to pass over into us and become ours*, just as bread taken as food, conveys vigor to the body.” This life is lodged in his *flesh*, into which it wells from the divinity as a perennial fountain, for our use. All through the “*arcana Spiritus sancti operatio*,” which it is presumptuous for us to think of understanding. In the Lord’s supper, the mystery of this communication is not only represented, but sealed and certified as a present fact.

His last tract on the subject was published against Heßhuss,

citæ valedicens, de genuino verbi Dei sensu doceri se sustineat. Alioqui valeat ipse cum suo phantasmate, quod in Christi verbis perperam communiscitur.—*Ib.* p. 670. 671.

¹ Atqui ego mysterii altitudine in stuporem abripior: neque vero me pudet, admiratione meam ignorantiam cum Paulo fateri. Quanto enim id satius, quam extenuare carnis meæ sensu quod Paulus altum mysterium esse pronuntiat!—*Comm. in Ep. ad Eph. V. 32.*

a. 1561, near the end of his life.¹ It reiterates, in the most clear and full terms, the several points and positions affirmed in the controversy with Westphal, and vindicates them in the same way from slanderous misconstruction. The Princeton Review pronounces the extracts from this tract in the *Mystical Presence* "extreme passages," and says it would be easy to gather others of a different character out of Calvin's works. But why then, we may ask, has this not been done? Every such representation rests on mistake. The passages are not at all extreme. They are amply sustained by other quotations in the *Mystical Presence*; and they are in full and fair keeping only with all that Calvin has written on the sacramental question. On this, as on every question besides, he is beyond all writers of the age true to himself, without material change or contradiction, from the beginning of his theological career to its close. Nor is it at all difficult to understand what his theory was, as distinguished both from the Lutheran and Puritan extremes. It is fashionable in certain quarters, we know, to speak of it as strangely confused and hard to comprehend. But there is no room for any such charge, in the Calvinistic theory itself. All we need is to lay aside our stubborn pre-conceptions, and converse with it under its own form and on its own ground. Then all will become clear enough. It is only the medium through which it is viewed, that serves so often to wrap it in haze and mist.

There can be no escape from the true state of the case here, unless it be in the way of forcing the plain language of Calvin continually out of its proper sense, regardless of all his own limitations and definitions, so as to give it the air of springing from a wholly different system than that to which it belongs in fact. This is done perpetually by those who are bent on modernizing his doctrine, to suit the taste of the present time; and it is no wonder then, of course, that he should seem to talk strangely, and even to be out of harmony with himself. It is said, that he attributed no *special* force to the sacrament, but taught merely, that "what is elsewhere received by faith without the signs and significant actions," is here received in the same way along with their use. The "virtue of Christ's life" is taken to mean simply a quickening influence exerted by him at a distance. The idea of "substance" is made to lose its proper power, in similar style. *Soul* is held to be at once identical with mind, as

¹ *Dilucida Explicatio Sanæ Doctrinæ de Vera Participatione Carnis et Sanguinis Christi in Sacra Cœna. Ad discutiendas Heretici nebulas.*—Opp. IX. pp. 723-744.

the simple opposite of the body. Stress is laid on the *spiritual* order of the process, as overthrowing the conception of its including more, or having any other form, than the converse of the pious with Christ, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, in the way of affection and thought. With such qualifications, we find the true sense of Calvin quietly obscured, on all sides, and turned into contradiction. They are however wholly without reason or ground in the system of Calvin himself; as any one may soon see, who will put himself to the trouble at all of looking into the matter with his own eyes.

True, the grace represented in the sacraments is described as being of the same general nature with what has place in the life of believers at other times. "In the supper," says the Cons. Tig., "Christ communicates himself to us, who however had imparted himself to us before, and abides in us perpetually." But does it follow from this, that the sacramental transaction carries in it no special exhibition of grace, for the confirmation and promotion of this new life under its own form? The idea of the believer's union with Christ rests on the supposition of an actual passing over of the power of his life into their persons; it needs in this view not merely a subjective but an objective basis; the nourishment of a real communication progressively kept up with him, whose "flesh is meat indeed" and whose "blood is drink indeed," unto everlasting life. And why may not the holy supper be regarded then as the mystical medium, by which the union of the believer with Christ in its standing form is made to receive new support and strength, through such real communication from the Saviour's side? Or why should there be any difficulty, in that case, in acknowledging it to be of *special* significance and power, though it serve only to continue and carry forward the order of grace as it stood before; just as our common meals fall in with the general process of our natural life, and yet are special means for its preservation? Such is the view taken of the subject by Calvin. However grace may be independent of the sacraments where there is no room for their use, they are still in the church the regularly constituted media of its objective presentation; and we are bound to seek it accordingly through their proffered help. Hence they are said to be *organs* or instruments, by which God efficaciously works in the souls of his people. The right use of the eucharist serves to continue and repair (*continuare et reparare*) our communion, as already established with Christ. The full objectivity of the communication which Christ makes of himself in the mystical transaction, is asserted in the strongest and clear-

est terms. Thus in the First Defence of the Cons. Tig., we have it illustrated, by a comparison with the light and heat of the natural sun. It is not enough that the light shines; there must be on our side vision to receive it; which yet has no power to produce the light itself. "So as the heat of the sun, which quickens a living and breathing body, gives rise only to corruption in a corpse, it is certain that the sacraments, where the spirit of faith is wanting, breathe a savor of death rather than a savor of life." Life is the necessary condition of the salutary animation that comes from the sun; but it is not the cause of this, nor even its measure; for it comes in from abroad as an aliment to the life itself. And so it is also, that while the proper use of the Lord's supper depends on the condition of faith, the grace which it offers is in no sense the product of this, but must be considered rather as the real entrance of a new measure of life into the soul by its means, raising faith itself into higher exercise. In the Second Defence, this idea of the objective force of the sacrament, to the full extent of a living communion with the real human life of the Blessed Redeemer, is brought out with still greater emphasis and point; in consequence of the perverse misrepresentations of the opposite side; so that he that runs can read it, if he will, without any danger of mistake.

"We assert," it is said in the preface of this tract, "that the flesh and blood of Christ are truly offered to us in the supper, for the vivification of our souls. Nor is our definition ambiguous, that our souls are not otherwise quickened (*vegetari*) by this spiritual aliment, which is offered to us in the supper, than our bodies are nourished by earthly bread. We affirm then a true participation of Christ's flesh and blood in the supper. If any one stand on the word substance, we assert that Christ breathes *life from the substance of his flesh into our souls*; yea, that he diffuses into us his own life, if only no *transfusion* of substance be imagined."

The language seems very plain. As already intimated however, the terms here employed are often construed in a false way, that serves to bring darkness and confusion into Calvin's whole view. The misconstruction regards especially the sense of the term "*soul*," and the phraseology employed in relation to "*substance*."

"In making the *anima* the recipient of Christ," says Ebrard, "Calvin has been taken to mean by it, with strange spiritualism, not the psychic substance of man, the centre of his individuality, from which both his spiritual and corporeal functions proceed, but the soul in the sense of intellect or thought. The Reform-

er in truth, however, was far enough from all such flat psychology. One need only read what he says, Comm. I. Thess. v. 23 or Inst. I. 15, to be fully satisfied of this. The *anima*, when taken by itself in opposition to the body, is with him the immortal essence of man. This has two parts, the *intellectus* and the *voluntas*; which last again by itself is styled ὁρμή, *appetitus*, but so far as it is in obedience to the *ratio βούλησις*. The soul, when distinguished from the body and the spirit as a third, is the ‘seat of the affections, or of the will and all affections;’ and the spirit then is the intelligence and reason. Spirit and soul together are not *plures animæ*, sensitive and rational, but the one soul. We see thus, that Calvin never defines *anima* as the region of thought, of the same sense with *mens* or *intellectus*; but it is always for him, in narrower sense the immortal substance of man, the natural germ of his psychic existence, the seat of his affections and impulses, the basis in short of his corporeal life on one side and of his spiritual life on the other; in wider sense however, this same substance including the development of the spirit. When he says then that the soul is fed with Christ, it means nothing other or less than this; that the substance of man, his proper *being*, the source of his entire individual existence, both as corporeal and spiritual, is in a real way nourished from the substance of Christ, as the only food which can truly give him life.

“With the substance of Christ. But this is a second point, where the doctrine is often assailed. What sort of substance does Calvin mean? The substance of Christ’s body and blood? Or the substance of his person generally? Undoubtedly the last. And is the term ‘substance,’ it is impatiently asked, any better in such case than puppet-play, contrived to deceive the unwary? Is the substance of Christ’s *person*, with which we are fed, anything more at last, in Calvin’s mind, than Christ’s *spiritual power*?

“Yes truly, we reply, beyond all controversy. It needs only a little reflection, to allow that the whole is not less than the part, and that the part is not excluded but included by the whole. He that believes the reception of the *whole* Christ in the sacrament—believes evidently not less, but more, than those who allow only a participation of the body and blood. That is of itself clear; but Lutheran theologians of earlier and later times have not been able to assure themselves that Calvin was fully in earnest in teaching our participation of the whole Christ. First it was objected, that Christ according to Calvin remains as to his human nature in heaven, so that only his divine nature

imparts itself to us in the supper. A still-born objection of a truth ; since Calvin has declared over and over again, times without number, that for a real union of both the natures of Christ with us, local nearness is not needed, and local distance in view of the Spirit's omnipotence forms no bar. We have only an abortive inference thus, proceeding from the unbelieving view, falsely palmed on Calvin but altogether foreign to his mind, that a conjunction of the God-man with us holding *above* the limits of space can not be real ! This objection accordingly, that only the divine nature of Christ is imparted to us, has been given up to make room for another. Calvin, it is allowed, teaches the communication of both the natures of Christ in the supper, but only *as regards his theandric spirit, not as regards his theandric body.* That his glorified body should be present as material substance in the bread and wine, Calvin indeed never admitted; for he was too well assured, that a glorified body is no such material substance. The glorified body of Christ is for him, in its substance, out and out, active power (*virtus*). In the glorification, the dualism between animating spirit and matter needing animation is brought to an end ; the glorified body is through and through the *manifestation of spirit, life clear of space* altogether through and through *life* ; it has power to take *volume* at its own pleasure, (John xx. 19, Luke xxiv. 16); but still in such way that it shall rule the matter so assumed, and not be ruled by it as an outward limitation. This at once expresses all. To many readers, no doubt, this (genuinely Calvinistic) idea will present itself as strange and out of the way; for with our philosophy of pure abstraction and reflection, we have lost the true philosophy of nature and the capacity for it ; but the time will come, when men shall again learn to understand the idea of life, and the true sense of glorified corporeity. Those who think deeply must always see, that there is a discord between nature and spirit here below in the world of sin and death, but that this discord must and will come to a close. And now we ask : What other close is conceivable but this, that the human spirit shall exhibit itself not as incorporeal, but as having form, coming into view, working into nature ; but so working into nature at the same time, that this shall not remain *as foreign material*, but shall appear simply as the self-projected life of the individual soul itself. If this be correct, it proves at once that the glorified body is not matter, but universal power; and as such power, it works not mechanically, moves not mechanically, communicates not itself mechanically ; but all this it does dynamically. Even here below, God be praised, examples are not wanting of

such dynamic power over body. Is it a mechanical or a dynamic force, that impresses on the simple embryonic substance the lineaments of father and mother, in the womb? Is it a mechanical or a dynamic action, when in the development of the fetus, the head gives form to the trunk and limbs? Is it a mechanical or dynamic effect, when the vine produces grapes and not apples? Is it a mechanical or dynamic operation, when the sun-beam causes the seed to sprout? Why then should that be cried down as unreal and spiritualistic, in the case of Christ's glorified body, which in common nature is acknowledged to be real? Why is it counted spiritualistic, when Calvin describes the communication of Christ as an outflow of *virtue* from him into our persons! It needs in truth to be openly and loudly proclaimed, that they are the true *spiritualists*, who are not able to rise to the Calvinistic conception of glorified corporeity, who take virtue or power for something unreal, and who remain bound thus to the dualism that hangs between a purely spiritual and a mechanically material communication of the risen Christ. It is Calvin, who has surmounted this dualistic mechanism and spiritualism."

So far on this subject Professor Ebrard; who then goes on to quote proof from Calvin himself, in confirmation of his judgment. We have already quoted enough to make the matter plain, we think, for all ingenuous readers. It is perfectly clear, that the "vivific virtue" of Christ's body signified, for Calvin, the active power of his own proper human life itself. He would hear of no transfusion of his substance, materially considered, into the persons of his people, after the manner of natural food; but take this crass notion out of the way, and he was ready to allow all besides that the idea of substance might be found to require. "Sublato hoc *transfusionis* commento, de voce *substantie* controversiam movere nunquam mihi venit in mentem, nec unquam dubitabo fateri, arcana Spiritus sancti virtute *vitam in nos diffundi ex ejus carnis substantie*, que non abs re cibis celestis vocatur." Could language well more clearly affirm, an efflux of life dynamically from the glorified *body* of the Saviour?

Those who refuse to allow this sense to Calvin, are bound at least, in all common respect to his memory, to say what other rational meaning his peculiar phraseology here can be supposed to bear. It is admitted that he, and others also in the Reformed church, attributed some sort of "mysterious supernatural influence" to Christ's body, which has been considered not to agree well with the Reformed faith at other points. What precisely was meant by this, it is not pretended to say. Enough that it be set down, as something less than the true and proper presence

of Christ's life ; it may pass as a mere phrase otherwise, born of the Roman superstition, that never had perhaps any fixed or certain sense. But this is to do violence to the whole subject. Calvin was not a man to play all his life long with a blind theological crotchet, in such style. It is a strange compliment moreover to the age of the Reformation, to suppose that any such whim should have been passively received from him into the old symbols, as so much sound only void of all real thought. This idea of the "life-giving virtue of Christ's flesh," made over to his people "by the operation of the Holy Ghost," is altogether too prominent in the old Reformed doctrine, and too fully interwoven with its whole structure, to be set aside in any such summary way. The phraseology demands explanation. Let us be told then what it actually means. Any one who may try its solution, with an honest and candid mind, must soon find himself shut up to the one only conclusion which the case admits. By the life-giving virtue or efficacy of Christ's body, Calvin means always the very substance of Christ's life itself under its divine *human* form. What other mode of speech could he employ to express this idea, as distinguished from the crass conception of Romanists and Lutherans on one side, and the figment of mere spiritualism on the other ? For him, the body of Christ, in that new order of existence to which it has been advanced by the resurrection, is no longer under law to nature as before ; it has become all "spirit and life ;" having its place indeed in heaven, but in such a way as to be capable of reaching forth at once, over all outward local limits, with its inmost substance and force, to the souls of his people, (and *so* to their bodies also,) in every part of the world. To express all this, he avoids carefully every word that might imply locality or matter, but insists, with only the more emphasis and stress on all that is included in the true conception of life in its invisible dynamic character. The human nature of Christ is made thus to be the reservoir of a life which flows into it from the divine nature, (and what else is this than his own living constitution itself,) for the use of the race ; the vivific virtue which it thus comprehends, the true inward substance of his flesh and blood, is conveyed over to us by the OPERATION OF THE HOLY GHOST ; and as the result of the whole process, we are so joined to him as to become flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, and his life reaches into us precisely as the root lives in its branches and the head in its members, in the world of nature, only under a far more inward and vital form.

We are sometimes told, that Calvin substitutes for the local

descent of Christ's body in the sacrament, the idea of a *local ascent* on the part of the soul to heaven. It is easy to see however, that this refers merely to the order of the mystery here brought to pass, as something that transcends wholly all natural experience. He could not mean by it a simple act of thought, mounting upwards to Christ in heaven; for that would reduce all to the gross subjectivity which he continually disclaims. Could he have thought then of a literal carrying up of the soul to the place of Christ's body, by the power of the Holy Ghost, for the purpose of communion with it? This wild fancy some seem disposed to charge upon him, the more effectually to stultify his doctrine. But do they not stultify themselves rather, in falling so easily into the arms of such a childish imagination? Why should he dwell as he does on the coming down of virtue or living vigor from Christ's body, in the holy sacrament, if his theory rendered this needless at the same time by teaching also a literal translocation of the worshipper's soul into heaven? What he means in fact is sufficiently plain. The soul must be directed subjectively, in the sacrament, to heaven, or the higher sphere in which Christ dwells, and not to the sphere of matter and sense, for the accomplishment of the grace it seeks; while on the other side, the power of Christ objectively meets this upward look of faith, by actually breaking through the limitations of space, and from the bosom of his own higher order of life itself, causing the vigor of his glorified humanity to reach over into the persons of his people in an immediate and direct way. Neither ascent nor descent here are to be taken in any outward or local sense; they serve merely to express metaphorically the relation of the two orders or spheres of existence, which are brought into opposition and contrast. The whole *modus* of the sacramental mystery transcends the category of space; it belongs to heaven, as a higher order of life; but this detracts nothing from its reality or power. On the contrary, it is all the more real for this very reason.

On the force of the term *spiritual*, as applied to the transaction, it is not necessary, we presume, that anything should be added here to what has been already brought into view. It stands opposed only to the notion of material communication, and not at all to the idea of a real and true communion with Christ's human life. It regards only the mode of the mystery, not the fact of the mystery itself. "Many are averse to this word," he says in his last tract, Opp. T. IX. p. 744, "because they think that it implies something imaginary or empty. On the contrary however, the body of Christ is said to be given to us spiritually in the supper, because the secret energy of the

Holy Spirit causes things that are separated by local distance to be notwithstanding joined together; so that life is made to reach into us from heaven out of the flesh of Christ; which power and faculty of vivification may be said properly enough to be something derived from his substance; provided only it be taken in this sound sense, that Christ's body remains in heaven, while nevertheless life flows out from his substance, and reaches to us who sojourn upon the earth."

We are told however, that the "case of the Old Testament saints" forms a complete *estoppel* to all claim of authority here, in favor of the doctrine that our union with Christ involves any sort of participation in his human body, nature, or life. "All the Reformed taught," says the Princeton Review, "Calvin perhaps *more earnestly than most others*, that our union with Christ since the incarnation is the same in nature as that enjoyed by the saints under the old dispensation. This is perfectly intelligible, if the virtue of his flesh and blood, which we receive in the Lord's supper, is its *virtue as a sacrifice*; because he was the lamb slain from the foundation of the world.—But if the virtue in question is a mysterious power due to the hypostatical union, flowing from Christ's body in heaven, it must be a benefit peculiar to believers since the incarnation. It is impossible that those living before the advent could partake of Christ's body, in this sense, because it did not then exist; it had not as yet been assumed into union with the divine nature."

The amount of all which is, that this single difficulty as it holds in the Reviewer's mind, must be allowed to weigh down and reduce to nothing every possible amount of evidence the other way, however historically plain and sure! Admit the apparent contradiction; and yet to what can it amount, as an offset to the palpable presence of the historical *fact* which it is brought forward to overthrow? Is it not granted by the Reviewer himself, in the case of Calvin, that he did *not* limit the virtue of Christ's body and blood to their simply sacrificial efficacy separately considered? It was his idea clearly, we are told, "that besides this there was a *vivifying efficacy imparted to the body of Christ*, by its union with the divine nature, and that by the power of the Holy Ghost, the believer, in the Lord's supper and elsewhere, received into his soul and by faith *this mysterious and supernatural influence*." What then becomes of the "estoppel" just quoted; or what bearing is it expected to have on this concession? The only sufficient use of it, for the object of the Reviewer, would be to show that Calvin by the "vivifying efficacy of Christ's body" understood something dif-

ferent altogether from his proper human life; something of the same nature after all with the mere value of his sacrifice in God's mind. And this apparently is what the argument means; although we find the idea in question still noticed afterwards as an unnatural foreign non-descript in the Reformed theology, which could never be brought to coalesce truly with its other articles. But who may not see, that it comes to nothing, so far as the objection is concerned, whether Calvin understood the "efficacy of Christ's body" in the sense of his proper human life, or in some lower sense, so long as his *body* in any way is taken to be its seat and source? It must in any view be still dependent, according to the objection, on the fact of the incarnation, and so out of reach for the Old Testament saints. Does the objection come to this then, that Calvin did not know himself what he meant in talking about the efficacy of Christ's body, as he is acknowledged to have done; or that he was never honest and sincere in the strong language, he has seen fit to employ on this subject?

A monstrous supposition truly; which becomes still worse too, when we pass from the general concession of the Reviewer here to the actual strength of the case, as it lies before us in the writings of the great Reformer himself. For then we find, that it is with no incidental or simply extraneous fancy we are called to deal, in our critical examination; which we might feel ourselves at liberty to construe out of the way, as a passing slip of thought. On the contrary, we have before us a broad palpable idea, which is almost never out of sight in the discussion of the sacramental question, and which Calvin himself clearly held to be of vital consequence to his whole system. That he held and taught always a real union on the part of believers with the human nature or life of Christ, is just as plain as it is that he taught the doctrine of election. The one fact, like the other, is historically certain, whether it may be found in perfect harmony with all parts of his theological system or not. What can an indirect negative presumption be worth, in any case of the sort, when confronted with such an avalanche of direct positive historical affirmation, as we are overwhelmed with here from the opposite side!

Still more, Calvin himself had this objection of Dr. Hodge distinctly before his mind; and yet in the very face of it persisted in affirming the view which it is taken to exclude. In his Commentary, on 1 Cor. x. 1-4, he raises the question plumply. "Inasmuch as *we now* in the supper eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, how could the Jews have partaken of the same

spiritual meat and drink, when there was yet *no flesh of Christ* which they might eat?" To this he replies, that they actually partook of the vital power of the body that was to be afterwards, the Holy Ghost so working that "the flesh of Christ, though not yet created, became in them efficacious." At the same time he allows a material difference in their mode of participation, as compared with ours. "In our time, the manducation is *substantial*, which it *could not be then*; that is, Christ feeds us with his own flesh, slain for us and appointed unto us for meat, and we draw thence life."¹ This may be hard to understand; but could it well be made more apparent, that for Calvin at least the case of the O. T. saints formed *no bar* to the idea of a real communion with the proper human life of the Redeemer, in the mystery of the Lord's supper.

Westphal in fact tried to turn the difficulty to account against him, just as it is now pressed by the Princeton Review with an opposite drift. Christ had not yet put on flesh, said this Calumniator; the fathers then could partake of his body only in figure; and so by making their participation parallel to ours, you in fact sink this last to a mere figure too, notwithstanding all your fine talk. "But if he had any candor" Calvin returns, "he would notice the solution I have given of this knot in my Commentary; where I say, that the mode of eating for the fathers was different from ours, inasmuch as the manducation is now *substantial* which it could not be then; namely, as Christ feeds us with his flesh sacrificed for us, that we may draw life *from its substance*. As the lamb is said to have been slain from the foundation of the world, so it was necessary for the fathers under the law to seek spiritual nourishment from the flesh and blood, which we now enjoy more richly, not only as regards a fuller measure of revelation, but because the flesh of Christ *once offered* in sacri-

¹ Restat alia quæstio: Quum nunc in Cœna edamus corpus Christi et bibamus ejus sanguinem, quomodo ejusdem spiritualis cibi et potus fuerint participes Judæi, quando nondum erat Christi caro quam ederent? Respondeo, carnem quæ nondum extabat, fuisse nihilominus illis in cibum. Neque haec inanis est aut sophistica argutia: salus enim eorum a beneficio mortis et resurrectionis pendebat, ideoque a carne et sanguine Christi: ergo carnem et sanguinem Christi eos percipere oportuit, ut redemptoris beneficio communicarent. Haec perceptio opus erat arcanum Spiritus sancti, qui sic operabatur, ut caro Christi, tametsi nondum creata, in illis foret efficax. Intelligit tamen eos suo modo manducasse, qui a nostro fuit diversus: atque id est quod superius dixi, plenius nunc pro mensura revelationis exhiberi nobis Christum: Nam hodie substantialis est manducatio, quæ tunc nondum esse potuit: hoc est, carne sua pro nobis immolata, et in cibum nobis destinata, nos Christus pascit, et inde vitam haurimus.

fice is *daily* extended to us for fruition. When therefore Westphal infers, that we equal the figure to the truth, it only shows his too arrogant malice, since he knows well enough that I mention distinct grades."¹ I always profess, he says in another place, that the exhibition of Christ under the law was less rich and full than it is now; "and I add also, that with the flesh of Christ, which exerted its force before it was created in the fathers, we are now *substantially* fed; which is more than enough to expose the dishonesty of Westphal, who calumniates me as confounding those grades, which as is proper I am careful to distinguish."²

Altogether the sacramental doctrine of Calvin, is too plain for question or contradiction. It is no isolated or merely occasional utterance in his theological system. His writings are full of it, from the first edition of his Institutes to the last tract he ever published; and it is presented always as an article, not of secondary, but of primary and fundamental interest, which it lay near his heart to have rightly understood. No pains are spared accordingly, in the way of explanation and definition, to make it clear. He comes upon it from all sides, and considers it under all imaginable aspects; sometimes in the form of direct positive statement and discussion; at other times polemically or apologetically, over against objections and cavils urged from abroad. And still through all this multitudinous and diversified presentation, the doctrine remains from first to last one and the same, always in harmony with itself, and true to its own original type or law. It is a pure fiction too, to speak of it in this view as being either confused or obscure. It is logically more clear, than either Luther's view or that of Zuingli. His doctrine on the eucharist, we repeat, is not a whit more uncertain, as a historical fact, than his doctrine on the decrees; nor is it a whit more difficult to understand.

"Calvin has written much on the Lord's supper; and he is always clear, always consistent, always true to himself. Over and over again, in all forms of expression and explanation, he tells us, that Christ's body is indeed locally in heaven only, and in no sense included in the elements; that he can be apprehended by faith only, and not at all by the hands or lips; that nothing is to be imagined like a transfusion or intromission of the particles of his body, materially considered, into our persons. And yet that our communion with him, notwithstanding, by the

¹ II. Def. adv. Westph. Calumnias. Opp. T. ix. p. 671.

² Adm. Ultima. Opp. T. ix. p. 697.

power of the Holy Ghost, involves a real participation—not in his doctrine merely—not in his promises merely—not in the sensible manifestations of his love merely—not in his righteousness and merit merely—not in the gifts and endowments of his Spirit merely; but in his own true substantial life itself; and this not as comprehended in his divine nature merely, but most immediately and peculiarly as embodied in his humanity itself, for us men and our salvation. The Word became flesh, according to this view, for the purpose not simply of effecting a salvation that might become available for men in an *outward* way, but to open a fountain of life *in* our nature itself, that might thenceforward continue to flow over to other men, as a vivific stream, to the end of time. The flesh of Christ, then, or his humanity, forms the medium, and the *only* medium, by which it is possible for us to be inserted into his life. To have part in him at all, we must be joined to him in the flesh; and this not by the bond of our common relationship to Adam, but by the force of a direct implantation through the Spirit, into the person of Christ himself.”—*Myst. Pres.* p. 68.

The hypothesis by which all this is denied, for the purpose of sinking Calvin’s doctrine towards the Puritan level of the present time, is violent in the extreme. It shuts its eyes against the plainest facts. Calvin signed the Augsburg Confession. He stood in open and acknowledged agreement with Melanchthon. He solemnly declared, time after time, that he allowed the *fact* of the sacramental mystery as contended for by Luther, and differed from him only as to the *mode* of its accomplishment. Every contrary representation made against him by Westphal, and other such bigots, he proclaims a slander and lie. Surely it is a desperate business, in the face of all this, to think of making him after all a mere Puritan spiritualist, and the prince of theological hypocrites besides!

“I have gone over the Institutes of Calvin, as well as all his other writings in which he treats of the eucharist,” says the celebrated Leibnitz, “and have made from them such extracts as prove, that this author has seriously, constantly, strongly inculcated, the *real* and *substantial* participation of the *body* of our Lord; and when he denies the real presence, he is to be understood undoubtedly as speaking only of a *dimensional* presence.”¹

¹ J’ai parcouru les institutions de Calvin, ainsi que tous ses autres écrits où il traite de l’Eucharistie, et j’en ai extrait des passages qui prouvent que cet auteur a sérieusement, constamment, fortement inculqué la perception du corps de notre Seigneur réelle et substantielle; et quand il nie la

"It is perfectly plain," *Bretschneider* tells us, "that Calvin's theory includes what with Luther was the main object, namely, the *true, full participation of Christ's body and blood*, to the strengthening and quickening of the soul; and that the question whether this take place under the bread or along with it, by the mouth or by the soul, does not touch the substance of the case. For unless we conceive of the body of Christ as something *sensible*, and thus allow a Capernaitic eating, the oral participation must become at last nothing else than a participation through the soul, and it is not necessary that the Lord's spiritual body should be taken in by the mouth in order to have effect upon the soul."

According to *Schleiermacher* (Der. chr. Glaube, § 140), the Calvinistic view of the Lord's supper connects, not indeed with the elements as such, but with the act of eating and drinking, not simply such a spiritual enjoyment of Christ as was taught by Zuingli; but the real presence of his body and blood to be had no where else (die nirgend sonst zu habende wirkliche Ge-genwart seines Leibes und Blutes). Both views, the Lutheran and Calvinistic, he tells us, acknowledged a real presence of Christ's body and blood. It will hardly be pretended, that such a theologian as Schleiermacher has mistaken the sense of Calvin in this case. It deserves to be noted besides, that this great master of ratiocination himself, with all his cool and free spirit of theological inquiry, finds no absurdity or contradiction whatever in the Calvinistic theory. He prefers it on the whole to the view of Luther; although he thinks the truth may require still some higher middle theory, in which both at last shall be reconciled and made complete. The Zuinglian doctrine he says has the advantage of being very clear and easy to be understood; but it is quite too low for the subject.

Let these three witnesses stand for many. The weight of their judgment, on a question like this, will not be challenged lightly by those who have any right acquaintance with their names.

It now remains to show, that this Calvinistic doctrine, in all its essential features—not as something opposed to the primitive Helvetic faith, but as the necessary and proper completion rather of its true tendency and sense—passed over actually and in form, with the close of Calvin's life, into all the great national symbols of the Reformed church.

presence réelle, sans doute il n'a entendu parler que d'une présence dimensionnelle.—*Pensées de Leibnitz*, as quoted by Ebrard.

The Reformed Confessions.

Here we may at once see, how altogether unhistorical is the form, in which the Princeton Review has seen fit to bring forward its array of authorities, for the settlement of the general question in debate. The earlier Swiss testimonies are presented as of one and the same class precisely, with the confessional utterances that belong to the latter half of the sixteenth century; no sort of regard is had to the broad difference there was between the *first sacramental war* and the *second*; the Zuinglian and Calvinistic positions are taken as fixed quantities, both at hand in the same purely outward relation from the start; no living movement is allowed in the case, but only some theological contradiction and disorder, from first to last; Bullinger and the Helvetic divines, it is assumed, never moved an inch from the ground they stood upon at the beginning; and so when we find them in the end on common ground with Calvin, as in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, we are required to look upon it at once as a formal truce and treaty, which involved in fact the full triumph of Zuinglianism over Calvinism as the permanently accredited creed of the Reformed church. So we have Zuinglian confessions, Calvinistic confessions, and Zuinglo-Calvinistic confessions, supposed to be a sort of compromise between Calvin's sound and Zwingli's sense; all as it might seem of cotemporary and co-ordinate rank; without the least care or pains taken, to show their true historical relations and connections. We protest against this whole mode of taking evidence, however, as arbitrary and unfair.

Dr. Hodge has no right to parade his first class of authorities, (purely Zuinglian as he calls them,) as a sort of parallel offset to the second. They belong wholly to a different period. As it is, they go far, in part at least, as we have already seen, to assert the very same doctrine which is more distinctly uttered at a later period. In any view, they form part of the *growing* life of the Helvetic church, and not of its mature and settled manhood. This comes into view in the period of Calvin, with the corresponding maturity of the Reformed church as a whole. Calvinism is the Zuinglian faith, carried out to its true and healthful symmetry and strength; in opposition to Megandrianism, which sought then, and still seeks, to stunt its growth, by keeping it pedantically to the single position in which it first started. We may not make the older confessions then the measure by which to try the later, but are bound rather to look for the full sense of the first in these last; as we find that they were

entirely superseded by them in truth, after Calvin's time. Dr. Hodge's *third* class, in which he pretends to find a sort of outward compromise between Calvinism and Zuinglianism, (this last taken in *his* Megandrian sense,) is very much the creature of his own imagination. The Heidelberg Catechism, as we shall see presently, is decidedly Calvinistic; the Consensus Tigurinus was considered to be so also by Calvin himself; and the Second Helvetic Confession must be interpreted in the same way. We have in fact, after the time of Calvin, but one class of authoritative symbols, and these are all Zuinglo-Calvinistic indeed; not however in the way of external amalgamation; but in such sort, that the old Zuinglian position, as asserted against Luther, is completed by development into the view of Calvin. The recognized standards of the Reformed church, in this complete stage, are the *Gallic*, *Old Scotic*, *Belgic*, and *Second Helvetic Confessions*, together with the *Heidelberg Catechism*. All older confessions, Calvin's Catechism and the Consensus Tigurinus among them, lost their force and importance with the appearance of these more perfect systems. They alone are the true ultimate rule, for determining the faith of the Reformed church in the sixteenth century.

We will direct our attention, in the first place, to the four Confessions here named, reserving the Catechism for separate consideration.

1. THE GALlic CONFESSiON.—This was formed by an assembly of delegates from the Reformed churches of France, who were called together for the purpose, at Paris, in the year 1559. Its close agreement with Calvin, has led some to suppose that it proceeded from his pen. But of this there is no historical evidence; and the supposition is in no respect necessary, to account for the correspondence now mentioned. This only goes to show, that the sacramental view of Calvin was the view in truth also of the Reformed church generally, which came now to be incorporated into its symbolical books in the most direct terms. Its language on Christ's presence in the supper is as follows:

Art. XXXVI.—“We hold that the holy supper of the Lord, the second sacrament, is a testimony to us of our union with our Lord Jesus Christ; since he has not only once died for us and risen again from the dead, *but also truly feeds and nourishes us with his flesh and blood*, that we may be one with him and that his life may become ours. For although he is now in heaven, and will remain there also till he shall come to judge the world, we believe notwithstanding, that through the *secret and incomprehensible energy of*

his Spirit, apprehended by faith, he nourishes and vivifies us with the substance of his body and blood. We say indeed that this is done *spiritually*; not however as substituting thus an imagination or thought for the power of the fact; but rather because this mystery is so high, that it transcends the measure of our sense and the whole order of nature. Belonging to heaven, in short, it can be apprehended only by faith.

Art. XXXVII.—“We believe—that in the supper, as in baptism, God in fact, that is *truly* and *efficaciously*, grants unto us what is there figured; so that we join with the signs the *true possession and fruition* of what is thus offered to us. All accordingly who bring to the sacred table of Christ a pure faith, in the way of vessel receive truly (*comme un vaisseau recouvent vrayement*) what the signs there testify, namely, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are not less the meat and drink of the soul, than bread and wine serve as food for the body.”¹

2. THE OLD SCOTCH CONFESsION.—The overthrow of Property in Scotland took place in the year 1560; at which time also this Confession was produced, under the auspices particularly of the celebrated Reformer, *John Knox*. On the subject before us, it utters itself, (Art. XXI,) in the following style:

“And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of these that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs; no we assuredly believe, that by baptism we are ingrafted in Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of his justice, whereby our sins are covered and remitted: and also, that in the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becometh very nourishment and food to our souls; not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into his natural blood, as the papists have perniciously taught, and damnable believed; but this union and conjunction, which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus, in the right use of the sacraments, is wrought by *operation of the Holy Ghost*, who by true faith carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnal and earthly, and maketh us to *feed upon the body and blood* of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which *now is in heaven*, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us; and yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place which is between his body now glorified in heaven, and us now mortal on this earth; yet we most assuredly believe, that the bread which we break, is the communion of Christ's body, and the cup which we bless, is the communion of his blood. So that we confess, and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the

¹ Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum*, pp. 325, 338.

right use of the Lord's table, do so eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them, and they in him; yea, they are so made flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, that as the *eternal God-head hath given to the flesh of Christ Jesus* (which of its own nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality; so doth Christ Jesus *his flesh and blood*, eaten and drunken by us, give unto us the same prerogatives."¹

3. THE BELGIC CONFESSION.—This dates from 1563; and is of great authority and force as a standard exhibition of the faith of the Reformed Dutch Church, both in Holland and in this country. It was solemnly approved besides by the Synod of Dort, and may be said to be clothed in this way with something of an ecumenical character. Its testimony on the mystical force of the Lord's supper, (Art. XXXV,) is particularly striking and strong:

"Christ that he might represent unto us this spiritual and heavenly bread, hath instituted an earthly and visible bread, as a sacrament of his body, and wine as a sacrament of his blood, to testify by them unto us, that as certainly as we receive and hold this sacrament in our hands, and eat and drink the same with our mouths, by which our life is afterwards nourished; that we also do *as certainly receive by faith* (which is the hand and mouth of our soul) the *true body and blood* of Christ our only Saviour in our souls, for the support of our spiritual life. Now as it is certain and beyond all doubt, that Jesus Christ hath not enjoined to us the use of his sacraments in vain, so he *works in us, all what he represents* to us by these holy signs, though the manner surpasses our understanding, and cannot be comprehended by us, as the *operations of the Holy Ghost are hidden and incomprehensible*. In the mean time we err not when we say, that that which is eat and drank by us is the *proper and natural body*, and the *proper blood* of Christ. But the manner of our partaking of the same, is not by the mouth but by the spirit through faith."²

4. THE SECOND HELVETIC CONFESSION.—The occasion which gave this a public character, was as follows. A spirit of the most violent intolerance was roused in certain parts of Germany, towards all who sided in any way with the Melanchthonian or Calvinistic view of the sacraments; but in no direction

¹ Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland.—*Duncan's Collection, 1771.*

² Conf. of the Ref. Church in the Netherlands, as used by the Dutch Church in this country.

was it more active than against the Elector of the Palatinate, Frederick the Third. Fears were entertained even, that he would be excluded from the peace of the empire. In these circumstances, it became an object of great importance, to establish as far as possible a common confessional connection among the Reformed churches. Frederick especially had his heart set upon this point. Towards the close of the year 1565, he wrote to Bullinger on the subject, and begged him in particular to send him as soon as possible a confession of faith, to stop the mouths of the Lutherans, in view of the imperial diet which was then close at hand. Bullinger forwarded him at once a new confession, which he had prepared, it seems, three years before; and the elector was so well pleased with it, that he proposed immediately to have it translated and published in the German tongue. This made it desirable to clothe it with wider authority; for which purpose it was submitted to the other Helvetic churches; and in this way, being generally ratified and approved, it became known in time following as the proper Swiss Confession, having great credit also in foreign countries. On the Lord's supper, (Art. XXI,) it is particularly full.

"Under a visible form, in this sacrament," we are told, "is outwardly represented by the minister, and as it were set before the eyes, what is inwardly and invisibly wrought in the soul by the Holy Spirit himself. Outwardly bread is presented by the minister, and the words of the Lord are heard: *Take, eat; this is my body: Take and divide it among you; drink ye all of it; this is my blood.* Believers accordingly receive what is given by the minister of the Lord, and eat the Lord's bread and drink the Lord's cup. Inwardly however, *in the mean time*, by the operation of Christ through the Holy Spirit, they partake also of the *Lord's flesh and blood*, and are nourished by them unto eternal life. For the flesh and blood of Christ are true meat and drink unto eternal life; and Christ himself, as delivered up for us and our salvation, is that which mainly makes the supper, nor do we suffer any thing else to be put in his room."

The article then goes on, in explanation of this statement, to describe different sorts of manducation. There is first a *corporal* manducation, such as the Capernaites had in their mind, when they strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Then there is a *spiritual* manducation, by which Christ is so appropriated in the way of ordinary faith, that he lives in us and we in him. Still different from this, finally, is the *sacramental* manducation.

"Besides the foregoing spiritual manducation, there is also a sacramental manducation of the Lord's body; by which the believer not only partakes of the true body and blood of the Lord spiritually and inwardly, but outwardly also by coming to the Lord's table receives the visible sacrament of the Lord's body and blood. Before indeed the believer received, in believing, life-giving nourishment, which he enjoys still; but he receiveth *something more now*, in receiving also the sacrament. For he makes farther progress in the communion of the Lord's body and blood, so that faith is kindled more and more, and groweth and gaineth strength by spiritual nourishment. For while we live, faith hath continual accessions. And whoso with true faith receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth *not the sign only*, but as already said enjoyeth also *the thing itself* (re ipsa fruiatur)."¹

The Gallic, Scotch, Belgic, and Second Helvetic Confessions all made their appearance, it will be observed, between the years 1559 and 1563. And now we say, no one at all familiar with the distinctive points of Calvin's sacramental theory, and the phraseology employed to represent them in his writings, can fail at once to recognize it in each of these publications. The same stress is not laid in each case indeed on the same points; one aspect is made more prominent here, and another there; but in all of them the doctrine is so fully characterized as to preclude every construction, by which it might be sought to explain it away. The language is rational with a Calvinistic interpretation, but becomes extravagant and absurd, the moment we try to take it in any less sublime and mysterious sense.

In every case, of course, the Reformed positions are firmly taken against the Roman and high Lutheran theories. No local presence, no oral manducation, no inclusion of Christ in the elements, no participation for unbelievers; all by the *Holy Ghost* and through the organ of *faith*, and for the *soul* primarily of the pious communicant. The elements, aside from the attendant grace of God, are powerless and vain. Christ's body remains locally in heaven. We feed upon it, not in any natural or outward way, but sacramentally and mystically only. As to all these points, there is no room for question or doubt. The Reformed Confessions, as with one voice, make common cause here throughout with Zwingli.

So also undoubtedly they assert, with unequivocal emphasis, the Zwinglian idea of the *sacrificial* interest exhibited in the ordinance, as a "commemoration" of the atoning virtue of

¹ Niemeyer's Coll. Conf. pp. 519-521.

Christ's broken body and shed blood. It is emphatically the *death* of Christ, as a past fact, which is here shown forth, by lively signs, to the faith of his people, to be appropriated by them in its efficacy and value to take away sin.

But do these determinations exhaust and conclude the sense of the doctrine, as here taught, in such a way as to shut out the mystical view, that meets us so familiarly in all the writings of Calvin? By no means.

To deny a local presence, is not to make the presence itself a mere figment. The alternative to sense and flesh, is not necessarily naked thought and contemplation. To lay stress on the covenant in Christ's blood, is not to exclude the idea of a true fellowship with his life as its necessary basis. The *mystery* of the Lord's supper is not overthrown, by being simply lifted from the sphere of nature into the sphere of the Spirit.

If we feed not on Christ with the mouth, just as little can we be said to do so with the understanding or mind. Neither *dente* nor *mente*, not "in *ventrem*" and yet just as little "in *mentem*," was the current Reformed distinction in regard to the subject, in the period of which we now speak. The reigning Puritan view of the present time resolves all into a mental process, upsetting thus in full the old mystery of a real communication with Christ's true divine-human life. The process is made to be purely subjective, involving at most certain gracious influences of God's Spirit, and corresponding moral exercises in the worshipper's soul, parallel precisely with the use that may be made of any other means of spiritual edification. But this is *not* the doctrine of the old Reformed symbols. They hold fast to the "mystery," and make high account of it as lying at the bottom of the whole sacramental transaction.

Thus, while faith is required as the necessary condition of our union with Christ, it is not allowed to be its cause. The main force of the sacrament, is found in the objective action of the Holy Ghost.

This again is no general influence merely, but a real making good of what the signs represent. The elements are only bread and wine, visible symbols of Christ's flesh and blood; but they are not void signs; the verities they signify go with them, in another sphere, by the Spirit.

True, Christ's body is in heaven, and not in the bread, but still its vivific power, that in which its true substance consists, is by the mysterious action of the Holy Ghost actually joined to our souls in the sacramental transaction; so that we are fed by

it dynamically, though not of course in any outward or fleshly way.

This participation is accordingly through the soul, as a spiritual process, and not in any sense by the mouth; but the soul, in this case, is not the mind, as one side simply of our general life; it is the centre of our being as a whole, (which is not dualistic but monadic or single,) and determines in the end both form and contents for the entire man. Thus centrally to feed upon Christ's substantial life, is to be nourished in truth by his flesh and blood, in our whole persons, unto everlasting life.

The question is not, what sense these Confessions can be made to bear when sundered from their own age; but what sense they *must* bear, as part and parcel of the theological history of the sixteenth century, starting into life from the very heart of the *second sacramental war*, in full view of all the Calvinistic issues and determinations, and surrounded on all sides with the din of controversy, ringing changes perpetually on the technical terms and phrases they are found to employ. Interpreted in this way, their actual meaning is sufficiently clear. The Gallic Confession insists on our real union with Christ, in his human nature; sets aside the difficulty of local distance, by resolving all into the mysterious power of the Holy Ghost; makes faith the vessel merely, through which the objective grace in such form is received; places this emphatically in the life-giving substance of the Redeemer's flesh and blood; and explicitly defines the word *spiritual* in the case, as not used synonymously with intellectual, but only to set the whole process above the sphere of nature and sense. The Old Scotic Confession is less logically compact and clear; but its general drift and force are the same. It will hear of no nude or void signs; faith is the organ, but Christ's body and blood now in heaven are the object, and the power of the Holy Ghost is the medium, of the sacramental manducation; no bar in such circumstances is created by local distance; the flesh of Christ is filled with life from the Godhead, for the use of his people; and they have part in it by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, that is, by partaking mystically of the substance of his human life as it is now gloriously exalted in heaven. According to the Belgic Confession, the outward part of the sacrament is not only the sign, but the testimony also, of the grace it represents, namely the donation of the true body and blood of Christ for the nutriment of our spiritual life, as a mystery actually at hand at the time; faith is not the cause of this grace, but only the mouth that makes room for its reception; Christ objectively works in us what the signs rep-

resent; the mode is indeed transcendent, lying in an occult and incomprehensible operation of the Holy Spirit; but still the result is sure, and involves nothing less at last than an actual participation of the very flesh and blood of the glorified Saviour.¹ The Second Helvetic Confession most carefully excludes the Roman and Lutheran conceptions, but only so as to assert again at the same time the sacramental mystery as taught by Calvin. Along with the outward *representation* goes an actual *presentation*, inwardly and by the power of the Holy Ghost, Christ's objective act over against the mere receptivity of faith, causing his people to partake of his body and blood unto life eternal. These not only strengthen the soul, but "uphold it also in life" (*sed etiam in vita conservant*); they are no *cibus imaginarius* merely, but a real substantial aliment, lying at the root of all interest besides in Christ's merits and benefits; and the sacramental manducation, as distinguished from the continuous habit of the christian life, brings with it a new real fruition of this divine aliment, objectively at hand by the mystical action of the Spirit, to repair and advance the being of the new man in its own sphere.

The German Reformed Church.

The Reformed church, as distinguished from the Lutheran, falls naturally, when we look back to its origin, into three sections or divisions; which need to be kept in sight always, in order to understand properly its general constitution and history.

¹ The language of this venerable symbol is of a truth admirably strong and distinct. For the "soul" as the seat of the christian life, so liable to be confounded with the notion of mere *mind*, we have here the idea of the "new man," (embracing our total nature, soul and body,) the product of our second nativity "in the union of Christ's body." Christ is the pubulum of this new man; faith is "the hand or mouth" for its reception; the eucharistic symbols are divine certifications of its being actually at hand; what is represented, is made good by Christ himself, in the mysterious transaction; the mode of the mystery is such as transcends all understanding; it falls within the invisible abyss of God's power; "what is eaten, however, is the very natural body of Christ, (*quæsumus Christi corpus naturale*,) and what is drunk his true blood." Alas, that it should be so hard for us, at the present time, to climb even in thought to the plain literal sense of so sublime and magnificent a creed! The *Reformed Dutch Church* of this country, whose boast it is to hold fast the faith once delivered to the saints as it was afterwards held by the Protestant fathers, may well be congratulated in the possession of this true and noble *monument* to the sacramental orthodoxy of the 16th century,

These have been styled the Zuinglian, the Calvinistic, and the Melanthonian branches of the communion.

The first comprehends the original Helvetic or German Swiss Protestantism, which formed in the beginning an entirely independent interest over against the Protestantism of Germany proper, under the auspices primarily of Ulrick Zuingli. The second embraces the several church organizations, in French Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and Scotland, which took character and form at a later period directly from the influence of Calvin. The third, of later rise still, is made up of that part of the Protestantism of Germany proper, which under the influence particularly of Melanthon and his school, refused to fall in with the confessional movement of the Lutheran church, that gave birth finally to the Form of Concord, and in this way found itself compelled to raise the banner of a different confession. This German movement, in the nature of the case, involved an active correspondence with the life of the Reformed church in Switzerland, and elsewhere; the weight too of Calvin's name especially could not fail to be felt; for he was universally known to stand, with regard to the sacramental question, on common ground with Melanthon. But still it cannot be said with any truth at all, that the Reformed church of Germany sprang in any sense from the Reformed church of Switzerland, or from the same church anywhere else. It grew neither from Zuingli's reformatory mission, nor from that of Calvin; but can be understood properly, only as an outbirth of German Protestantism itself, under the working of the deep and genial spirit of Philip Melanthon, the illustrious author of the Augsburg Confession.

It took its rise first, as is well known, in the Palatinate. Our limits will not permit us here to enter far into its history.¹ We have already seen, in the case of Calvin's controversy with Westphal, the general nature of the question which lay at the foundation of the second sacramental war, and which caused Germany by means of it to rock for so many years with universal theological commotion. The question lay in truth in the bosom of the Lutheran church itself. Calvin, it was well understood all round, represented a broad and powerful interest, which considered itself perfectly at home in the church of the Empire, as it was called, and underneath the shadow of the Augsburg Confession. This it was especially, that inflamed the

¹ We have given some account of it, in our small work entitled, *The History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*.

zealotism of the other side to the highest pitch. In due time, it came to a general war. This broke out first in the city of Bremen ; where a truly inquisitorial crusade was carried on for a number of years by the notorious Timann, against the amiable and excellent Albert Hardenberg, an intimate friend of Melancthon and the main ornament of the place. In close connection with this soon after, but of much more serious and far reaching consequence, stands the religious revolution of the Palatinate. The general superintendent Heshuss, a man of unbounded ambition and intolerance, undertook to carry all before him, with a high hand, in favor of extreme Lutheranism. This excited opposition. The reigning religious life of the Palatinate looked another way ; being in active sympathy all along with the spirit of Melancthon ; who was a native of the country, and always retained towards it a sense of special patriotic interest and affection. The Reformation had gone forward there from the beginning, in close connection with his counsels. He of all other men deserves to be considered the soul of it throughout ; and it soon appeared now, accordingly, that though absent in the body he was in truth mightily present in the spirit, to counteract and defeat the views of Heshuss. Heidelberg became the theatre of violent controversy. The whole province was thrown into commotion. In the midst of it, the elector, Frederick the Third, wrote to Melancthon for his advice. He had already concluded in his own mind, no doubt, what was best to be done ; and probably this was itself the result of an understanding previously had with the Reformer ; but he wished now to sustain himself openly and in form with his high authority. This drew forth the celebrated *Response* of Melancthon, as it is called ; one of his last theological acts ; which came out soon after over his fresh grave, and involved his memory in no small reproach with the stiff party in the Lutheran church, to whose views it was found to be opposed. It was in full conformity with its views, that the elector silenced the sacramental controversy in his dominions, and took measures to settle the faith of the Palatinate permanently on the Melancthonian or Calvinistic basis, as distinguished from that of Westphal, Heshuss, and other men of the same intolerant stamp. The object with Melancthon was not, of course, anything like a secession from the Lutheran church ; but neither was this in the mind of Frederick. Both of them, to the last, adhered to the Augsburg Confession. Out of the movement, however, sprang in truth the confessional rupture of Protestant Germany. Melancthon became here, in a certain sense, the author of the *German Reformed church*.

The new communion, in time, was brought to include other portions of the German field ; but always with the same reigning spirit, and under the same general relation to the Augsburg Confession.

" In Germany, the Reformed Confession gained ground gradually, far beyond the bounds of the Palatinate. This was owing partly to the influence exerted by neighboring countries, particularly Switzerland and Holland ; but still more, no doubt, to the process, by which Lutheranism itself became complete, in being carried forward to its last consequence, the *Form of Concord*. A large amount of Calvinistic (or more strictly Melanthonian) feeling, which had prevailed in the church as moderate Lutheranism, was forced by this onward movement to seek a different position. In all directions accordingly we discover, with the advance of time, the presence of Reformed views and principles, in conflict with the rigid orthodoxy of the other confession, and a more or less full and open profession of the Reformed faith.—All along the Rhine, in different cities and provinces, *Juliers*, *Cleves*, *Berg*, &c., the principles of the Reformed church unfolded themselves more or less successfully, in conflict with the high toned Lutheranism of the day. The Form of Concord, a. 1576, as just intimated, served greatly to strengthen the tendency in this direction. Thus in the close of the century, the churches of *Nassau*, *Hanau*, *Ienburg*, and others of smaller note seceded formally from the Lutheran ranks, and became Calvinistic. *Anhalt*, in the year 1597, made a similar transition. Still more important was the change which took place, in the beginning of the next century, when Maurice, landgrave of *Hesse*, and John Sigismund, elector of *Brandenburg*, embraced the Reformed communion. In this last case indeed the resolution was not at once so entire as in the other ; since the prince was disposed to allow the free profession of Lutheranism, as before, in his dominions. The bigotry of the party however soon made it necessary for him to suppress the Form of Concord, by public authority. In other respects, the liberal and tolerant policy of Sigismund continued the permanent order of the State."—*Hist. and Genius of the Heid. Cat.* pp. 89–90.

With such historical distinction from the other divisions of the same general communion, the German Reformed church has exhibited from the beginning also its own distinct constitutional character and spirit, answerable in general to the relations out of which it first sprang, and in the bosom of which it has all along since stood. Its type in this view may be denominated *Melanthonian* ; not simply as the spirit of this great man was directly

active in its original organization, but still more as it may be said to represent that side particularly of the *German* religious life, of which Melancthon appears the leading organ, over against Luther, in the age of the Reformation. It is not necessary to enter minutely here into the points of difference and contrast, between this German type of the Reformed faith and that which takes its name directly from Calvin. One material variation is found, in the view taken of the doctrine of election. With Calvin, God's absolute decree is made to be the *principle* of the christian salvation; out of which the entire process grows, in a direct and immediate way, in the case of every individual believer. This involves, by strict and necessary consequence, the whole supralapsarian theory, a limited atonement, made *only* for the elect, and predestination to perdition in the case of all besides. Altogether a truly terrific view, which is in plain contradiction to the entire idea of Christianity, and which no logical force has been able accordingly to save from various qualifications in the history of the Calvinistic creed itself. The German mind always recoiled from it, with a sort of instinctive dread. Melancthon, it is well known, (and Luther also,) renounced it as a metaphysical abstraction, at war with the historical realness of the new life revealed in Christ. In this feeling, the whole German church participated. Both confessions here were substantially of the same mind. The erection of the *Reformed* standard, in no case implied an agreement with Calvin's theory of the decrees. The only *Calvinism* involved in it, was that which stood in the doctrine of the sacraments.

This doctrine, it is easy to see, derived no benefit from the connection in which it stood with the idea of predestination, as held by Calvin. It must be allowed rather, that the sacramental interest and that of the decrees, in his system, are not free from some inward conflict, and that the one has a tendency continually to overthrow the other. Hence it is no doubt, that in those sections of the Reformed church where the doctrine of the decrees has been regarded as the main interest in theology, the original Calvinistic view of the sacraments has fallen more and more into the shade, so as to be frequently of no authority whatever. And yet the doctrine of the decrees, as held by Calvin never belonged at all to the constitution of the Reformed church as such; whereas the sacramental doctrine entered in truth into its distinctive character as a confession. The German Reformed church then, by its relation to the doctrine of the decrees, was in some respects better situated theologically than the same communion elsewhere, for the right apprehension and utterance of

the true Reformed doctrine of the holy sacraments. We need not be surprised accordingly to find it brought out here in a symbolical form, which in precision and force even surpasses at some points what we have had thus far under consideration.

The Heidelberg Catechism.

The true life and spirit of the German Reformed church are found embalmed in the simple and beautiful formulary, with which it first proclaimed its presence in the Palatinate, and which was afterwards accepted as its fundamental symbol also in Germany at large. It deserves to be considered, in some respects, the crown and glory of all the symbolical books of the Reformed church; as from the beginning indeed it has found almost universal favor throughout its communion, and has carried with it accordingly a sort of œcumenical authority in all lands, as being at once the last and best fruit of the general confessional movement to which it belongs. For with it properly the Reformed confessions come to an end; what follows in this character afterwards, as in Hesse-Cassel, Brandenburg, &c., being for the purpose of explanation only rather than of any new production.

The Heidelberg Catechism was the product directly of the religious revolution, by which the moderate or Melancthonian tendency was triumphantly established in the Palatinate, as the true form of its faith, over against the intolerance of the contrary interest in the Lutheran church. It was prepared by the will and order of the elector, Frederick the Third, under the general sanction of Melancthon's counsel. The authorship of it belongs to Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus; particularly to this last, who was for seven years a student under Melancthon, and afterwards one of his most intimate and honored friends.¹ The parties concerned in its production had no thought of disowning the faith of the Augsburg Confession. Discussion and disputation, under the most public form, attended the movement; but it went on the assumption throughout, that the controversy regarded not at all the fact of the mystical presence in

¹ His first settlement was in Breslau, a. 1558, his native city; where however he soon fell into bad credit with some for his Melancthonianism. This led to his first appearance as a writer, in a short work on the sacraments; of which Melancthon is said to have expressed his approbation in the most favorable and flattering terms.—Seizen, *Gesch. d. Reformation zu Heidelberg*: p. 159.

the sacrament, but only its mode or manner. The mystery itself was allowed on all hands. At the imperial diet at Naumburg, a. 1561, the elector Frederick III., renewed his signature, with the other German princes, to the Augsburg Confession; the Catechism was published under his auspices in 1563; and yet three years after, a. 1566, we hear him again, at another diet, appealing to this very subscription in proof of his orthodoxy, and publicly ratifying it as still valid for his hand and heart. So little sense had either he or his theologians of any essential variation in the new symbol, from what they conceived to be the true meaning of the Augsburg creed. The whole was felt to be a necessary protest simply against the tyranny of the party, which was trying to fix on the Confession a sense disclaimed by its author, and to make this the only rule and measure of Lutheran orthodoxy. From this quarter accordingly rose also the opposition, with which the Catechism was met on its first appearance. The offence found with it was not, that it openly rejected the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession; but that while it pretended to allow this in form, it brought in the Calvinistic distinction with regard to mode, which was held to subvert in reality the whole mystery that the article affirms.

To have any clear sense of these historical relations, is at once to see clearly at the same time the vanity of the imagination, that the Heidelberg Catechism is as much Zuinglian as Calvinistic in its sacramental doctrine, and, in this respect lower toned here than some of the Confessions we have just had under consideration. The Princeton Review speaks of it in this way as a sort of irenical compromise "between the Zuinglians and Calvinists," and thinks there is nothing in its sacramental doctrine "to which exception would even now be taken," from the common stand-point of the American churches. But this only shows how easy it is to miss the true meaning of confessional terms and phrases, when we allow ourselves to overlook altogether the living associations in the midst of which they had their birth. That the formulary of the Palatinate should have been designed to fall *below* Calvinism in its doctrine of the sacraments, or to give up in any way the substance of the mystery affirmed in the tenth article of the Confession of Augsburg, is such a supposition as in view of all the circumstances of the case must be counted purely impossible and absurd. The controversy which gave rise to it, was not the old question at all that lay between Zuingli and Luther; but the new issue created, in the bosom of the Lutheran church, between the doctrine of the mystical presence in the Spirit, as held by Melancthon and

his school, and the crass conception of a corporeal presence in the bread, as contended for by the party which finally produced the Form of Concord. The first view was the same that Calvin held in the Reformed church, the Zuinglo-Calvinistic as it might be termed, matured from the old Zuinglian stock into becoming consistency and perfection. As for Megandrian Zuinglianism, we hear not a word of its influence in the Palatinate. The truth is, the Reformed church here springs properly from the spirit of Melancthon; as it is his spirit also which, through his favorite disciple Ursinus, more than that of any other of the older reformers, pervades every page, we may say, of the Heidelberg Catechism.

When we look into the Catechism itself, we find its sacramental doctrine to be in fact just what might be expected in this view. It is Melancthonian throughout; the terminology of Calvin filled with Melancthon's spirit. Throughout, we have the two great aspects of the ordinance carefully distinguished, and yet just as carefully held together. All looks to the sacrifice once offered on Calvary, the covenant of pardon and peace established in Christ's bloody *death*; but all is made immediately to turn again on the power of a real union with his present *life*, now glorified in heaven, as the only stream by which it is possible for such vast grace to be conveyed into our souls. Five times over, to say the very least, in the 75th, 76th, 77th, 79th, and 80th Questions, we have the idea of a life communion with Christ, in the holy supper, solemnly proclaimed as lying at the ground of our communion with his death. If it had been designed to anticipate and confound the imagination, that these two conceptions are of heterogeneous nature, and so not capable of being inwardly joined together in the same doctrine, it could hardly have been done to more purpose than we find it to be as the Catechism now stands. The whole runs as follows:

"Q. 75. How art thou admonished and assured in the Lord's supper, that thou art a partaker of that one sacrifice of Christ, accomplished on the cross, and of all his benefits?

"A. Thus, that Christ has commanded me, and all believers, to eat of this broken bread, and to drink of this cup, in remembrance of him; adding these promises, first, that his body was offered and broken on the cross for me, and his blood shed for me, as certainly as I see with my eyes the bread of the Lord broken for me, and the cup communicated to me; and further, that he feeds and nourishes my soul to everlasting life, with his crucified body and shed blood, as assuredly, as I receive from the hands of the minister and taste with my mouth the bread and cup of the Lord, as certain signs of the body and blood of Christ.

"Q. 76. What is it then to eat the crucified body, and drink the shed blood of Christ?

"A. It is *not only* to embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ, and thereby to obtain the pardon of sin and life eternal; *but also, besides that*, to become more and more united to his sacred body by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us; so that we, though Christ is in heaven, and we on earth, are, notwithstanding, 'flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone'; and that we live and are governed for ever by one spirit, as members of the same body are by one soul.

"Q. 77. Where has Christ promised, that he will as certainly feed and nourish believers with his body and blood, as they eat of this broken bread, and drink of this cup?

"A. In the institution of the supper, which is thus expressed: 'The Lord Jesus, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you, this do in remembrance of me: After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood; this do ye as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death until he come.'

This promise is repeated by the holy Apostle Paul, where he says, 'the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we, being many, are one bread and one body; because we are all partakers of that one bread.'

"Q. 78. Do then the bread and wine become the very body and blood of Christ?

"A. Not at all; but as the water in baptism is not changed into the blood of Christ, neither is the washing away of sin itself, being only the sign and confirmation thereof appointed of God; so the bread of the Lord's supper, is not changed into the very body of Christ, though, *agreeably to the nature and properties of sacraments*, it is called the body of Christ Jesus.

"Q. 79. Why then doth Christ call the bread his body, and the cup his blood, or the new covenant in his blood; and Paul the communion of the body and blood of Christ?

"A. Christ speaks thus not without great reason, namely, *not only* thereby to *teach us*, that as bread and wine support this temporal life, so his crucified body and shed blood are the true meat and drink whereby our souls are fed to eternal life; *but more especially* by these visible signs and pledges to *assure us*, that we are *as really partakers of his true body and blood* (by the operation of the Holy Ghost) as we receive by the mouths of our bodies these holy signs in remembrance of him; and that all his sufferings and

obedience are as certainly ours, as if we had in our own persons suffered and made satisfaction for our sins to God.

"Q. 80. What difference is there between the Lord's supper and the Popish mass?

"A. The Lord's supper testifies to us, that we have a full pardon of all sin by the only sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which he himself has once accomplished on the cross; and that we *by the Holy Ghost are ingrafted into Christ*, who, according to his human nature, is now not on earth, but in heaven, at the right hand of God his father, and will there be worshipped by us:—but the mass teacheth, that the living and the dead have not the pardon of sins through the sufferings of Christ, unless Christ is also daily offered for them by the priests; and further, that Christ is *bodily under the form of bread and wine*, and therefore is to be worshipped in them; so that the mass at bottom, is nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry."

Observe how carefully and constantly here the benefits of Christ are made to depend on connection with his life; and how clearly the *pignoral* force of the sacrament, as the mystical pledge and seal of such connection, is distinguished from its force as a mere sign for the understanding. *F*irst, the fact of the atonement as already made is set forth in the way of divine picture; *secondly*, the outward transaction certifies or makes sure divinely the inward result, by the Spirit, of a real present communication with the life, in which only the atonement has its perennial seat, as the aliment of immortality, for our souls. The first object may never be forgotten; but the case involves always the other also, ("further"—"besides that"—"more especially,") as the necessary completion of the sacrament, and that without which in fact the first aspect itself could not stand. *As certainly* as the outward part of the solemnity goes forward in the sphere of sense, this mystery of a real participation of the true body and blood of Christ, uniting us more and more to his sacred life, goes forward at the same time in the sphere of the Spirit. Take particularly the 76th and 79th Questions. Here are all the Calvinistic or Melancthonian points, in clear and precise enunciation; the memorial of the atonement; our present fruition of Christ's life, as the ground of all interest in his death; the local barrier surmounted by the Holy Ghost; and so a real participation, in the very substance or vivific vigor of his glorified person.

Altogether, could it well be more strongly asserted than it is here said in fact, that in the holy eucharist by the act of Christ objectively through his wonder-working Spirit, and not simply

by our act, we are made to participate, not orally and outwardly, but mystically, dynamically and substantially, through the inmost soul-centre of our being, in the divine life that springs up perpetually through the fountain of his humanity, as Calvin has it, for the use of our dreary and dying nature.

Frederick the Third and Ursinus.

If however there might be any doubt with regard to the true sense of the Heidelberg Catechism, in itself considered, it ought to vanish certainly from the most incredulous mind, before the direct testimony of the man who wrote it, and the prince by whose authority it first became a public rule of faith. This happily we have within reach, under the most clear and explicit form.

The Catechism, we have already said, took its rise in the midst of much public debate. Strenuous efforts were made from abroad, to turn the course of things in the Palatinate another way. In June, 1560, a disputation was held, which lasted five days, on the sacramental question alone; the point being simply, *how* the mystery of the real presence was to be regarded as having place; while the fact of the mystery itself was allowed fully on both sides. The Reformed thesis was, "that the true substance of the true body of Christ" is received in the sacrament, but only through faith, by the power of the Holy Ghost, and not in an oral way. The appearance of the new formulary, a. 1563, was the signal for a general burst of opposition on the side of the extreme Lutherans. The theologians of the neighboring province of Wurtemberg especially led the way, in this controversy. It became necessary for Ursinus and his colleagues to stand forward in their own defence. The elector too was solemnly taken to task by his brother princes. In this way the sacramental doctrine of the Catechism especially was brought under full discussion; so that we are not left in any uncertainty whatever, with regard to what were its actual relations to the theology of that time. The case is historically clear as the light of day.

The elector *Frederick*, as we have before seen, professed to remain true to the Augsburg Confession, as long as he lived; and he was not a man, to make such a profession either blindly or falsely. Few princes have been equal to him in piety and wisdom. On the 14th of Sept. 1563, he published a Declaration, in reply to a Remonstrance on the part of some of his fel-

low princes, in which he disclaims all thought of falling away from his former faith, and on the subject of the Lord's supper, in the name of his preachers and for himself, bears this truly striking and memorable testimony :

" They believe and teach, that not alone bread and wine are there given us, as holy divine signs and seals, (according to the language of the inspired Scriptures, and also of the Augsburg Confession and Apology,) and not only the merit of Jesus Christ, nor his divinity alone ; but that the Lord Christ himself wholly, (*ganz und gar*,) true God and man, his essential body and essential blood, (*sein wesentlicher Leib und wesentliches Blut*,) as given and shed for us on the cross, likewise all his merits, benefits, heavenly treasures and goods, and life everlasting, truly, without any deceit, and not in mere fancy, but really, *re ipsa*, by the power and operation of the Holy Ghost at hand to faith as the food and drink of our souls, are by the Lord himself offered and handed over to us ; so that we, by such communion with Christ, become true members of his blessed body, to remain and live he in us and we in him."¹

The view of *Ursinus* is clearly declared in his Commentary on the Catechism, as published by David Pareus after his death. Several extracts from this are given in the *Mystical Presence*. They are particularly distinct and emphatic, on the relation which the two sides of the sacrament hold to each other, in the Reformed doctrine, as *joint factors* in the constitution of its peculiar mystery. The outward sign and the inward grace *both* enter into the idea of the ordinance, with equal authority and right; and they are tied together by direct present *bond*, as truly as the union of form and substance in any other case, though in a wholly special and extraordinary way. "The sign and the thing signified are united in this sacrament," we are told, "not by any natural copulation, or corporal and local existence one in the other ; much less by transubstantiation, or changing one into the other ; but by signifying, sealing, and exhibiting the one by the other ; that is, by a *sacramental union*, whose bond is the promise added to the bread, requiring the faith of the receivers." Passing by all this however at present, we beg leave to fix attention on the following plain and full testimony from a tract drawn up by *Ursinus*, and published in the name of the whole Heidelberg Faculty, soon after the Catechism appeared, for the very purpose of explaining and vindicating its doctrine in

¹ Article on the German Reformed church by Dr. H. Hepp, in Ullmann's "Studien u. Kritiken" for July, 1850.

regard to the holy sacraments. Who will pretend to say, that such an interpretation is not *authentic*, and entitled to credit from the whole world.'

In the second part of this publication, which treats of the supper, it is said :

" That we might live eternally by Christ, it was not enough for him to become a sacrifice for us, but he must also *incorporate us with himself*, that we may become by him again a habitation of God, John 15. Hence he makes us partakers *not only of his merit*, but also *of himself*, that is, of his *person, substance, and essence*, and *thus also of his power and operation, or of his condition, property and glory*. Himself he gives over to us, by *dwelling in us truly with his Spirit*, and by so joining and uniting us, through this Spirit which dwells both in him and us, *with his true essential body*, that we hang to him as limbs to the head or branches to the vine, and *have life out of him*. For Christ is our head and vine, according to his divinity and humanity. According to his divinity, he abides in us essentially along with the eternal Father and the Holy Ghost, John 14 : 23 ; but according to his humanity, he is not *within our body*. For as the head in the natural body is not in the arm or foot, nor the arm in the head, and as the stock of the vine is not within the branches nor the branches within the stock, but all members so hang and grow to the head, and all branches to the vine, by their veins, hands and joints, that they draw thence their life, whether far off or near as regards *place* ; so also the body of Christ is not in ours, as our body also is not in his, but the Holy Ghost, which dwells in him and in us, is the living eternal, *incomprehensible bond between him and us*, by which *OUR MORTAL FLESH IS INCORPORATED AND KNIT TO THE LIVING FLESH OF CHRIST A THOUSAND TIMES MORE CLOSELY, FIRMLY AND STRONGLY, than all the members of our body are joined by their veins and fleshy bands to our head*, and we are made members of Christ, *of his flesh and of his bone*, it matters not whether the body of Christ be *as to situation and place* near at hand or far off."

¹ "Gründlicher Bericht vom h. Abendmal unsers HERRN Jesu Christi, aus einhelliger Lehre, der h. Schrift, der alten rechtläubigen Christlichen Kirchen, und auch der Augspurgischen Confession. Gestellt durch der Universität Heidelberg Theologen. Auch Herrn Philippi Melanthonis Bedenken über der Spaltung vom Abendmal." Quoted at large by Ebrard, II. pp. 618-634. The original Latin form of the tract is referred to by Seisen, (Gesh. d. Ref. zu Heidelberg,) when he says, p. 162: "Against the charge that the Palatinate had admitted a *new doctrine* of the Lord's supper *different from the Augsburg Confession*, Frederick III, caused an *Exegesis versus doctrine de Sacramentis et Eucharistia* to be composed by Ursinus, which was issued, with the approbation and authority of the consistory, as a public confession."

What could be more fully in point, for the whole question with which we are here concerned? Who will dare turn the bold phraseology of the 76th and 79th Questions of the Catechism into a mere flourish of speech, in view of so clear a statement under the hand of Ursinus himself? The clear sighted man, no less than Calvin himself, knew full well what he meant to assert, by resolving the sacramental mystery into the **POWER OF THE HOLY GHOST**, as transcending all local limitations. What at last is any merely mechanical union, as compared with the organic, plastic force that binds together dynamically here the subjects of a common life?

"It is a great misunderstanding or perversion," we are told again, "that some so take and give the word *spiritual*, as though it did not signify what actually occurs, but were only a thought or imagination. For as *corporeal*, in this question, expresses what is perceived and done with the senses and members of the body, so also that is *spiritual* which takes place by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Hence the body of Christ also, although it is no spirit, but true human, natural, visible and palpable flesh and blood, is notwithstanding a *spiritual* gift and bestowment, since the participation of it is spiritual, that is, comes to us by the Holy Ghost."

A truly weighty interpretation, we may say with Professor Ebrard, of a most weighty idea!

The ninth and last part of this memorable "*Gründlicher Bericht*," is devoted to the object of showing that the sacramental doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism, is in full harmony with the true and proper sense of the Augsburg Confession.

Secondary German Reformed Symbols.

These grew out of the religious changes, by which the Reformed church, as already mentioned, gained new ground in different parts of Germany, after the introduction of the Form of Concord. They are not so much regular confessions, as declarations rather publicly describing and explaining what they take to be the true sense of the Reformed Protestant faith. Under such view, however, they are specially important, in the case before us, as they serve to show clearly the light in which the eucharistic mystery was regarded by the German Reformed church, as a whole, in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The *Repetitio Anhaltina*, as it is called, (a. 1579,) proclaims its full assent to the Augsburg Confession; and on the subject of the Lord's supper uses the following language:

"Resting in the words of institution as a sure foundation, we shrink with our whole heart from every profanation of this tremendous mystery; and neither by defect nor excess fall in with those who go aside from the king's high way. We retain this most simple and clear sense of the words, that in the Lord's supper, along with the bread and wine, is truly distributed and received, *that very body which was offered for us on the altar of the cross, and the self-same precious blood that flowed from the sacred wounds of Christ*, freely shed for us for the remission of sins. —He causes us to partake, not only of his merit and efficacy, but also of *the substance of his body and blood*, that we may be certain, that our sins are truly remitted on account of his passion and death, and that he himself is willing to dwell in us, and to bear us as branches inserted into his person, and to sustain us to eternal life."¹

The following extracts are from a Catechism and Confession, which were adopted by a General Synod of *Hesse-Cassel* in the year 1607.²

"The Lord's supper is a sacrament or divine transaction, where the Lord Christ himself present, with visible signs of bread and wine, images, seals and *makes over to us* the gifts and heavenly goods promised, namely, his *true body* broken for us and his *true blood* shed for us for the remission of our sins."—*Catechism.*

"Since the Lord says of the bread, This is my body which is broken for you; and again, This do in remembrance of me; with which words he requires us to believe and wills, that we not only eat the earthly bread with the mouth of the body, but that with the mouth of the heart we eat and drink the heavenly food, that is, his true body given for us, and his true blood shed for us on the cross from his side and wounds for the remission of our sins; so we believe that in the holy supper, *along with* the oral fruition of the sacrament of Christ's body, we *partake likewise* of the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, not *imaginari* or in mere thought, but truly, and that by such participation Christ dwells in our hearts. Thus then the Lord Jesus Christ, *not absent but present*, in his holy supper truly *feeds us with his flesh* and makes us to *drink of his blood*, and this participation of Christ's body and blood brings and gives powerful comfort, life and eternal salvation, to all timid, troubled and believing hearts."—*Confession.*

Specially worthy of notice is the spirit of the German Reformed church of Prussia, as exhibited to our view originally

¹ Niemeyer: Coll. Conf. p. 628.

² Quoted by Heppe: Article on Ger. Ref. Church, in *Stud. u. Krit.* July, 1850.

in the electorate of Brandenburg. This we find in the celebrated Confession of Sigismund, (das märkische Glaubensbekenntniss,) bearing date May, 1614; in the Articles of the Leipsic Conference, held in the year 1631; and in the Declaration of Thorn, a. 1645; which are sometimes styled the Three Brandenburg Confessions. The last two grew out of efforts which were made under the auspices particularly of prince Sigismund, in favor of religious union; and they are of particular interest in this view, as showing how far the Reformed theologians were willing to go towards the settlement of a common rule of faith. The design in both cases failed; but the spirit of the Reformed church was exemplified at least, with good advantage, in its publicly adhering, as it subsequently did, to the irenical platform here proposed.

The *Confession of Sigismund* broadly declares its adhesion to the Augsburg Confession, as presented to Charles V. in the year 1530; asserts the sacramental presence of Christ's true body and true blood, in the Lord's supper, though only in the Calvinistic or Melanchthonian sense; and distinctly rejects at the same time the idea of all unconditional election and reprobation.¹

The *Leipzig Conference* proceeded throughout on the same basis. The articles of the Augsburg Confession were taken up separately, for the purpose of determining clearly the sense in which they were understood. On the tenth article, the report gives us the following transaction:

"The theologians of Brandenburg and Hessa (Reformed) accepted the article on the Lord's supper in full, word for word, as it stands in the Confession presented a. 1530. Along with the Saxon divines, (Lutheran,) they rejected the popish transubstantiation, likewise the *concomitance*, the abiding sacramental presence of the body and blood beyond the solemnity, the *co-existence*, *inexistence*, every sort of local and bodily presence of the body, and the worship whether of the bread or its form.

¹ Im heiligen Abendmal—gläuben und bekennen S. Churf. Gn. weil zweyerley Ding daselbst zu befinden, die eusserliche Zeichen Brodt und Wein, und der wahre Leib Christi, so für uns in den Tod gegeben, und sein heiliges Blut, so am Stamm des heiligen Kreuzes vergossen, dass auch auf zweyerley Weise dieselben genossen werden. Das Brodt und Wein mit dem Munde, der wahre Leib und das wahre Blut Christi eigentlich mit dem Glauben, und dass demnach wegen der Sacramentlichen Vereinigung in dieser heiligen Action beide zusammen seyn, und zugleich ausgespendet und genommen werden. —Also—dass d. h. Abendmal auch eine geistliche Speise der Seelen sey, dadurch dieselbe erraicket, getröstet, gestärcket, und mit dem vereinigten Leibe der Unsterblichkeit gespeiset und erhalten wird. —Niemeyer: Coll. Conf. p. 647.

They acknowledged further, that in the Lord's supper not only are the outward elements of bread and wine present; and not only the power and effect, or the mere signs of the body and blood; but that the true essential body which was broken for us, and the true essential blood of Jesus Christ himself, which was shed for us, by means of the consecrated bread and wine are truly and in a present way distributed and received, *in virtue of the sacramental union*, which consists not in the character of a mere sign, nor yet in the force of a seal only, but also in the *joint undivided presentation of the earthly elements and of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ*; only this sacramental union has no place beyond the sacred transaction itself, but alone in the same.

This moreover was agreed, that in the spiritual side of the transaction not only the power, benefit, and effect, but the essence and substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ himself, in the use of the holy supper, here on earth, are enjoyed, that is, are in a spiritual way by true faith eaten and drunk, and that this spiritual participation is of necessary account for the right use of the ordinance."

The report then goes on to say, that the Reformed theologians could not allow this spiritual participation to be by the organ of the mouth, but only through the action of faith, as the medium of a process above sense; while the Saxons insisted on the idea of an *oral* communication, holding in the case of unbelievers as well as believers. Here accordingly the agreement failed; but not till it came to this. The Reformed had no quarrel with the matter of what the Lutherans were concerned to uphold in the sacrament, the fact of a real mystical communication with the living substance of Christ, but only with their crass view of the way in which the mystery was supposed to come to pass.

The *Declaration of Thorn* completes this class of expository symbols. It was presented by the Reformed theologians to the General Synod held at Thorn in the year 1645, as a solemn statement of what they judged to be the true sense of the Reformed creed, as exhibited in previous confessions; in which character, it passed into symbolical credit afterwards in Poland, as well as in Brandenburg and Prussia. For the German Reformed church thus especially, it must be regarded as of absolutely conclusive force, on the whole subject now under consideration; since it certifies to us, in the most direct and authentic form, the precise import of its sacramental faith, as it stood in the beginning. The chapter on the "Lord's supper" consists of fourteen articles. The first three run as follows:

"1. As Baptism is the sacrament of our spiritual regeneration in Christ, so the holy supper is the sacrament of our spiritual nutrition

in the same; wherein Christ himself, by the outward symbols of bread and wine, sanctified by his word, which we are commanded to eat and drink corporally and visibly in memory of his sacrifice, attests that he exhibits and communicates to us his body given for us and the blood of the N. Testament shed for us, as spiritual food and drink unto eternal life.

" 2. This sacrament then consists of *terrene things*, bread and wine, and *celestial things*, the body and blood of the Lord; both of which, though it be in a different mode, are still exhibited to us in the most true, real and present way. Namely, the terrene things in a natural, bodily and terrene mode; but the celestial things in a spiritual, mystical and celestial mode, such as *inscrutable to reason and sense* we hold by faith only; by which we grasp the words of promise and the thing itself promised, to wit, Christ crucified with all his benefits.

" 3. Hence even the terrene things, bread and wine, are styled the body and blood of Christ, as being so in truth, not indeed substantially or corporeally, but sacramentally and mystically, or through and on account of the *sacramental union*; which does not consist in naked signification, nor yet in *obsignation only*, but also in this joint and simultaneous exhibition and communication of the terrene and celestial things, under their different modes."

The two next articles explain, in what sense the early fathers speak of the elements as changed into Christ's body and blood, and of the whole ordinance as a sacrifice; after which follows, in articles 6-9, a rejection in full of transubstantiation, every sort of local inclusion or co-existence, and the idea of a corporal or oral communication in any way whatever, together with the mass and the worship of the host. Passing over this, we resume our quotation with the tenth article.

" 10. Still the signs are by no means nude, void and vain, but simultaneously exhibit what they signify and seal, as most certain media and efficacious instruments, by which the body and blood of Christ, and so Christ himself with all his benefits, are exhibited and offered to all communicants, while to believers they are actually donated and delivered, so as to be received by them as saving and life-giving food to the soul.

" 11. Nor do we by any means deny the *true presence* of Christ's body and blood in the supper, but only the local and corporal mode of presence, and a substantial union with the *elements*; the presence itself as *with us*, we sacredly believe, and this *not* as imaginary, but as *most true, most real, and most efficacious*, namely, that very *mystical union* of Christ with us, which *he himself*, as he promises by word and by symbol offers, by his Spirit also effects, and which we through faith accept, and by love feel, agreeably to that ancient

saying: The motion is felt, the mode unknown, the presence believed (*Motum sentimus, modum nescimus, presentiam credimus*).

" 12. Whence it is clear, that not merely the *virtue, efficacy, operation or benefits* of Christ, are presented and communicated to us, but especially the *substance itself of Christ's body and blood*, that self-same victim which was given for the life of the world and slain upon the cross, that by believing communion with the victim and union with Christ himself, we might in *consequence* partake also of the merits and benefits procured by his sacrifice, and abide in him even as he does in us.

" 13. And this, *not only as to the soul, but also as to our body*. For although, as by the bodily mouth we receive the terrene part, so it is by the faith of the heart as the proper organ that we receive the celestial part; according to that old line, 'ventrem, quod terrenus, mentem, quod credimus, intrat;' still by the mediation of this faith, *not merely our souls, but also our bodies themselves*, are inserted and united into Christ's *body BY HIS SPIRIT*, unto the hope of the *resurrection* and everlasting life, that we may be flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones, and so one mystical body with himself, which the apostle with good reason has styled a great mystery."

The last article insists on the use of the cup for the laity, as well as the bread.¹

Altogether what a luminous commentary we have here on the sacramental phraseology of the Reformed symbols, as it was understood by the German church in the beginning of the seventeenth century. And who will pretend to say, that such a commentary is not of more weight at least than any amount of merely modern Puritan authority, arbitrarily wresting the same phraseology into another sense altogether, to please its own anti-mystical humor? The relation between sign and thing signified, is not general only but special; both enter into the constitution of the sacrament; the "exhibition" of the invisible grace is its actual *presentation* at the time, under an objective form; this is too, not the benefits of Christ merely, but the quickening substance of his life itself; and that again his proper *man's life*, in which he died on the cross and with which he now reigns in heaven; the soul or heart, acted upon by the Holy Ghost in the *great mystery* of its participation is not the understanding simply as a separate existence, but the inmost ground and centre of our whole living nature, out from which in a real way the organic force of Christ's life is reproductively carried into both mind and body, transmuting them, as Hooker has it, from sin

¹ Niemeyer: Coll. Conf. pp. 681-683.

to righteousness, from death and corruption to glory and immortality. All in full harmony with the beautiful representation of Calvin : " *Christi caro instar fontis est divitis et inexhausti, quæ vitam a divinitate in seipsam scaturientem ad nos transfundit.*"

IV.

CONCLUSION.

We have now carried our historical trial as far, as the proper wants of the subject would seem to require ; and we may safely leave it with all candid readers, we think, to decide for themselves what force the whole should have, as regards the general question in debate. If we are not entirely mistaken, the evidence we have brought forward is sufficient to show conclusively, that the original and proper sacramental doctrine of the Reformed church was of a truth in all material points, what we have described it to be in the Mystical Presence ; and that the counter statement of Princeton, accordingly, falls altogether short of the full and entire truth. To see at a glance the difference between the two representations, as well as to estimate their comparative claims to regard, in the light of the examination through which we have now gone, we have only to repeat the recapitulatory paragraph of the Princeton article, which we have before quoted, adding to its several clauses at the same time what is needed in the way of supplement to complete their sense. To make the contrast between the two forms of statement more immediately plain, the supplementary parts are presented in a different type, and of course without quotation marks.

" Christ is really present to his people, in this ordinance, not bodily, but by his Spirit," *as the medium of a higher mode of existence* ; " not in the sense of local nearness, but of efficacious operation," *nullifying miraculously the bar of distance and bringing the very substance of his body into union with their life.* " They receive him, not with the mouth, but by faith," *as the organ by which only the soul is qualified to admit the divine action now noticed* ; " they receive his flesh, not as flesh, not as material particles," *but dynamically in the inward power of its life, (so that the clause " nor its human life," is not correct;)* " his body as broken and his blood as shed," *the value of that sacrifice carried in the vivific virtue of the same body now gloriously exalted in heaven.* " The union thus signified and effected between him and them, is not a corporeal union, nor a mix-

ture of substances," in the Roman or Lutheran sense, "but spiritual and mystical;" not merely mental, but including the real presence of Christ's whole life under an objective character, and reaching on our side also through the soul into the body; "arising from the indwelling of the Spirit," not as the proxy only of an absent Christ, but as the supernatural bond of a true life connection, by which his very flesh is joined to ours, more intimately far than the trunk to its branches, or the head to its members, in the natural world. "The efficacy of this sacrament, as a means of grace, is not in the signs," separately taken, "nor in the service," outwardly considered, "nor in the minister, nor in the word, but solely in the attending influence of the Holy Ghost," as the necessary complement or inward side of the divine mystery itself of whose presence the outward signs are the sure guaranty and pledge, and whose mirific action can never fail to take effect objectively where the subject is in a state to admit it by faith. "This we believe," so filled out with positive contents, "to be a fair statement of the doctrine of the Reformed church."

The fact then of a broad and serious variation from the old Reformed doctrine of the Lord's supper, in the reigning Puritan view of the present time, ought not to be disputed nor disguised. Some pains are taken, in the Mystical Presence, to illustrate and define this modern view, by suitable extracts from popular authors; as also to place it in direct contrast at several points with the older doctrine, for the purpose of bringing the fact now mentioned into clear light. Let the two following quotations, the first from Professor Stuart of Andover, the other from that well known work, Dick's Theology, suffice at present, in place of all other authorities, for specimen and exemplification. Both of these distinguished divines sink the Lord's supper into a simply commemorative ordinance throughout.

"Here we find," says Prof. Stuart, "the great object of the symbols at the table of the Lord. They are to 'show forth his death until he come.' They are designed in a peculiar manner to recall to the mind of the communicant, the sufferings and death of him who instituted these memorials. Other views of him must accompany such recollections. His love, his pity, his constancy, his extinguishable compassion for perishing men, his hatred of sin, his earnest desire for the purification and holiness of all his followers—all these, and more of the like things, stand inseparably connected with the remembrance of his death on the cross. And it is by a lively remembrance of these things, and a lively and active faith in them, that the believer must be profited, if profited at all, at the

table of the Lord." — "Just so far as the symbols in question recall and impress divine truth, so far they may have a sanctifying influence. To look for such influence beyond this, is not rational expectation, founded on the Scriptures and on the nature of the Christian religion, but superstition and groundless mystical conjecture."¹

"Why should any man talk as Calvin does," exclaims Dr. Dick, "of some inexplicable communion in this ordinance with the human nature of Christ; and tell us that, although it seems impossible, on account of the distance to which he is removed from us, we are not to measure the power of the Divine Spirit by our standard? I am sure that the person who speaks so, conveys no idea into the minds of those whom he addresses; and I am equally certain, that he does not understand himself." — "The ordinance is misunderstood, when it gives rise to carnal meditations; and is then only observed aright, when our minds are employed in the spiritual contemplation of his atonement, and its effects. When our church, therefore, says 'that the body and blood are as really, but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to their outward senses,' (Westm. Conf. ch. xxix. §. 7); and that they 'feed upon his body and blood, to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace,' (Larger Cat. Q. 168); it can mean only, that our incarnate suffering Saviour is apprehended by their minds, through the instituted signs, and that by faith they enjoy peace and hope: or it means something unintelligible and unscriptural. Plain, literal language is best, especially on spiritual subjects, and should have been employed by Protestant churches with the utmost care, as the figurative terms of Scripture have been so grossly mistaken." — "The doctrine of his presence I would not find, as others do, upon the words of institution, which, when justly interpreted, merely import that the elements are signs of his body and blood. Now, a sign is very far from implying that the thing signified is present. It is rather understood to represent an absent object, and is put in its place to remind us of it because it is removed to a distance from us. Instead of being a fair conclusion from the words of institution, that there is a peculiar, mysterious presence of our Saviour, which can be accounted for only by the miraculous power of the Spirit, it might rather be inferred that he is not present at all, and that the design of the symbols is to call him to remembrance in his absence. The doctrine of his presence in the sacred supper, is legitimately deduced from his general promise, which relates to all his ordinances without any special respect to the supper: 'Where two or three,

¹ Article on the Lord's supper by Moses Stuart, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 1. p. 274, 276.

&c.' Matth. xviii. 20. It is this promise which gives us ground to consider him as present in the eucharist, in baptism, in prayer, in the preaching of the gospel. In all these ordinances he is present; and he is present in the same manner in them all, namely, by his Spirit, who renders them effectual means of salvation."

These quotations will be acknowledged generally, no doubt, to be a fair representation of the Puritan doctrine of the Lord's supper, in its present reigning form. And can there be any question, we ask, whether it varies materially or not from the original doctrine of the Reformed church? Does it not flatly deny what that doctrine always took pains to affirm; the mystical force of the sacrament; its objective efficacy; the union of sign and thing signified in its constitution; its relation to the life of Christ as the basis of his atonement; the presence in it especially of the life-giving virtue of his flesh and blood, or true human nature, by the power of the Holy Ghost, as the proper food of the soul? The difference between the two forms of belief is palpable and wide. No honest interpretation can pretend to explain it away. It is just as palpably too of the most serious significance and account.

Here is a *fact* then, which all should be willing openly to see and allow. Be its claims what they may to consideration and regard, on *other* grounds, this Puritan doctrine is a departure from the sacramental faith of the Reformed church as it stood in the beginning. This should be acknowledged, without reserve or qualification, on all sides.

Dr. Hodge himself owns as much, in the case at least of Calvin and a part of the church besides; and lays his finger very fairly, at the same time, on the point where the two systems first fall asunder. Two views of the Lord's supper, he tells us, for a time struggled together in the bosom of the old doctrine; one referring the sense of the institution wholly to Christ's *death*, as something past; the other referring it to his *life* also, as something present. The latter however he represents to have been from the first a foreign element, in conflict with the true genius of Protestantism, and especially with the article of justification by faith, which in due time, accordingly, fell out of the system altogether. As we have now seen however, it was not only one phase of the Reformed doctrine in the beginning that bore this peculiar aspect, but the doctrine in its general character. Participation in the life of Christ was insisted upon by the Reform-

¹ Lectures on Theology. by the late Rev. John Dick. D. D., Lect. XCII.

ed confession, no less than by the Lutheran, as an essential constituent of the sacramental mystery. Not of course to the exclusion of the other interest; but in reality for its preservation. For the two ideas are by no means of heterogeneous nature. On the contrary they mutually support and require one another. The sacrifice of Christ is of perennial force, only through the undying presence of his life; and how should there be a real, and not simply imaginary, fruition of the first, then, without a real communication at the same time with the last? Such was the sense undoubtedly of the old sacramental doctrine. It sought to hold together here the objective and subjective sides of the christian salvation. No mere exercises of man were felt to be enough, in the case; the living power of the new creation, as a higher order of existence in Christ, must come in perpetually to uphold the process. In the holy supper especially, as the central solemnity of the christian worship, this side of our salvation could not be allowed to fail; for must it not in that view be shorn of its mystical character altogether, and so cease to be a *sacrament* at all in any special sense? Hence it was held, that the power of Christ's life, the virtue and vigor in particular of his flesh and blood, that is, of his true human nature, are objectively at hand in the transaction, by the agency of the Holy Ghost, for our spiritual nourishment and *growth* in grace. From all this, the modern Puritan doctrine has fallen away. The entire interest of communion with Christ's human *life*, it deliberately rejects as an antiquated superstition. It will hear only of communion with his *death*; by which it means, not the abiding force of this as a real quality or property of the still living Saviour, but the thought or memory of it only as something past and gone. The bond thus between sign and thing signified is completely severed. The "invisible grace" evaporates into thin air. The objective power of the institution is overthrown. Its mystical character fails entirely. Here, of a truth, is a most material change. Dr. Hodge considers it an improvement, and styles it a "process of growth." To our mind, we confess, it carries a very different aspect. The *fact* however, in any view, is not to be called in question. The modern doctrine and the old doctrine are not the same; and the difference between them is by no means either casual or small. It reaches to the very constitution of the sacrament itself.

We enter into no discussion here of the *merits* of this change, in a theological view. Our object has been simply, to exhibit its true character as a fact of history. It may be proper however, in bringing the subject to a close to submit the following

general reflections for the serious consideration of the thoughtful.

In the first place, the Puritan theory now before us turns *Lutheranism* into a theological nullity. The side of the original Reformed doctrine which it rejects as a foreign element, incongruous with the true genius of Protestantism, and at war with the article of justification by faith, lies towards the Lutheran confession, and forms the bond of common interest and common life with it, in the great movement of the Reformation. To give it up then is not merely to fall away from the primitive constitution of the Reformed doctrine, but also at the same time to break in full with the inward life of the other communion.¹ To charge it with folly, is to bring an *a fortiori* charge of the same sort against Luther himself, and the whole church of the Augsburg Confession. For it will not be denied surely, that for this section of Protestantism at least, the idea of communion with Christ's *human life* was of primary and necessary significance. And yet it is here precisely, that we find all stress also laid on the article of justification by faith, as the very pillar of all true christianity! How is this? Must it be set to the account of Luther's headstrong humor merely, that he could never be brought to feel the innate contradiction of the two ideas thus forced together in his system; or that he would never allow himself to see in the old catholic notion of sacramental grace, an element foreign to the whole sense of Protestantism, the very worm that must in the end eat out the core of his great article of justification itself, if not ejected by a "process of growth" clear off to the other side? And was it only blind reverence for his authority, that bound the giant theology of the Lutheran

¹ It is greatly to be regretted, that the distinctive life of the Lutheran confession has been so extensively lost in this country on the part of the Lutheran church itself. Old Lutheranism, as it is called, is indeed behind the age, and can never meet its wants. Its stiff pedantry serves only to make it ridiculous. But this by no means implies, that the general substance of Lutheranism itself, as it stood in the beginning, should be set aside. This, as we take it, has a right to make itself permanently felt in the history of Protestantism; and where that ceases to be the case, the whole interest of Protestantism must suffer. It is a calamity then that Lutheranism in America, has in its most active character thus far appeared quite out of rank and place; falling short even of the true line of the Reformed confession, on the opposite side; having only a nominal distinction, without any separate character really answerable to its own name. Of all monstrosities in theology, it would be hard to name one more absurd than the figment of a purely "American Lutheranism," under no bond to the past historical identity of this confession, and free to be anything and everything at its own good pleasure.

communion to the same grand solecism, after his death? So Puritanism would seem in its heart to believe; for it makes no account whatever of the original confessional position of Lutheranism over against the Reformed tendency; but makes this, under a view that sunders it out and out from the opposite interest, to be at once the whole and only proper meaning of Protestantism. Now where all sense for history is gone, and the merest subjectivity is taken for the last measure of truth, this style of theological thinking may pass as quite satisfactory; but surely not a particle farther. To nullify the entire question on which the two confessions originally split; to set the actual and whole truth of Protestantism clear off from it, on the side of the Reformed tendency, and in no contact with it whatever; is of course to nullify Lutheranism at the same time, to turn its *distinctive* constitution into absurdity, to make its theology worthless, and in this way to stultify along with it a vast part of the universal movement of the Reformation, to which it belonged and in which it may be said in some sense to have led the way. Is a theology to be trusted, we ask, which has lost the power even of taking any interest in the first deepest confessional issue of Protestantism, and whose fancied superiority to this issue stands not in any scientific mastery of it whatever, but in the cool and quiet affectation merely of having thrust the whole question aside at last as an exploded superstition? For our part, we think not. We are not Lutheran; but truly we see not, how the life of the Reformation can be honestly respected, where all sympathy with Lutheranism is wanting, and its vast creations in theology regarded with indifference or contempt. We feel morally sure on the contrary, that if the Reformation came from God, no such absolute and total rupture between the two original confessions embraced in its constitution can ever be rational or safe. The perfection of the Reformed tendency lies not in its full divorce from the contrary interest; but in the constant recognition rather of its rightful claims, and in such a triumph finally as may be at the same time the triumph also of this interest itself, by the fair and true mastery of the grand theological problem, whose settlement they are bound to seek from opposite sides. It is no healthy symptom then, where the Reformed principle is found to have broken away completely from the authority of the Lutheran, and affects to be separately, with the full exclusion and negation of this last, the whole truth of Protestant Christianity. So in the case immediately before us, a theory of the sacraments which refuses every sort of correspondence with the Lutheran doctrine, making its whole substance a

"foreign element" in Protestantism, which it has been a clear gain to lose altogether, deserves for this very reason, we think, to be regarded with jealous and mighty distrust.

In the second place, however, the theory here in consideration falls away palpably also from the sacramental faith of the whole ancient church. The idea which it pretends to set aside as a "foreign element," beyond all controversy, entered into the old catholic doctrine of the sacraments, not only as we find this caricatured in the later Roman creed, but as it meets us also in the earliest times, and long before Romanism appeared. No one at all familiar with church history, will think of calling this in question. Indeed the Roman corruptions are themselves fair evidence of the fact; for they could never have sprung certainly from any such view of the sacraments as we find now opposed to them, on the part of Puritanism. The first faith of the christian world *must* have been far different, to make the gradual rise of transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, at all practicable or possible. We have evidence enough however, apart from this, that it was thus far different in fact. The mystical force of both sacraments was acknowledged from the beginning; and in the Lord's supper especially, along with the value of Christ's death as a sacrifice for sins, there was felt to go always also the presence of his veritable human life, as the necessary basis of the other grace, and the true pabulum of immortality for the souls of his people. With this old catholic faith, original Protestantism, Reformed as well as Lutheran, professed and endeavored earnestly to abide in communion. Now however it is made to be the test of sound and *mature* Protestantism, to have no sense for it nor sympathy with it whatever. The Puritan theory before us discards all mystery from the eucharist, empties it of all inward or objective force, turns it into a mere memorial of the Saviour's sacrifice, and treats the imagination of any real communion in it with his human life as an obsolete superstition. But can it serve to recommend this modern view, we seriously ask, that it thus falls away from the ancient doctrine, as well as from the original Protestant doctrine, and makes a mere part in each case nakedly taken of more account and worth than the whole? It has been a "process of growth," we are told; in other words, a theological *development*. But what sort of growth is that, which leaves behind it the very substance and type of the original life itself, which it pretends in such style to carry forward and complete? We too allow the idea of development or progress; but not in any such way as this. All true development is the unfolding of the same substance into

higher form ; not the casting away of it altogether, to make room for what is wholly of another nature. To develop the old catholic idea of the sacraments into the shape here noticed, is clearly to kill it, to force the life out of it completely, and to fetch in for it a new thing altogether, that can hardly be said to be the phantom even, much less the concrete perfection, of the glorious mystery as it once was.

It deserves consideration again, that in thus falling away from the old church faith, this modern improvement falls in strikingly with the genius of Rationalism, which seeks in various forms to set aside the idea of the church altogether. It is not easy to see any clear difference between it and the view which was formerly taken of the sacraments, not merely by the Arminians, but also by the Socinians ; the same substantially, we may add, that comes before us in the writings of the later open Rationalists. It agrees remarkably well also with the false spiritualism of the Quakers and Baptists, and with the reigning sect spirit indeed generally, which so sunders form and substance in the life of the church as to make the first a mere outward accident to the second, if not an actual incumbrance ; and so runs legitimately at last into the denial of infant baptism at least, if not the renunciation in full of both the sacraments. The doctrine before us looks and leans this way ; and having parted with the mystical interest of the sacraments, it offers no counterpoise against the rationalistic tendency which it thus favors. It is comparatively powerless against the doctrine of the Baptists ; being in truth at bottom the very view out of which that doctrine springs. Even against Quakerism it has but small strength. For what does the question of the sacraments amount to, in either direction, if the *being* of the sacraments, as it was once held by the universal church, their distinctive nature and constitution, be given up as false ? In that case, it is of small account whether we have two sacraments, or fifty, or none ; for all turns on the *name* merely ; the thing itself, the true and proper reality, resolves itself into a mere outward commandment at best, an empty shell or letter, and nothing more.

Look finally at the theological relations of the subject, and the general doctrine of the Bible. Against all history and past authority, it is the humor of Puritanism here, as in every case besides, to parade its own sense of the Scriptures simply as the rightful end of controversy. But the early church had the Bible too ; and so had the Protestant world of the sixteenth century, with such men as Luther, Calvin and Melancthon, to assist in its interpretation. What rational reason can be assigned then,

for ruling the older use of it out of the way at once, in favor of the modern ; as though this last were accredited from heaven itself, as the infallible mind of the Spirit ! The true doctrine of justification, we are told, requires it in the present case. To make this fully objective, something from abroad and not the product of the sinner's own life, it would seem to be thought necessary to make it at the same time an abstraction, a simple thought in the Divine Mind, setting the man free from guilt in a purely outward way. But is not this in truth to fall into the very vortex of Pelagianism, which it is pretended thus to avoid ? It brings the subject to no real union with the grace of redemption. Justification, to be real, must be also concrete, the force and value of Christ's merit brought nigh to the sinner as a living fact. Strange, that there should seem to be any contradiction here, between the grace which we have by Christ's death, and the grace that comes to us through his life. Could the sacrifice of Calvary be of any avail to take away sins, if the victim there slain had not been raised again for our justification, and were not now seated at the right hand of God as our advocate and intercessor ? Would the atonement of a *dead* Christ be of more worth than the blood of bulls and goats, to purge the conscience from dead works and give it free access to God ? Surely it is the perennial, indissoluble *life* of the once crucified Redeemer, which imparts to his broken body and shed blood all their power to abolish guilt. This, if we read it rightly, is the very thought that rules in particular the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the sublime contrast it draws between the New Testament substance here and the Old Testament types. The sacrifices of the Law were many, and its priests many, because they were only of transient force ; but the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ are *one*, as always remaining. His works are not events simply, that once were and now are not, save as they live in the world's memory. They carry with them a perpetual, undying force. His one offering needs no repetition ; but just for the reason, that it never comes to an end and passes away. It is "once for all," because the *once* reaches through all time. This it can do however, only as the life in which it has been rendered continues to live and make itself felt. Abstract it from this, and it becomes in truth a mere legal fiction. The atonement, in this view, is a quality or property of the glorified life of the Son of Man. So the church felt from the beginning ; and this right feeling it was, that led her to see in the central mysteries of her faith the presence of the living Christ always, as the necessary guaranty and medium of all true communion with the benefits

procured by his death. In the Lord's supper especially, the idea of the living Saviour, the true fountain of life for the world, perpetually surrounded and enshrined the idea of the Saviour who once hung upon the cross. The sacrifice in this way came to have a present reality ; it lived in the presence of the glorious life, which had been perfected by its means ; and it is not difficult to understand, how it might even come to seem then like a new and fresh transaction in the solemnity of the eucharist. So in the age of the Reformation, it was felt on all sides unsafe to sunder the benefits and merits of Christ from his living person. How earnestly Calvin insisted on their connection, we have had ample opportunity to see. What Christ does or has done, must ever be conditioned certainly by what he is ; and it is hard to see, how the force of his righteousness forensically taken can ever be impaired, by its being allowed to be in truth a part of himself and in union always with his own life.

J. W. N.

Correction.—After the word "proper," in the 3rd line from the beginning of this article, insert the word "sacramental," so as to read "proper sacramental faith of the Reformed, &c."

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THE MORAL ORDER OF SEX.¹

There are two great conceptions very generally altogether overlooked, which it is all important to hold in full view in our efforts to understand and interpret the mighty problem of human life. In the first place, this life, while it culminates and becomes complete only in the form of morality or spirit, has its root always in the sphere of nature, and can never disengage itself entirely from its power; in the second place, while it reveals itself perpetually through single individuals, it is nevertheless throughout an organic process, which necessarily includes the universal race, as a living whole, from its origin to its end.

Nature, of course, can never be truly and strictly the mother of mind. The theory of an actual inward development of man's life, out of the life of the world below him, as presented for instance in the little work entitled the "Vestiges of Creation," is entitled to no sort of attention or respect. The plant can by no possibility creep upwards into the region of sensation, and just as little may we conceive of a transition on the part of the mere animal, over into the world of self-conscious intelli-

¹ Originally an Address, delivered in Hagerstown, Md. Published afterwards in the American Review. Now reprinted by special request, in the present form.

gence and will. The sundering gulph is just as deep and impassable in one case as it is in the other. But we must not so understand this, as to lose sight at the same time of the mysterious life union which holds notwithstanding between nature and mind. The world in its lower view, is not simply the outward theatre or stage on which man is to act his part, as a candidate for heaven. In the midst of all its different forms of existence, it is pervaded throughout with the power of a single life, which comes ultimately to its full sense and force only in the human person. This should be plain to the most common observation. Nature is constructed, or we should say rather exists, on the plan of a vast pyramid; which starts in the mass of inorganic matter, and rises steadily through successive stages of organization, first vegetable then animal, till at length it gains in man the summit and crown, towards which it has been evidently reaching and tending from the start. So, in the first chapter of Genesis, we have the process of creation described in this very order, and all conducted to its majestic conclusion finally, only towards the close of the sixth day, in that oracle of infinite majesty and love: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth and over every moving thing that moveth upon the earth." Man is the centre of nature, without which it could not be in any of its parts the living constitution which it is in fact; for the parts in this case subsist not, by themselves or for themselves simply, but in virtue only of their organic comprehension in the whole. Nature of course then rests in man as her own universal sense and end, and can never be disjoined from his life. The union is not outward simply, but inward and vital. Man carries in himself the full mystery of the material world, and remains from first to last the organ of its power. He is indeed, in another view, far more than nature. Reason and freedom, as they meet together in the idea of personality, belong to a wholly different order of existence; in virtue of which, he towers high above the whole surrounding world, as the immediate representative and vicegerent of God in its midst; made in the image, and after the likeness of his glorious Maker, as we are told, and for this reason clothed with supremacy over the entire inferior creation. But still, in all this dignity, his native affinity with this creation is not in the least impaired or broken. Nature clings to him still, as the noblest fruit of her own womb, in whose mysterious presence is fulfilled the last prophetic sense of her whole previous life, while at the same time this is made to pass away in

something quite beyond itself. His personality, with all his world-transcending heaven-climbing powers, remains rooted to the earth, conditioned at every point by the material soil from which it has sprung, and reflecting in clear image the outward life which has become etherealized in its constitution. The process of nature is thus rising upwards perpetually into the process of morality, by which in the end the problem of the world is to become complete in the history of man. The first is the necessary basis and support of the second, as truly as the stock is made to carry the flower in which it passes away. Man is the efflorescence of nature, the full bursting forth of her inmost sense and endeavor, into the form of intelligence and will ; and his whole thinking and working consequently can be sound and solid, only as they are in fact borne and carried by a growth that springs immediately from her womb.

There is no opposition then, as is sometimes dreamed, between the natural and the moral. They are indeed widely different, but not in such a way as to contradict each other. On the contrary, they can never be rightly sundered or disjoined. Nature, in order to be true to itself, *must* ascend into the sphere of morality ; and morality, on the other hand, can have no truth or substance, except as it is found to embody in itself the life of nature, thus emancipated into a higher form. Daughters of heaven as they all are, there is still not a single virtue, which is not in this respect at the same time truly and fully earth-born ; as much so, we may say, as its own sweet image, the natural flower, be it modest daisy or stately dahlia, that quietly blooms at its side. A morality that affects to be purely of the skies, can never be other than sickly and sentimental. The more of nature our virtues enshrine, the more vigorous will they be found to be and worthy of respect.

This is one universal law, in the constitution of our human life. Another presents itself, as already stated, in the conception of an organic process, in virtue of which the problem of every individual life is from the start involved in the problem that includes humanity as a whole.

Morality, by its very nature, is something social. It does not simply require the relations which society creates, as an outward field for its action, but stands also only in the sense of these relations as a part of its own being. The idea of man, which is of course originally one and single, in order that it may become actual, must resolve itself into an innumerable multitude of individual lives, whose perfection subsequently can be found again in no other form than that of their general union in a free way.

Provision is made for such a union in the natural constitution of humanity, bound together as it is by a common origin, and upheld by perpetual evolution from itself in the way of history. But mere nature here is not sufficient to secure all that is required. Humanity comes to its full sense only in the sphere of intelligence and freedom; and its proper wholeness therefore is something to be reached, only by the activity of the will, recognizing and embracing, with full consent, the relations in which it is required to move. This again supposes a process, growing forth continually from the law of natural evolution and growth just noticed, by which the individual life, in finding itself under its higher form of self-consciousness, may be still engaged to seek its true place in the integration of life as a whole, flowing into this by the spontaneous force of love, and resting in it as the proper and necessary perfection of its own being. The unity of the race can be fully accomplished thus, only through the free action of the living elements into which it is resolved for this purpose. The process of the union is moral, and in no sense physical, except as conditioned by a natural constitution, which adumbrates and supports the spiritual structure that springs from its presence. It is possible in such case, of course, that the freedom of the individual subject may be abused, and the law of love denied which he is bound by his nature to honor and obey. He may so cling to his own separate and single life, through selfishness and sin, as to wrong perpetually the claims of the general life in which this should become complete. But in all this he wrongs at the same time the inmost sense and meaning also of his own individual being. Whether he choose to make account of it or not, he is formed for morality, that is for free inward union with his race, through the social relations in which he stands; and his life can come to no right development in itself, but must suffer rather perpetual violence in its nature, if it be not allowed to unfold itself in this its only normal and legitimate form. Morality, including as it does the conception of personality, or the self-conscious and self-acting force of reason and will, is something general and universal by its very nature. It implies throughout the idea of fellowship and union, the organic marriage of reciprocally necessary and mutually supplemental parts, working into each other and conspiring towards a common whole. In the power of this universal, omnipotent and irreversible law, the life of every man stands from the beginning, in virtue of its spiritual and moral constitution. He can never be true to himself at a single point, he can never exercise a single moral function, a single act of intelligence or

will, in a free way, without going beyond his own person, and mingling, with conscious coalescence, in the sea of life with which he is surrounded.

By one of the greatest discoveries in modern science, placing the name of Schleiermacher in the sphere of ethics on the same high level with that of Kepler in the sphere of physics, the general moral function, as it may be styled, in man, is found to resolve itself, by a process of analysis which we have no time here to follow, into four cardinal forms of action, two lying on the side of the understanding and two on the side of the will. Each of these can hold properly only under a social character, by which the individual in order that he may be at all complete in himself, is forced to enter into fellowship with his race. Thus arise four great spheres of moral union, in the proper constitution of the world's life. The first is exhibited to us predominantly in the idea of *Art*; the second, in the idea of *Science*; the third, in the idea of *Sociality*, (*Geselligkeit*), corresponding very much with the conception of *Play*, in its widest and most dignified sense; the fourth and last in the idea of *Business*. These four orders of life are not to be regarded, indeed, as standing wholly out of each other in the way of external distinction; the case requires, on the contrary, that they should grow into one another with inward reciprocal embrace, and it is only their complete concretion in this way at last, as the power of a single life, that can bring the moral process to its rightful conclusion. Still they are for the most part, as the world now stands, more or less out of each other in fact; and each has a nature also of its own, which it must always be important to understand and cultivate under such separate view. They are the four grand departments of humanity, each an organism of universal power within itself, in whose organic conjunction alone we have revealed to us the full idea of morality, as the proper life of man.

Not as co-ordinate in any sense with these, but as above them all, and as constituting indeed the only form in which they can become complete, stands the idea of Religion, as fully actualized in the glorious union of the One Holy Catholic *Church*. In one aspect, we may style such a moral whole, the *State*. But in a perfect state of society, this idea itself must become merged in the broader and deeper idea of the Church, in which alone we reach the final and adequate expression for our universal human life. Religion of course then stands in no opposition to any of the great divisions of this life, as they have just been named; for this would imply an original contrariety between it and the actual constitution of the world, which the nature of the

case must be held to exclude. On the contrary, it must have power finally to lift them all into its own sphere. Art, science, social and civil life, must all be capable of being sanctified by its transforming presence. It belongs to the very conception of Christianity and the Church thus, that they should take full possession of the world at last, not extensively alone in its outward population, but intensively also in the entire range of its inward life; and it is only in proportion as we find their actual form commensurate with the idea of such catholicity, that this can be said to have reached in any given stadium of their history, its true significance and design.

Underneath this whole magnificent superstructure, on the other side, appears the primitive fundamental form of society, in the constitution of the *Family*. As the four-fold organism of morality terminates in the idea of the Church, so it takes its start here from an organization, that may be regarded as the root of its whole process, rising into view immediately from the mysterious life of nature itself. The domestic constitution stands in no way parallel simply, with the four forms of society that make up the union of humanity as a whole; it includes them all rather in its single nature, in the way of beginning and germ. It is the rich well-spring, out of which flows the river of Eden, that is parted from thence into four heads, and carried forward with fruitful irrigation over the fair garden of life, till all its streams become one again in the deep bosom of the sea.

All society rests on distinction and difference. So the primary form of fellowship now mentioned, lying as it does at the ground of our universal life, is at once provided for and secured, by a radical disruption of the entire race into two great sections or halves, in the form of *sex*. Of all distinctions that exist in our nature, this must be held to be the most significant and profound, as entering before all others into its universal constitution, and forming the basis on the ground of which only all other relations belonging to it become possible and real. It comes into view accordingly in the first mention of man's creation; where we are told that he was made in the image and likeness of God, and at the same time under the two-fold character of male and female, as the necessary form of his perfection. His nature became complete, only when woman was taken from his side, and he was permitted to hail her bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, in the new consciousness to which he first woke by her presence.

Thus radical and original in the constitution of our nature, the sexual difference must necessarily pervade, not simply a part

of its being, but the whole. The life of man is indeed always a complex fact, made up of widely different forms and spheres of existence; but it is always nevertheless, in the midst of all these, a single undivided unity within itself, bound together and ruled throughout by the presence of a common principle or law. The life of the body is ever in strict union with the life of the soul, and this, on the other hand, stands wedded again to that continually, as its own proper self under an outward material form. No less intimate and necessary, in the next place, is the connection that holds between the individual natural constitution, thus inward and outward, and the proper personality of the subject to whom it belongs. It lies in the very conception of personality, it is true, being as it is the life of the spirit, in the form of intelligence and will, that it should not be ruled blindly by the force of mere nature, as comprehended in the individual organization. It is a principle and fountain of action for itself, and is required to act back upon the natural life with such independent force, as may serve to mould and fashion this continually more and more into its own image. But still, this original and independent action, however free it may be in its own nature, can never escape from the particular organization in which it has its basis, and which it is called to fill with its presence. In other words, the inmost life of man, his personal spirit, though absolutely universal in its own character, is made to individualize itself by union with the inferior part of his nature, while at the same time it seeks to lift this into its own sphere. Reason and will accordingly are not the same thing exactly in all men. Personality is conditioned and complexioned, all the world over, by the individual physical nature, somatic and psychic, out of which, and by means of which, it comes to its historical development. It is not possible then of course, that it should not participate in the force of a distinction so broad and deep as that which is involved in the idea of sex. It results necessarily from the organic unity of every single life as a whole, that the order which thus severs the human world into the two grand sections of male and female, should extend to the most spiritual part of our nature as well as to that which is simply corporeal. There is a sex of the mind or soul, just as there is a sex of the body, an inward difference of structure in the one case, including the whole economy of the spirit, fancy and feeling, thought and volition, as broadly marked and strikingly significant, to say the least, as any outward difference of structure which may show itself in the other.

It is altogether preposterous, to think of resolving this differ-

ence into the influence of education or mere social position ; as though nothing more were needed to convert men into women, or women into men, so far as character and spirit are concerned, than simply to make them change places for a time in the order of society, confining the male sex to the employments of the nursery and the kitchen, and throwing open to the female sex the active walks of business, politics and trade. The difference as we may all easily see, is original and constitutional, and in this view co-extensive in full with the entire range of our common life. It shows itself even in the character of the infant, as soon as it begins to discover any signs of character whatever. The tastes and tendencies of the boyish nature are peculiar to it as such, from the first hour of its activity in the nursery, clearly distinguishing it from the nature of the girl. The distinction reigns through all the sports of childhood, and accompanies the entire subsequent development of the spirit onward and upward to mature age. It prevails in full force over the whole broad range of middle life, imparting to it its highest interest and value in a moral view. Finally it ceases not with the decay of bodily vigor and beauty induced by old age itself, but reaches forward still, with a radiant light that grows only more mellow as it is less tinged with the coloring of sense, far down into the vale of years ; covering thus in truth the universal tract of our existence, from the mystery of the womb to the still more impenetrable and solemn mystery of the grave.

Nor can the distinction possibly terminate here. It has been made a question indeed, whether the difference of sex extends to the other world ; and it is characteristic of the Hegelian way of thinking in particular, that it allows but little room for any such supposition, having the tendency always to merge the individual in the general, and to make men mere passing exemplifications of humanity. But this view overthrows in the end the doctrine of a future state altogether ; since without the distinctions of individual nature, as something continued over from the present life, there can be no sense of personal identity, no true resurrection, or other-world consciousness, in any form. It lies in the very conception of our being as we have here described it, that its individual distinctions should reach throughout the whole man in a permanent and enduring way. Personality cannot be evolved at all, except in such union with a particular natural organization, as to have wrought into it from first to last the same particularity, as a necessary part of its own constitution. It is one of the great merits of Schleiermacher again, to have perceived and asserted, with proper force, the claims of the indi-

vidual over against the authority of the universal and absolute, as a permanent element in the constitution of man. The question before us then, according to this view, is already answered. The multiplication of the race will not extend, it is true, over into the other world, and with this must come to an end also the present significance of the sexual relation as concerned in that object ; our whole present physical state indeed being but the transient process, by which our being is destined to emerge hereafter into a higher order of existence. In that higher state, we are told, they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but resemble in this respect the angels in heaven. The family constitution, in its strict sense, though it be the basis of all morality in its process of revelation, belongs only to the present order of things, and will not be continued in the complete kingdom of God. But we may not suppose that the vast and mighty distinction in our nature, out of which this radical constitution now springs, will come to an end in the same way. Entering as it does into the life of the entire person, it cannot be overthrown by the simple elevation of our mortal individuality into the undying sphere of the spirit. On the contrary it may be expected rather to appear now under its most purely ethical, and for that reason its highest also and richest form. In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, as there is also neither Jew nor Greek ; not however by the full obliteration of all such differences, but only through their free harmonious comprehension in a form of consciousness that is deeper than their opposition, and able thus to reconcile them in an organic way. It is on the back ground of such universal unity precisely, that the differences stand out after all in the clearest delineation which their nature admits. There will be races and nationalities and temperaments, strongly marked, in heaven, no doubt, as we find them here in course of sanctification upon the earth. And so there will be, not in the flesh but in the spirit, the difference of sex there too. Humanity made forever complete in the new creation will comprise in itself still, as the deep ground-tone of its universal organic harmony, the two great forms of existence in which it was comprehended at the beginning, when God created man, we are told, male and female after his own image. In this view, it involves no extravagance to extend the idea of sex even to the angels themselves, although they neither marry nor are given in marriage.

We are now prepared to notice more particularly, though of course still only in the most general way, the constitutional character of the two sexes in a comparative view. The case requires

of course, as already intimated, a glance at the simply physical side of our nature, in the first place, and then at its moral or spiritual side, in which only the first comes finally to its full human significance and force. So intimately interwoven however, are these two spheres of existence, that no full view can be had of one apart from the other, and it is only in their union at last that we are enabled to complete properly the comparison we have in hand.

The *physical* difference of the sexes, is not limited by any means, in the first place, to any particular organs and functions of our simply corporeal structure, but extends to the body as a whole. This is in no sense a mechanical composition merely of various parts outwardly fitted together, but a living whole pervaded throughout with the presence of a common principle and constitution. It is not possible accordingly, that a peculiarity so broad and deep as that of sex should appear as something adventitious and accidental only, in some particular parts of the general organization, without affecting the rest. It must impress itself, more or less clearly, upon the whole. This we find accordingly to be the case in fact. Both anatomically and physiologically considered, the whole body is made to participate in the sexual character. Man and woman are so completely different in their whole organization, that as it has been remarked no single part of the one could be properly substituted for the corresponding part of the other. Bones and muscles, the turn of the limbs, general height and bulk, the conformation of the head and breast, the show of the skin, the expression of the face, the tones of the voice, the bearing and carriage of the person, all are comprehended in the same universal distinction. So also in the case of the several great systems of which life is composed ; the action of liver, lungs and brain, is subjected to corresponding modification. In man the arterial and cerebral systems prevail ; in woman, the venous and glandlionic ; creating a preponderance of irritability in the first case, and in the second a similar preponderance of sensibility, conditioning thus throughout their different capabilities and tendencies, and indicating with sure necessity the different spheres in which they are appointed to move.—In the next place with the purely corporeal or somatic difference now stated, corresponds also the inward or psychical region of what must still be denominated our physical nature. This includes the whole natural consciousness, the product directly of our animal organization as such, which the true spirit within us is required to raise into its own native sphere of freedom, that it may become the vesture, subsequently, of its own

life. Such consciousness from the start is not the same thing in man that it is found to be in woman. Sensation and perception, feeling and affection, appetite and tendency, inclination and desire, are all modified by the power of sex. The whole inward and outward nature, harmoniously constructed in each case within itself, is comprehended in the same distinction, and carried always in the same direction. Man is characterized by superior strength and activity, while woman is more delicately tender and passive. Thought predominates in man, in woman taste and feeling. All goes to indicate that man is formed to exercise authority and protection, and to wrestle both physically and spiritually with the surrounding world; while woman is led by her whole nature rather, to cultivate a spirit of submission and dependence, and finds her proper sphere in the retirement of the house and family. We are in this way, however, conducted over to a still higher apprehension of the difference under consideration. It is only as nature passes upwards, as its constitution here requires it to do, into the sphere of the spirit, that the full sense and force of the distinction, thus sublimated by the ethical process, is brought finally into full view.

In this character, the difference is no longer natural simply, but in the fullest sense *moral*. Personality unites in itself the presence of a spiritual universal life, which is strictly and truly the fountain of its own activity in the form of intelligence and will, and a material organization as the necessary medium and basis of its revelation. In this relation, the spirit, while it must remain always the centre of the whole person with power to assert its own proper primacy, is notwithstanding capable of being acted upon and influenced in various measures by the power of nature, as brought to bear upon it through the organism of the body. In proportion, at the same time, to the independence it may be urged and enabled to assert in its own sphere, will be the strength and force of the personality thus brought into view. Now it results from the whole peculiarity of her organization, as already described, and so of course lies also in the proper purpose and destiny of her sex, that woman should possess less of this independence than man. Her life springs more immediately and directly from nature, even under its true ethical form. There is a specific difference, in this view, between the personality of the sexes, taking up into itself and completing the sense of all differences in a lower sphere. It resolves itself ultimately, we may say, into this, that the universal side of our common humanity prevails in man, and its individual side in woman. Self consciousness in man runs readily into the general form of

thought, disposing him for comprehensive observation, speculation and science; in woman it takes more the character of feeling, which is always something single, closely coupled with fancy and art; her thoughts are her own inward states and impressions mainly, and the product immediately of the outward occasions from which they grow. So again self-activity in man takes naturally the broad character of will, carrying him forth into the open world, involving him in business and conflict on the arena of public life; while in woman it is exercised more in the form of impulse and desire, falls more fully within the flow of nature as embodied in her own particular organization, and for this very reason, at the same time, participates more largely in the character of passive necessity and dependence, as the law by which nature is ruled. The personality of man is more vigorous and concentrated, and if we may use the expression, more thoroughly and completely *personal*, than the personality of woman: showing him clearly thus to be the centre and bearer properly of the human nature as a whole. This implies no inferiority on the side of woman; she is just as complete and whole in her own sphere as man can possibly be in his; and this sphere is just as necessary also as the other to the true perfection of human life. It lies however in the nature of the case, that this life should be, not a dualism, but an inward unity; and that the distinction thereore in which it starts, reaching as it does into the personal consciousness itself, should be so ordered nevertheless as to return in upon itself again to a common personal ground. The relation of the sexes then requires, that their two-fold constitution, dividing as it does the proper wholeness of humanity, should be supported at last as a single personality from a common basis on the one side or the other. The general nature accordingly is made to centre in man; and woman taken in symbolic vision from his side, while she forms the necessary complement of his being, comes to her full spiritual development and gains her true native freedom and independence, only by seeking in him the central support which she lacks in herself, and by bringing her whole consciousness thus into profound union with his life, as the inmost and deepest ground of her own.

With such natural and personal differences, the sexes are designated from the start to different spheres of life, and have widely different missions to fulfil in the social system. Neither the duties of the man on the one hand, nor his virtues and perfections on the other, are the same in general that belong to woman; and so also the vices which most dishonor the one, are not always

of exactly parallel turpitude for the other. Man's vocation is to go forth into the world, to wrestle with nature as its rightful lord and master, to make his understanding and will felt on the general course of life. The forest-felling axe, the soil-subduing plough, the mason's hammer and the joiner's saw, the wand of judgment, the sceptre of authority and the sword of war, belong properly to his hand, and to his alone. Business, politics, outward enterprize, learning and science, are all computed in his legitimate domain. Woman on the other hand, finds her true orbit, as we have already said, in the quiet retreats of private and domestic life. Her highest glory and greatest power are comprehended in the sacred names of wife and mother. She is not indeed shut out from society, in a wider view. On the contrary, she is fitted to exert the largest influence in the social sphere strictly taken, as distinguished from that of business and science. But it is always under her domestic character only, and in virtue of her peculiar constitution, as representing the individual side of the world's life, rather than that which is general and universal. The moment she affects to overstep this limit, by the personal assumption of public and general functions, in which she can have no part properly except through the medium of the other sex, she makes herself weak, and forfeits her title to respect. The popular platform, the rostrum, the pulpit, are interdicted to her nature, no less than the battle field and crowded exchange. All public primacy is unsuitable to her sex; nor is it easy to see certainly, how the "monstrous regimen of women" as denounced by the Old Scottish Elijah, in his memorable "*Blast*," should not be as fair an object of indignation and scorn when seated on the throne, as it is felt to be in all inferior stations.¹ Christianity here is always deep, and at the

¹ "Who would not judge that body to be a monster," says Knox, "where there was no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly and the ears in the feet? No less is the body of that commonwealth, where a woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a lawful head, as in very deed it doth, or else an idol is exalted instead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the virtue and strength, which the name and proportion doth resemble and promise. I confess a realm may in despite of God—he of his wise judgment so giving them over unto a reprobate mind—exalt up a woman to that monstriferous honor to be esteemed as head. But impossible it is to man or angel, to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the same God that denied power to the hands to speak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to see, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wisdom to consider, and providence to foresee, the things that be profitable to the commonwealth."—*First Blast*.

same time true to nature. "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." So again: "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression."

The order of society, springing as it does from the sexual relation first of all, imperiously requires that the opposition in which it holds should be sacredly regarded and preserved, throughout the whole economy of life. All that serves to neutralize it, or to thrust it out of sight, should be reprobated as an agency unfriendly to the best interests of the human race. Civilization and culture, morality and religion, while they call for the free intercourse of the sexes, as polar sides of one and the same social constitution, call no less clearly at the same time for their constant distinction and separation in all that pertains to inward character and outward life. They need a different education. The accomplishments which adorn the one, are not those which most become the other. It is not without reason that they are required to distinguish themselves in their outward dress. "Doth not even nature itself teach you," says the apostle, "that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? but if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering." All confusion of the sexes, all removal of the lines and land-marks that show the true and proper boundary between them, is a crime against society of the most serious order. For either sex to forsake its own sphere, and to intrude into that which belongs of right only to the other, though it should be even in the most trivial things merely, is ever something revolting to all reason and taste. To be unsexly, in costume, habit, spirit or occupation, is to be at the same time unnatural also and immoral.

This opposition and distinction however, as we have already seen, are intended only to make room for the more perfect union of the two interests thus flung asunder. It is because they are different in this way, and in proportion also as the difference is understood and respected, that the sexes are capable of entering into the intimate union, which lies at the ground of our whole human life. Physically, psychologically, and morally, man shows himself to be at all points what woman is not. The one

is the opposite of the other. But for this very reason, the relation is one of reciprocal want and supply. Neither section of the race is complete in its own nature, while the defect which exists on each side is met with its proper complement precisely in the comparative advantage of the other. Humanity is the unity of the two sexes ; which as such accordingly can never rest in one apart from the other, but must seek continually the full conjunction of both, as original, necessary component sides of its proper constitution. In the nature of the case it can never be satisfied with such conjunction, except under the most inward and spiritual form, as the power ultimately of a single individual life. The sexes are made complete only in and through each other ; and this necessarily by such a union only, as extends to their whole constitution, physical and spiritual, embracing thus the entire inward life full as much as that which is exhibited outwardly in the sphere of flesh and blood. Each is needed to fill out and complete the personality or moral nature of the other, no less than its material organization. The qualities of man's spirit require to be softened and refined by communion with the mild nature of woman ; as she on the other hand needs the strength and firmness of his more universal life, on which to lean as the stable prop of her own. The personality of man is enriched and beautified, through woman, on the side of nature ; the personality of woman is consolidated and perfected, through man, on the side of the idea.

In this view, of course, the union which the case demands, can not overthrow but must serve rather to establish in full force, the order we have already found to hold between the two sexes in their personal constitution. It is emphatically the fact of this order, involving as it does a certain primacy on the one side and a corresponding subordination on the other, that makes it possible for the union to take the vital, fundamental form, that is here required. Two strictly co-ordinate personalities could not be expected to flow thus into the power of a single life. It is because woman has her true and proper centre at last in man, and not in herself, that it is possible for the sexes to become, not simply one flesh, but one mind also and one soul. Her consciousness thus poised upon the personality of man, is brought to such harmony and freedom and active force within itself, as it could never be advanced to in any other way. All this implies no sort of dishonor or degradation. It is simply the necessary form of our general human life itself, whose perfection demands this distinction of sexes, as something which, to be real at all, must hold in such proportional relation and no other. It is precisely

the strength and glory of woman, to be thus dependently joined to the personality of man, as the vine is carried upwards by clinging to a trunk more vigorous and rough than its own, which it serves at the same time gracefully to ennoble and adorn. Marriage is indeed in this view, more significant and necessary, we may say, for woman, than it can be held to be for man. It is the appointed and regular process of her full emancipation from the power of sense and nature over into the sphere of a firm and enduring spiritual independence. She needs it to make her own personality, whether as intelligence or will, sufficiently central and deep to sustain itself as it should against the force of the surrounding world. It is by the mighty energy of love, in this form, that she comes at last fully to herself, and is enabled to bring into clear revelation the true wealth of her nature. In a deep sense thus we may apply to the case, that mystic word of the apostle "She shall be saved (*διὰ τεκνογονίας*) by childbearing." Connected as it is immediately with the thought of her moral weakness, as exemplified in the fall, (1. Tim. ii. 14, 15,) it seems to refer not obscurely to the like mystic word of the curse pronounced against her, Gen. iii. 16, in consequence of that catastrophe. The relation which is made the fountain of her deepest sorrows, under the iron reign of sin, becomes itself the well-spring of her salvation, through the law of "faith and charity and holiness" revealed in Jesus Christ. So profoundly true again is that other declaration: "The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man;" or as we have it in another place: "The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church" (1. Cor. xi. 3 : Eph. v. 28). So intimately close is the union, for which the sexual distinction opens the way, and in which alone it comes finally to its true meaning.

On this union, the primitive and most fundamental form of human fellowship, depends not simply the perpetuation of the race, but the entire problem besides of its social and moral history. It is by means of it, in the first place, that the generic or universal life of man is brought to assert its proper authority, over against the life of the individual singly and separately considered. The individual is forced to feel that he is no complete whole in himself; that his nature can be true to its own constitution, only by passing beyond his single person and seeking its necessary complement in another; that, in one word, to be a true and full man at all, he must enter into communion with his race, and make himself tributary, in a free way, to the high ends for which it has been placed in the world. This subordination

of the single life to the general, is of such vast consequence to the entire plan and structure of the moral world, that it must be secured by an invincible guaranty in the constitution of the world itself. It is curious and instructive to see accordingly, how the law of society, lying as it does at the foundation of all ethics, is here made to take root, as it were, "in the lowest parts of the earth;" illustrating on a grand scale, the proposition affirmed in the beginning of this article, that all morality has its basis in nature, and is to be regarded as genuine only as it shows itself to be in very truth the efflorescence of this lower life, bursting upwards into the ethereal region of the spirit.

The bond by which the sexes are thus drawn together is lodged, in the first instance, deep in the physical constitution of those who are under its power: In this form it is the sexual appetite or instinct, a purely natural tendency, which has for its object the preservation of the race, as the instinct of hunger is designed to secure the preservation of the single individual. It is the power of the general nature over its own constituent factors or parts, by which these are urged to seek, each in the other the full sense of their proper being, and thus to constitute, in the way of reciprocal appropriation, a living union that may fairly represent both.

But nature here as elsewhere is required to lose itself always in the power of a higher life, in which its action shall no longer be blind and unfree, but the product of the spirit itself in its own true form. As the sexual relation extends to the whole person, the union for which it calls can never be complete except as it is made to embrace this in its full totality, under a strictly central and universal form. It must be a union of mind and will, a process of mutual apprehension and reciprocal personal appropriation, in the farthest depths of the soul. In no other form can it be truly normal, and answerable to the high purposes it is designed to serve. The sexual tendency *ethicised* in this way, and sublimated into the sphere of personality, becomes *love*. This is always in its very nature something moral and spiritual, springing from the will, and having regard to the inmost person. Still in the case before us, it is in the fullest sense also sexual. It rests throughout on the distinction of sex, and regards the spirit only as beheld and apprehended under such modification. Hence the legitimate power of beauty, as constituting on the side of either sex to the eye of the other, the outward image and expression of the inward life in its sexual form. All true beauty, of course, in this view, falls back upon the spirit, while at the same time its proper revelation is to be sought in the out-

ward person. A sexual interest that includes no regard to beauty, must necessarily be immoral, as falling short of the high spiritual region in which only *love* finds its suitable home. The merely animal nature, in such case, is suffered to prevail over the human. It belongs to love, not to overthrow absolutely indeed the power of mere sense, but still so to cover it at every point with its own superior presence, that it shall not be permitted to come into separate view.

Love, as now described, includes in itself always a regard to the sexual character as such; and so far there is truth and force in the observation of Sterne, that no man ever loves any one woman as he should, who has not at the same time a love for her whole sex. This however is only one side of the subject. Love, to be complete, must be also strictly and distinctly individual, determined towards its object as a single person to the exclusion of all others.

The single plant is only a specimen of its kind, the particular animal a copy of the tribe to which it belongs. But it is not thus in the human sphere. The individual man is vastly more than a passing exemplification simply of the generic life that flows through his person. He comprehends in himself an independent specific nature, that can be properly represented by no other. His individuality is always at the same time personal, and as such something universal and constant; as on the other hand his personality is always individual, taking its special complexion from the living material nature out of which it springs. Every such individual personality is a world within itself, existing under given relations to other worlds of corresponding nature around it. No two of these are exactly alike, and all by these differences fall short of the measure that belongs to humanity as a whole. This is constituted only by the society and union of the individual personalities into which it falls, joined together morally, not with indiscriminate conjunction, but according to specific reciprocal correspondence, in the way of inward want and supply. The general law of moral association then being such, it must extend of course in full power to the primary and fundamental union which we have now under consideration. It lies in the very conception of love, as already explained, that it should concentrate itself upon the spirit, as revealed under a sexual form; but to do this fully, it must be carried by inward elective affinity towards its object as a particular person. It is not simply the general attraction of sex, that can satisfy its demands; it requires besides that this attraction shall lodge itself in the presence of a specific personal life, which is felt to be as

such the necessary complement of its own nature. Under no other form can the union here in question, be regarded as moral. It is not every woman that is adapted, physically or spiritually, to be a help-meet for every man; but as the sexes are formed for each other in a general way, so each individual of either sex may be said to be formed for some corresponding individual of the other, and it is of the highest consequence of course, for themselves and for the race also, that they should be able to find and know each other in the confused wilderness of the world's life.

We may go so far as to say, perhaps, that in a perfectly normal state of the world, this pairing and matching of individual natures would be so complete as to exclude, in every case, all possibility of different choice. Each would be for each, by absolute singularity of mutual suitableness and want, in such a way as to shut out the whole world besides. Of course our actual life, disordered as it is by sin, cannot be expected or required to conform strictly to this rule of ideal perfection. But still it should include at least an approximation towards it; and it must be regarded as defective, in proportion precisely as it is found to fall short of such high measure. In a state of barbarism, but small account comparatively is made of individual personality, in the commerce of the sexes; which however is simply itself an expression of the barbarous life to which it belongs, showing it to border close on the merely animal existence below it, in which as there is no personality so there is no room also for the idea of love in any form. The savage takes his wife, very much as a specimen simply of her sex, just as he selects his dog, in the same view, to accompany him in the chase. It is remarkable too, that in such low stage of moral development, the individual nature itself stands out to view for the most part, only under dim and indistinct lines. It is the sense of personality in the end, that advances the single life to its legitimate rights and claims, investing it with clearly marked distinction under its own form, and challenging towards it in this way the attention and respect it is entitled to receive. We are furnished here accordingly with an unerring standard of civilization and social culture, which in the case before us especially is always of plain and easy application.

The sexual union, representing thus the general relation of the sexes to each other on the one hand, and involving the elective personal affinity of individual natures on the other, mediated throughout by the sacred power of love, comes to its proper expression in the idea of *marriage*; whose nature at the same time is defined and explained, by the whole analysis through

which we have now passed. This is simply the true and normal power of that commerce and communion, in which the distinction of sex comes at last to its full sense, as the necessary completion of humanity, and the primitive basis of all history and society. The attributes that belong of right to this union, are the true and proper attributes also of marriage; which is not therefore something joined to our nature, as it were, from abroad, and in the way of outward order or device, whether human or divine; but should be considered rather as part of our nature itself, a simple fact in its organic constitution, without whose presence it must cease to exist altogether.

Marriage, of course then, is the process of reciprocal appropriation, by which the sexes according to their original destination, become one, and so complete themselves each, in the power of a single personal life. In the nature of the case, this double appropriation is required to extend to the entire being of the parties concerned in the transaction: for the sexual difference is such, as we have already seen, that each side of the relation requires the opposite, not in part only but in full, to make itself complete. This implies, at the same time, a corresponding act of self-abandonment, on each side, in favor of the other, as the necessary condition of full mutual appropriation in return. Each yields itself up to be the property of the other, in the very act of embracing this again as its own property. So as regards the merely outward and natural life. The parties are made "one flesh." This of right, however, only in virtue of the inward spiritual embrace, by which the personality of each is brought to rest in that of the other, by the deep mysterious power which belongs to love. The case, in its own nature admits of no compromise or reserve. Marriage calls solemnly for the gift of the whole being, on the altar of love, and can never be satisfied with any sacrifice that is less full and entire. In proportion as the relation comes short of such inward, central, community of soul and life, it must be regarded as an imperfect approximation only to its own true idea.

There is a difference indeed in the form of this mutual self-surrendry on the part of the two sexes, corresponding with the order of their general relation as already noticed. As the united person constituted by marriage is required to centre ultimately in man, it follows that the union calls for the largest measure of such free sacrifice on the side of woman. For this also she is happily disposed by her whole constitution. Love is emphatically the element of her life. She needs the opportunity of going fully out of herself in this way, in order that she may do

full justice to her own nature. There is nothing in life accordingly more deep, and beautiful, and full of moral power, than the devotion of woman's love. It goes beyond all that is possible, under the same form, on the side of the other sex. The perfection of marriage so far as she is concerned, turns on the measure in which she is prepared to make herself over, in body, mind, and outward estate, without limit or reserve, to him whom she has chosen to be her head. The husband is not required to quit himself, exactly to the same extent and in the same way. He may not resign the sense of his more central and universal character, by which precisely he is qualified to become the personal bearer of the united life involved in the marriage bond. All this however gives him no right to exercise his independence in a selfish way. It lays him under obligation only, to make himself over, in this character, to the possession of his wife, answering thus with full unbounded fidelity and truth, the full unbounded measure of her confidence and trust. "So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife loveth himself."

The idea of marriage, as now presented, clearly excludes, not only all promiscuous concubinage, but all polygamy also and divorce. In its very nature it is the full and enduring union of one man with one woman, according to the law of sexual difference and correspondence. Many outward reasons may be urged against the irregularities now mentioned; but the grand argument in the case at last is just this, that they contradict the true conception of the sexual union itself. This can never take place normally, except in the way of mutual self-surrendry and *whole* appropriation of each other, on the part of those who are its subjects, that is in the way of marriage. Polygamy necessarily violates this law, and the same is true also of divorce, which is tolerated by Christianity accordingly only where the marriage bond has been already nullified, in fact, by the crime of adultery.

We cannot bring the whole subject to a conclusion better perhaps, than by making use of it to expose, in a direct way, as has been done in some measure indirectly already, the entire theory of what is sometimes styled *the emancipation of woman*, as held with various modification, by our modern Fourierites and Socialists of every description. Of all forms of agrarianism, this is to be counted, as it is in some respects the most plausible, so also the most mischievous and false. No maxim universally taken, can be more impudently untrue, than that which asserts the general liberty and equality of the human race, in the sense

of this disorganizing school. The freedom and independence of all, not only outwardly but inwardly also, is conditioned always by the position assigned to them of God in the social organism to which they belong. All are free only as comprehended in given social relations, and in the measure of their correspondence as parts with the idea of the whole. The proper unity of life, as an organic system, involves of necessity the conception, not simply of manifold distinction, but of relative dependence also and subordination. Of this we have a broad, perpetual exemplification, in the constitution of the sexes. The school which we have now in view, affects to vindicate what it calls the rights of woman against the authority of the stronger sex, as though this had taken advantage of its accidental physical superiority in this view, to assert a primacy and lordship here, which is in full violation of the original and proper equality of the race. The savage, it is said, turns his wife into a slave, the instrument of his own pleasure and convenience ; and it is only a higher order of the same barbarism, by which in the reigning structure of our present civilization, the whole sex is shorn of its political and public rights and forced to devote itself to the service of man in the nursery and kitchen. We need in this respect, we are told, a reconstruction of society in such a way, as that among other abuses this Mohammedan prejudice also may be fully abolished, admitting woman thus to a free participation in all public counsels and transactions, so far as she may show ability for the purpose, and placing her on full level with the opposite sex both at home and abroad. So runs the theory. It has the universal custom of the world against it, and also what would seem to be the most explicit testimony of the bible. But of this we speak not at present. We meet it here with the moral geology, if we may so term it, of our human nature itself, drawn forth with overwhelming evidence, from the everlasting mountains of its original constitution. The theory in question is just as unphilosophical, as it is unbiblical and contrary to all history. It violates morality and nature alike.

It is by no accident, or violent wrong merely, that woman is made to occupy a secondary rank in the economy of human society. Her outward weakness makes it necessary, to some extent ; but this itself is only the index of a still deeper necessity for it in her spiritual constitution. All the purposes of her being, all the conditions of her welfare and peace, all the laws of her interior organization require this subordination to the other sex, and urge her towards it as the only possible way in which her personality can be made complete. This relation of

dependence needs to be well fortified indeed against abuse; as it may run easily otherwise into vast tyranny and wrong; but still it remains forever indispensable in itself to woman's proper life, and under its normal character constitutes emphatically her spiritual salvation. It is not in her physical nature merely that she is formed to lean on man as her necessary prop and stay. He is the ultimate centre also of her personality, through which alone she can stand in right organic communication with the general world, and so attain to true and solid freedom in her own position. No agrarian radicalism can ever change the moral order of humanity here; for we may say of it, precisely, as the Psalmist does of the constitution of the planets: "Forever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven!" The emancipation of these heavenly bodies from their appointed orbits, were just as rational an object of reforming zeal, as to set woman free from her natural subordination to the headship of man. All such freedom is monstrous in its very nature; and the wrong which it involves can never fail to avenge itself, with terrible moral retribution on all concerned in it, wherever it may be allowed. Most disastrous will be its action on woman herself, if she can be tempted thus to forsake her own character and sphere. She must unsex herself more or less in the very step; and by doing so, she is necessarily shorn, to the same extent, of all her native dignity and strength. The more thoroughly masculine she may prove herself to be in this way, the more fully and certainly will it be at the cost of all true respect whether public or private. The process of such unnatural self-dereliction exerts unavoidably, at the same time, a demoralizing influence on her own spirit. She becomes in reality coarse, and the fine gold of her nature is turned into what must be counted at best but common brass. Society too is made to suffer necessarily, by the perversion. It requires a certain amount of moral fanaticism, in the first place, to endure at all any such aberration of the sex from its proper sphere, and the thing itself can never fail subsequently to aggravate the evil out of which it thus springs. The influence of woman exercised in this form, is not at all to refine the face of life, but to render it vulgar and harsh. Such an "emancipation," made general in any community, would involve the overthrow ultimately of all taste and refinement, the downfall of all morality and civilization.

It deserves to be well considered, at the same time, that this doctrine of the full co-ordination of the sexes in the social system, strikes necessarily at last at the sanctity* of the marriage relation itself. It is the subordination of the female nature to

that of man precisely, which makes room for that peculiar union of the two, in which the true idea of marriage consists. The possibility of such an inward personal oneness as it requires in the case of husband and wife, turns not simply on their difference of sex, but on the order also in which this relation is found actually to hold. The common personality which is thus created, must have a real centre on which to rest; and the correspondence between the sexes is such, that this is fully and necessarily determined to the one side only, and not to the other. The help which each needs here in the other, is not at all, in this respect, of parallel character. The whole nature of woman urges her towards man, as the necessary centre of her own being; her personality is so constituted, that it can be perfected only by falling over upon the deeper and broader consciousness of man, as its ultimate support. The personality of man on the contrary, is constitutionally formed to take this central position, and is made complete by woman, not as the basis of his being, but as the necessary integration simply of its proper compass and volume. So related the two are suited to flow together in the power of one and the same life, and may be expected to do so when the proper conditions are present, by the mysterious union of marriage; which, in such view, is no outward temporary contract of merely civil nature, no simply moral partnership, however high and solemn, for purposes beyond itself; but a mystical sacramental bond rather that reaches into the inmost sanctuary of life, and is thus of indissoluble force by its very nature. All this however is made to assume a different aspect, as soon as we lose sight of the order which holds in the original interior economy of the sexes, and under the pretence of restoring woman to her inborn rights, admit such a view of her nature, as sets it in full parallel with the opposite nature of man. There is no room then for the idea of marriage, as the organic comprehension of two lives in the power of a single personal root. It is impossible to withstand the fatal error, by which it is resolved into the conception of a simply outward compact, between independent parties, for mutual convenience and profit. Then of course its inviolable sanctity is gone, and no good reason can be assigned why it should not become as free finally as social partnerships of any other kind. So it is that all Socialism, having no sense of the true nature of the sexual union, as the basis of all morality and society under a settled and necessary form, shows a tendency always in fact, whether it be owned or not, to run into that worst form of agrarian disorder, by which the marriage tie itself is proclaimed a mere social abuse. In its pretended

regard for the freedom and dignity of woman, it robs her of the entire glory of her sex and takes away the last bulwark of her independence and strength.

J. W. N.

THE NEW TESTAMENT MIRACLES.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London; Author of "Notes on the Parables of our Lord," &c., &c. From the last London edition. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Phila.: G. S. Appleton. 1850. Pp. 375, 8 vo.

This is a work which it is a pleasure to read, and a privilege to recommend. We are glad to find too that it has been favorably noticed by our religious press in general; though we feel very sure that a good deal in it, if fully understood, could hardly pass muster with the principles of censorship, to which this tribunal is to a large extent mechanically committed. Trench is a favorite with us among living English writers. We became acquainted with him first, through his work on the Parables; which we are glad to see has come lately to a second American edition. The present volume on the Miracles is fully in the same strain. As a writer, his style is considerably defective; the neglect of rhetorical composition amounting at times to downright carelessness and disorder. But there is a continual freshness and richness in the matter of his thoughts, which causes the intelligent reader to lose sight of this fault, and carries him forward in spite of it with enduring interest and attention. There is nothing dull or heavy in what he writes. On the contrary, his pen is always full of vivacity and spirit, as well as replete with the most sound and wholesome instruction. There is a truly felicitous combination besides, in all his works, of learning and popularity. The results of the finest scholarship are brought into view continually, in a form to reach and affect the most common reader; provided only some proper *spiritual* susceptibility be at hand, to make room for the impression. A deep vein of piety runs through every page, of the most truly *evangelical* order; not after the flat prosy style of much that affects to carry away the whole honor of this title, and which turns out

at last to be itself only powerless cant and sham ; but in the sense of a heartfelt communion with the life of the gospel, under its own actively living form.

The writer shows himself fully at home in the literature of his subject, both modern and ancient. He has however a special fondness for the old patristic divinity ; and it is with good effect he brings it to bear continually on what he has in hand, particularly in the way of notes, whether for the purpose of confirmation or contrast. He abounds especially with rich racy quotations from St. Augustine ; for whom he appears to entertain a more than common reverence and regard. He shows himself well acquainted also with the later theological learning of Germany ; and possesses the art, (which *all* have not,) of steering the proper medium with regard to it, between slavish dependence upon it, on the one side, and no less slavish contempt (or *show* of contempt) for it, on the other. It is a poor business certainly, to hang to the skirts simply of such foreign science, in a purely passive way ; and the affectation of those who do so, is at all times deserving of pity and scorn. But it is hardly necessary to say, that the mere converse of this carries with it in itself no argument either of freedom or of strength. There is room for sorry affectation on that side too. A man may ring changes on transcendentalism, and revile the names of Kant and Hegel in round style ; and yet be not much of a philosopher himself, when all is over. He may even abuse Schleiermacher, and still furnish no sure proof by it of his own superior orthodoxy or learning. That is after all a cheap reputation for either, that is sought or acquired in any such cheap and poor way. In the author before us we are glad to find nothing of this sort. His independence is not blind. There is reason in his criticism.

The work here under notice is introduced with a Preliminary Essay on Miracles, which we consider admirable in its kind, and particularly worthy of being read and studied. The first chapter treats of the Names of Miracles. "Every discussion about a thing will best proceed," we are told, "from an investigation of the name or names which it bears ; for the name ever seizes and presents the most distinctive features of the thing, embodying them for us in a word. In the name we have the true declaration of the innermost nature of the thing ; we have a witness to that which the universal sense of men, finding its utterance in language, has ever felt thus to lie at its heart ; and if we would learn to know the thing, we must start with seeking accurately to know the name which it bears." Here is

philosophy and life at the very outset, with a wholesome touch of mysticism, which may well pass as a fair specimen of the reigning tone and temper of the book throughout. On the last of the names noticed, we have the following interesting observation :

"A further term by which St. John very frequently names the miracles is eminently significant. They are very often with him simply 'works,' (v. 36; vii. 21; x. 25, 32, 38; xiv. 11, 12; xv. 24; see also Matt. xi. 2.) The wonderful is in his eyes only the natural form of working for him who is dwelt in by all the fulness of God; he must, out of the necessity of his higher being, bring forth these works greater than man's. They are the periphery of that circle, whereof he is the centre. The great miracle is the Incarnation; all else, so to speak, follows naturally and of course. It is no wonder that he whose name is 'Wonderful' (Isaiah ix. 6,) does works of wonder; the only wonder would be if he did them not. The sun in the heavens is itself a wonder, but not that, being what it is, it rays forth its effluences of light and heat. These miracles are the fruit after its kind, which the divine tree brings forth; and may with a deep truth, be styled 'works' of Christ, with no further addition or explanation."—P. 14.

The relation of Miracles to Nature is next considered; a most difficult subject, as all know who have turned their thoughts to it ever in any earnest way. The common course of nature is marvellous; but it is still most shallow and fallacious to confound the miraculous and the natural together for this reason, in the way some pretend, as being in the end the same. "The distinction indeed which is sometimes made, that in the miracle God is immediately working, and in other events is leaving it to the laws which he has established, to work, cannot at all be admitted; for it has its root in a dead mechanical view of the universe, which lies altogether remote from the truth. The clock-maker makes his clock, and leaves it; the ship-builder builds and launches his ship, and others navigate it; but the world is no curious piece of mechanism, which its Maker makes and then dismisses from his hands, only from time to time reviewing and repairing it.—*Laws of God* exist only for us. It is a *will* of God for himself." The ordinary processes of nature are as truly full of God's presence and will, as any miracles. "The seed that multiplies in the furrow is as marvellous as the bread that multiplied in Christ's hands." Still the miracle, though not a *greater* manifestation of divine power than the common course of nature, is a *different* manifestation. It is the power

which is always at work in the other form, standing forth in a special and extraordinary way, with direct address to those present, for the purpose of fixing their attention on the mission or message to which it is attached as a seal.

In this view however, the miracle can never be *against* nature. It is wholly unsatisfactory to speak of God's wonderful works in such form, as *violations* of natural law; they are above and beyond nature, as to us known, but not contrary to it. Spinoza has taken advantage of the fault, by which this distinction is too commonly overlooked. "The miracle is not thus unnatural, nor can it be; since the unnatural, the contrary to order, is of itself the ungodly, and can in no way therefore be affirmed of a divine work such as that with which we have to do. The very idea of the world, as more than one name which it bears testifies, is that of an order; that which comes in then to enable it to realize this idea which it has lost, will scarcely itself be a disorder. So far from this, the true miracle is a higher and a purer nature, coming down out of the world of untroubled harmonies into this world of ours, which so many discords have jarred and disturbed, and bringing this back again, though it be but for one prophetic moment, into harmony with that higher." Nature is not opposed or violated, when one order of action and work is simply brought to yield to another of superior worth.

"Continually we behold in the world around us lower laws held in restraint by higher, mechanic by dynamic, chemical by vital, physical by moral; yet we say not, when the lower thus gives place in favor of the higher, that there was any violation of law,—that anything contrary to nature came to pass; rather we acknowledge the law of a greater freedom swallowing up the law of a lesser. Thus, when I lift my arm, the law of gravitation is not, as far as my arm is concerned, denied or annihilated; it exists as much as ever, but is held in suspense by the higher law of my will. The chemical laws which would bring about decay in animal substances still subsist, even when they are hemmed in and hindered by the salt which keeps those substances from corruption. The law of sin in a regenerate man is held in continual check by the law of the spirit of life; yet is it in his members still, not indeed working, for a mightier law has stepped in and now holds it in check, but still there, and ready to work, did that higher law cease from its more effectual operation. —In the miracle, this world of ours is drawn into and within a higher order of things; laws are then at work in the world, which are not the laws of its fallen condition, for they are laws of mightier range and higher perfec-

tion ; and as such they claim to make themselves felt, and to have the pre-eminence which is rightly their own.—

“ Thus Aquinas, whose greatness and depth upon the subject of miracles I well remember once hearing Coleridge exalt, and painfully contrast with the modern theology on the same subject (*Sum. Theol.* part 1. qu. 105, art. 6): A qualibet causa derivatur aliquis ordo in suos effectus, cum quaelibet causa habeat rationem principii. Et ideo secundum multiplicationem causarum multiplicantur et ordines, quorum unus continetur sub altero, sicut et causa continetur sub causa. Unde causa superior non continetur sub ordine causæ inferioris, sed e converso. Cujus exemplum appetit in rebus humanis. Nam ex paterfamilias dependet ordo domus, qui continetur sub ordine civitatis, qui procedit a civitatis rectore : cum et hic contineatur sub ordine regis, a quo totum regnum ordinatur. Si ergo ordo rerum consideretur prout dependet a prima causa, sic contra rerum ordinem Deus facere non potest. Si enim sic faceret, faceret *contra* suam præscientiam aut voluntatem aut bonitatem. Si vero consideretur rerum ordo, prout dependet a qualibet secundarum causarum, sic Deus potest facere *præter* ordinem rerum ; quia ordini secundarum causarum ipse non est subjectus ; sed talis ordo ei subjicitur, quasi ab eo procedens, non per necessitatem naturæ sed per arbitrium voluntatis ; potuisset enim et alium ordinem rerum instituere.”—P. 22.

“ It is with these wonders which have been, exactly as it will be with those wonders which we look for in regard of our own mortal bodies, and this physical universe. We do not speak of these changes which are in store for this and those, as violations of law. We should not speak of the resurrection of the body as something contrary to nature, as unnatural ; yet no power now working in the world could bring it about ; it must be wrought by some power not yet displayed, which God has kept in reserve. So, too, the great change which is in store for the outward world, and out of which it shall issue as a new heaven and a new earth, far exceeds any energies now working in the world, to bring it to pass, (however there may be pre-dispositions for it now, starting points from which it will proceed) ; yet it so belongs to the true idea of the world, now so imperfectly realized, that when it does take place, it will be felt to be the truest nature, which only then at length shall have come perfectly to the birth.”—P. 23.

The next chapter is devoted to the Authority of the Miracle, or in other words the force it has to establish truth. For a large part of our popular theology, miracles in the most outward view, as mere preternatural facts or wonder-works, are taken to be at once and by themselves the proof of divine revelation. This view Professor Trench rightly rejects. There are wonder-works also in the power of Satan, caricatures of the holiest, employed

to uphold and advance the cause of sin ; for it is plain, that the Scriptures mean to attribute *real* wonders to his agency. These indeed are not miracles in the highest sense of the word ; they are abrupt, isolated phenomena, in no union with the organic whole of the world's life ; " not the highest harmonies, but the deepest discords, of the universe." But this only goes to show, that the true and proper authority of miracles is not in their mere form outwardly considered, and that they have no power in such view accordingly to accredit truth. To make them valid for this purpose, something more must enter into their constitution. They must themselves be authenticated as genuine heavenly miracles, by carrying in them proper spiritual contents, and by being surrounded with proper spiritual connections and relations. They are of force, not abstractly and on the outside of the revelation or mission they are employed to prove, but concretely and in living union with this, as part and parcel of the whole.

" A miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. That which alone it claims for him at the first is a right to be listened to ; it puts him in the alternative of being from heaven or from hell. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being *good*, and only then can the miracle seal it as *divine*. But the first appeal is from the doctrine to the conscience, to the moral nature in man. For all revelation pre-supposes in man a power of recognizing the truth when it is shown him,—that it will find an answer in him,—that he will trace in it the lineaments of a friend, though of a friend from whom he has been long estranged and whom he has well nigh forgotten. The denial of this, that there is in man any organ by which truth may be recognized, opens the door to the most boundless skepticism, is indeed the denial of all that is godlike in man. But ' he that is of God, heareth God's word,' and knows it for that which it proclaims itself to be.

" It may be objected, indeed, If this be so, if there be this inward witness of the truth, what need then of the miracle ? to what does it serve, when the truth has accredited itself already ? It has, indeed, accredited itself as good, as *from* God in the sense that all which is good and true is from him, as whatever was precious in the teaching even of heathen sage or poet was from him ;—but not yet as a new word directly from him—a new speaking on his part to man. The miracles are to be the credentials for the bearer of that good word, signs that he has a special mission for the realization of the purposes of God in regard of humanity. When the truth has found a receptive heart, has awoke deep echoes in the innermost soul of man, he who brings it may thus show that he

stands yet nearer to God than others, that he is to be heard not merely as one that is true, but as himself the Truth, (see Matt. xi. 4, 5 ; John v. 36); or if not this, as an immediate messenger standing in direct connection with him who is the Truth, (1 Kings xiii. 3); claiming unreserved submission, and the reception, upon his authority, of other statements which transcend the mind of man,—mysteries which though, of course, not *against* that measure and standard of truth which God has given unto every man, yet cannot be weighed or measured by it.”—P. 27, 28.

“The purpose of the miracle being, as we have seen, to confirm that which is good,—where the mind and conscience witness against the doctrine, not all the miracles in the world have a right to demand submission to the word which they seal. On the contrary, the great act of faith is to believe, in the face, and in despite, of them all, in what God has revealed to, and implanted in, the soul, of the holy and the true; not to believe another Gospel, though an angel from heaven, or one transformed into such should bring it, (Deut. xiii. 3 ; Gal. i. 8); and instead of compelling assent, miracles are then rather warnings to us that we keep aloof, for they tell us that not merely lies are here, for to that the conscience bore witness already, but that he who utters them is more than a common deceiver, is eminently “a liar and an antichrist,” a false prophet,—standing in more immediate connection than other deceived and evil men to the kingdom of darkness, so that Satan has given him his power, (Rev. xiii. 2,) is using him to be a special organ of his, and to do a signal work for him.”—P. 29.

All this we take to be sound and important doctrine; though it goes entirely against the thinking of many, who affect to be the greatest friends of orthodoxy. They will have it, that miracles prove the divine authority of the Bible in a purely outward way. The business of reason then is to try the truth of this external seal, to be satisfied that miracles have actually taken place, and on the strength of this proof accept the Bible as God’s word, raising no question afterwards in regard to the character of its contents. To make the character of the contents part of the proof for the truth of the miracles themselves, they take to be a rationalistic reversal of the proper order of faith, and an appeal from the voice of God to the judgment of man. The truth is however, that the proper order of faith is overthrown just by the opposite course, that which seeks to *interpose* the miracle as an outward proof between God’s word and the soul—as though the first were something more near to man’s inmost life, and more sure for him, than the last. Miracles, in their right form, belong to the truth, go along with its revelation in

the world ; but they are not themselves the primary substance of truth ; they flow from it rather in the way of effect and shadow, and can be of no force whatever save as they appear under such secondary and peripheral relation. Their force to prove a divine revelation lies in their connection with the revelation itself, in their concrete growth out of it, and not in their *abstract* value, as tokens of a higher presence, confronting us on the outside of the door by which we are afterwards to be admitted to the hearing of the oracles within. The oracle is as much necessary to make good the truth of the miracle, as the miracle to make good the truth of the oracle. This is no vicious circle ; but the common law only, which in every concrete manifestation requires the parts to be taken as reciprocally complementary in the constitution of the whole. So body and soul authenticate each other in the common life of man. The body *proves* the presence of the soul, only as the soul at the same time proves that the body itself is no corpse but a true living human frame. And just in the same way, we affirm, the word of God coming among men by new and extraordinary revelation must authenticate itself by outward proofs and seals ; it lies in the very conception of such a revelation, that it should not touch the world in a naked and abstract way, but that it should come into it with appropriate surroundings and effects, reaching forth fully in the form of miracles into the outward sphere of nature itself ; and the absence of such outflowing argument and evidence of a higher presence, (as in the case of the pretended revelations of Mohammed and Swedenborg,) may well be taken as a reason for withholding faith in any mission that claims to be from God, however much it may appear to deserve consideration on other grounds. Miracles are the *necessary* seal of a divine mission ; even as the bursting leaves of the forest are necessary to prove the presence of the life, that is at work in the roots and trunks of the trees of which it consists. But still, as the leaves prove this only by being actually the product of the trees, and not a show of foliage simply dropped from the clouds, so also the word, thus rightly attended with such proof, must itself stand under the miracles, and in the midst of them, as the only sure and sufficient guaranty that they are in fact what they claim to be, and not a mere delusion. The word proves the reality of the miracles, and certifies them to be from heaven, (not from hell;) so that they become in turn fairly of force again, to authenticate and establish the word.

Take, for instance, the revelation which completes all truth besides, that which challenges the faith of the world in the per-

son of Jesus Christ ; who is the truth itself, the light of the world, the inmost sense of the Divine Mind, the Word made flesh. It could not come to pass, without being attended with the proof of miracles. The works of Christ in such form belong to his life, and could not be wanting to it, without bringing his whole mission into discredit. They serve accordingly to prove the truth of his mission. But this only, let it be well borne in mind, as they are themselves illustrated and accredited by the truth and grace that shine forth from his person ; they carry with them such force as they have in fact, only because they go to fill out in a becoming way the picture, of which he is the central figure. Their sense and significance hold in their relation to his august presence, as that by which they are conditioned and from which they proceed. In this view, Jesus Christ authenticates himself, and all evidence besides which goes to establish his truth ; not in a naked isolated way, of course, and independently altogether of such evidence ; but along with it, and in the midst of it, as the natural and necessary fruit of his presence, the true and proper form of its manifestation ; and under such relation to it thus, at the same time, that the precedence and priority of proof must be taken to be in himself, and not in anything beyond. Christ is the central truth, and whatever is true besides becomes so only by its relation to him in this character. How then should he be authenticated, or proved true, by any evidence or argument wholly external to his own person ? How should faith find a preliminary warrant to receive and rest upon him as the Son of God, in no connection with his own life ? Can truth be more true or sure under any other form, that this should serve so as a logical ground, from which to start, or on which to build, in order to reach Him in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily ? Every conception of that sort must be set down as indeed rationalistic in the worst sense. Christ himself is the centre of the whole christian revelation, the fountain of its entire glory. Every part of it does indeed shed light on his character ; as the whole world also, rightly understood, bears witness to him, and lays its homage of acknowledgment at his feet ; but all this is in consequence of the light which goes forth from him in the first place, as the true sun of the world, irradiating and filling with divine sense the whole order which belongs to it in every other view.

" You complain," says Dr. Arnold, in a letter to Dr. Hawkins, " of those persons who judge of a revelation not by its evidence, but by its substance. It has always seemed to me,

that its substance is a most essential part of its evidence ; and that miracles wrought in favor of what was foolish or wicked, would only prove Manicheism. We are so perfectly ignorant of the unseen world, that the character of any supernatural power can only be judged by the moral character of the statements which it sanctions. Thus only can we tell whether it be a revelation from God or from the Devil."

It is a beautiful and deeply significant remark of Gerhard, quoted by Trench : " *Miracula sunt doctrinæ tesserae ac sigilla; quemadmodum igitur sigillum a literis avulsum nihil probat, ita quoque miracula sine doctrina nihil valent.*"

The relation between miracle and doctrine being of this sort, it must be taken as a most serious and dangerous omission on the part of many, who in modern times have written so-called " Evidences of Christianity," that they have brought it so little into view ; that the moral nature of the proof has been so much overlooked ; the maxim being forgotten, that the doctrine is to try the miracle, as well as the miracle to seal the doctrine ; and the works of Christ outwardly considered, and mainly as acts of power, being made the exclusive argument for the reception of what he taught as a divine revelation. " If men are taught that they should believe in Christ upon no other grounds than because he attested his claims by works of wonder, and that simply on this score they shall do so, how shall they consistently refuse belief to any other, who shall come attesting his claims by the same ? We have here a paving of the way of Anti-christ ; for as we know that he will have his signs and wonders, so, if this argument is good, he will have right on the score of these to claim the faith and allegiance of men. But no ; the miracle must witness for itself, and the doctrine must witness for itself, and then the first is capable of witnessing for the second ; and those books of Christian evidences are utterly maimed and imperfect, fraught with the most perilous consequences, which reverence in the miracle little else but its power, and see in that alone what gives either to it its attesting worth, or to the doctrine its authority as an adequately attested thing."

The same subject is taken up again by our author, in the closing chapter of his Preliminary Essay, which is devoted particularly to the consideration of the " Apologetic Worth of Miracles," or the place they should occupy in the argument for Revealed Religion. It is a curious fact, that far less stress was laid upon them in the early Apologies, for this purpose, than what they have been made to bear in modern times. With the system of thinking which reigned in the beginning both among the Gen-

tiles and the Jews, the acknowledgment of the truth of the Christian miracles was not of itself enough to shut men up to the acknowledgment of its divine origin; they might be referred to Satan, to intermediate deities, to magic; the whole case could be allowed, and still not be felt to carry with it any conclusive force in favor of the new religion. In the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr, the argument from miracles is scarcely employed at all.

"But a different and far more important position has been assigned them in later times, especially during the last two hundred years; and the tone and temper of modern theology abundantly explains the greater prominence, sometimes, I believe, the undue, because the exclusive, prominence, which in this period they have assumed. The apologetic literature of this time partook, as was inevitable, in the general depression of all its theology. There is no one, I think, who would now be satisfied with the general tone and spirit in which the defence of the faith, written during the last two centuries, and beginning with the memorable work of Grotius, (*De Veritate Religionis Christianae*,) are composed. Much as this and many others contain of admirable matter, yet in well nigh all that great truth of the Italian poet seems to have been forgotten:

'They struggle vainly to preserve a part,
Who have not courage to contend for all.'

These apologists, on the contrary, would seem very often to have thought that Deism was best to be resisted, by reducing Christianity to a sort of revealed Deism. Like men that had renounced the hope of defending all, their whole endeavor was to save something, and when their pursuers pressed them hard, they were willing to delay the pursuit, by casting to them as a prey much that ought to have been the dearest to themselves. —Now this, which caused so much to be thrown greatly out of sight, as generally the mysteries of our faith, which brought about a slight of the inner arguments for revelation, caused that from the miracles to assume a disproportionate magnitude. A value too exclusive was set on them; they were rent away from the truths for which they witnessed, and which witnessed for them—only too much like seals torn off from the document, which at once *they* rendered valid, and which gave importance to them. And thus, in this unnatural isolation, separated from Christ's person and doctrine, the whole burden of proof was laid on them. *They* were the apology for Christianity, the reason which men were taught they should give for the faith which was in them."—P. 76.

The object in all this was to get an absolute demonstration of

the Christian faith—one which objectively should be equally good for every man; like the proof that exists for a proposition in mathematics or in logic. There was something however not altogether healthy in the state of mind which led to such wish; it is the mark of an outward and merely historical faith, to be thus set on evidence of an outward sort, and to find in it the highest value. The idea of coming to a certain and full assurance of the truth here in question on grounds external to the truth itself, was itself rationalistic, and carried in it a measure of treason to the revelation whose credit it pretended in such style to fortify and uphold. The outward is indeed of high account in this argument; but only as it is taken in connection with the inward, as the primary and fundamental interest. Miracles are all important as a part of the proof for Christianity, in their right order and proper place; the fault now noticed lies in making them to be the whole proof, or at least the main proof, and this in a purely outward view—as though it were possible for men to be certified of a revelation by means of such preliminary and ab-extra evidence, aside altogether from the revelation itself, and independently of its own inward character and form.

"When we object to the use that has often been made of these works, it is only because they have been forcibly severed from the whole complex of Christ's life and doctrine, and presented to the contemplation of men apart from these; it is only because, when on his head who is the Word of God are many crowns, (Rev. xxix. 12,) one only has been singled out, in proof that he is King of kings and Lord of lords. The miracles have been spoken of as though they borrowed nothing from the truths which they confirmed, but those truths everything from them; when indeed the true relation is one of mutual interdependence, the miracles proving the doctrines, and the doctrines approving the miracles, and both held together for us in a blessed unity, in the person of him who spake the words and did the works, and through the impress of highest holiness and of absolute truth and goodness, which that person leaves stamped on our souls;—so that it may be more truly said that *we believe the miracles for Christ's sake*, than Christ for the miracles' sake. Neither when we thus affirm that the miracles prove the doctrine, and the doctrine the miracles, are we arguing in a circle; rather we are receiving the sum total of the impression, which this divine revelation is intended to make on us, instead of taking an impression only partial and one-sided."—P. 81.

This deep thought it is substantially which St. Augustine has in his mind, when he says against the Donatists, and their claims

to miraculous works: "Miracles are authenticated and made credible by being done in the Church Catholic, and not the Catholic Church by having in it the miracles." The less can never prove the greater, as something on the outside of it and apart from it wholly, but only as itself bound to it and joined with it in such subordinate relation.

J. W. N.

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ST. JOHN.

§. 1. *Youth and Education of John.*

The Apostle and Evangelist *John*, the son of *Zebedee*, a fisherman of Galilee, and of *Salome*, the brother of the elder *James*, was born, as is most probable, like the Apostles *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*, in *Bethsaida* (Math. 4: 21; 10: 2, Mark 1: 19; 3: 17; 10: 35, Luke 5: 10, Acts 12: 2). His parents, though not rich, seem to have been at least in good circumstances. His father, according to Mark 1: 20, was in the habit of employing hired servants; his mother belonged to that class of women who supported Jesus with their property (Math. 27: 56, Mark 15: 40, Luke 8: 3) and purchased spices for his embalming (Mark 16: 1, Luke 23: 50, 56); John himself owned a house in Jerusalem into which he welcomed the mother of Jesus after his crucifixion (John 19: 27). It is natural and reasonable to suppose that his pious mother planted the first seeds of piety in the tender soil of his youthful heart. *Salome*, it is true, was yet entangled in the false hopes of the Messiah generally prevalent in her time and in the incitements of vanity, as may be gathered from her petition to the Lord that He would grant her two sons the highest places of honor in His kingdom (Math. 20: 20, ff.), but she adhered to Christ with unwavering fidelity and did not desert Him even when surrounded with the terrors of the Cross (Mark 15: 40).¹ With the other Apostles, Paul ex-

¹ According to the latest exegesis of John 19: 25, which *Wieseler* has proposed and advocated with acuteness and learning in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1840, No. 3, p. 648, &c., *Salome* would be the sister of the mother of Jesus; in such case John would have been a cousin of the Lord. The phrase "sister of his mother" he does not interpret to be, as has hitherto been supposed, *Mary*, the wife of *Cleopas* (on account of the improbability that two sisters would have the same name), but a form of language,

cepted, John received no learned or scientific education (comp. Acts 4: 13). His personal intercourse of three years' duration with the Master of all masters and the supernatural illumination of the Holy Spirit, abundantly supplied every deficiency in his mental training. In early life, no doubt, he was carefully indoctrinated in the precepts of the Old Testament which ministered to his natural tendency for profound thought, and to his tender, susceptible disposition, a nourishment vastly superior to the learning of the Pharisaic schools, filled, as it was, with many maxims of the most dangerous character.

In early life he became a disciple of John the Baptist. Of the two disciples of John spoken of in John 1: 35, &c., he is beyond all doubt the one not mentioned. His susceptible disposition which anxiously awaited the hope of Israel must have recognised in no long time a divine messenger in the earnest preacher of repentance who prepared the way for Christ and preceded his coming, like the faint streak of morning before the full-orbed sun. Through the instrumentality of this herald he was directed, together with Andrew, on the banks of the Jordan in Perea, to Jesus as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. His first acquaintance with the Saviour was accompanied with circumstances so impressive in character that he never forgot it and, even in his old age, still remembered the hour of meeting (John 1: 40). Having passed a day in intercourse with the Son of God and listened to the words that fell from his lips, he returned with Peter and Andrew to his home and trade as a fisherman. In this quiet retreat, opportunity was given for the free and uninterrupted growth of the good seed which had been implanted in his heart. His life in this respect furnishes a conspicuous illustration of the manner which Christ pursued, who never violently checks the pure natural disposition of men and nullifies their education prior to conversion, in attracting to his person followers from among the members of the human family. In no long time, however, John together with James, Peter and Andrew were summoned by Jesus to abandon their trade and enlist under his banner (Math. 4: 18, &c., Mk.

similar to the one which John used to indicate himself ("The disciple, whom Jesus loved") designed to represent his own mother Salome who, as may be gathered from the parallel passages Matth. 27: 56, Mark 15: 40, was really present at the crucifixion and could not well have been passed by in silence by her son. Serious objections, however, stand in the way of this explanation. Comp. Neander's *Train. and Plant. of the Church*, II. 609, my work on James, etc., p. 22, &c., and the article on John by W. Grimm in the *Encyclopedia of Ersch. and Gruber*, Sect. II. Th. 22, p. 1, &c.

1: 16, &c., Luke 4: 1-11). He is thus the representative of those disciples who are gradually brought into fellowship with the Saviour by the quiet operation of holy influences, unaccompanied by violent internal struggles and unusual outward changes, whilst the Apostle Paul exhibits the most prominent example of a sudden conversion. The first mode of conversion is specially adapted to persons of a mild, tender, and contemplative disposition, such as Thomas a Kempis, Melancthon, Spener, Bengel, Zinzendorf; the second, to persons of strong, independent, and choleric character, such as Augustine, Luther, and Calvin.

John, whose disposition qualified him for the forming of lasting friendship and the exercise of undying love, became one of the most confidential of Christ's disciples. He, in connection with his brother James, and Simon Peter, formed a select circle of friends on whom the Son of God looked with special favor. They only were eye-witnesses of the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5: 37), of the transfiguration of Christ on Tabor (Matth. 17: 1), and of his sufferings in Gethsemane (Matth. 26: 37, Mark 14: 33). The reason of this preference lies partly in the free choice of Christ, and partly in the peculiar character of the three Apostles. Of James our knowledge is very limited. He seems to have been of a quiet, earnest, profound nature, and died in the year 44 the death of a martyr, and thus became the leader of that glorious band of heroes who sealed their devotion to Christianity by their blood. As regards position and influence, to some extent at least, Paul became his substitute. Peter is best known as a man whose rash, impetuous, and practical disposition admirably qualified him to organize congregations and lay the foundations of the Church deep and strong in the prolific soil of his own confession. John cannot compare with Peter in point of practical energy and zeal; in the depths of his being, however, burned more brightly and warmly the fire of holy love. The invincible tenacity of his love which gave to his religious feeling a marked originality, placed him in a position superior to that occupied by his two associates, and made him most conspicuous among the trio of the friends of the Son of God and Man. He enjoyed the great privilege of leaning on the bosom of Jesus¹ and listening to the

¹ On which account he is called by the Greek Church fathers δικαιος, he who leaned on his bosom, or, as we say, the bosom friend of Jesus. Augustine makes the following beautiful remarks concerning John the Evangelist. "He poured forth the waters of life which he had himself drunk."

pulsations of the heart that beat high and warm with feelings of eternal mercy (John 13: 23). In modest self-concealment and, at the same time, with feelings of the profoundest gratitude, he generally calls himself in his Gospel "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (13: 23, 19: 26, 20: 21: 7, 20). This phrase is in all probability, a significant paraphrase and explanation of his proper name, in which he saw a prophecy of this perfect friendship, of his enjoyment of the special favor of Christ, the incarnate Jehovah (comp. John 12: 41 with Isaiah 6: 1).

In the hour of his sufferings John evinced his attachment to the Lord and followed him with Peter into the palace of the high priest (John 18: 19). He was the only one of the disciples who attended the crucifixion when Jesus committed to his care his mother because he was best qualified for the exercise of filial duties (19: 26). He took her to his home (v. 27), and kept her according to traditional report to the day of her death, which, according to Nicephorus, happened at Jerusalem in the year 48, (according to other accounts at Ephesus). On the day of the resurrection he hastened in company with Peter, to the grave and found it empty (20: 3, &c.). The last account we have of him in the Gospels is, that he was engaged in fishing with six other disciples in the sea of Gennesareth. Their efforts were unsuccessful until Jesus himself came to their aid. Most remarkable is the difference that obtained in the conduct of John and Peter on this occasion. The former immediately recognized the Lord with an intuitive gaze of love, but sat still in the ship because fully conscious of a saving interest in His master and completely absorbed in Him; the latter whose knowledge of having denied Him and earnest desire for full pardon excited strong feelings of restlessness, (and being desirous of preceding the others,) plunged into the waves and swam to the shore to the feet of Jesus, (John 21: 2, &c.). Thus also the contemplative Mary quietly awaited in the house the coming of the Lord, whilst the busy Martha went to meet him and make him acquainted with her grief (11: 20).

§. 2. *His Apostolic Labors.*

Though John did not, like Peter, on account of the intense

For it is not without reason that it is said of him in his own Gospel that during the Supper he lay on the bosom of the Lord. From this bosom he quietly drank, and what he thus enjoyed in secret, he has revealed unto the world for its delight and nourishment."

inwardness of his character, take such active part in public transactions, and never played the orator but followed in his steps wholly absorbed in the contemplation of heavenly truth, yet, in the Acts he appears next to Peter as the most important personage in the first, Jewish-Christian period of the Church. With Peter he healed the lame man, (Acts 3 : 1, &c.) ; with him he was sent to Samaria, in order to confirm by the communication of the Holy Ghost (8 : 14, &c.) the Christians who had been baptized by the deacon Philip. From Samaria he returned to Jerusalem, where he met Paul in the year 50; who, together with the oldest Apostles, discussed the binding authority of the Mosaic Law. He designates him and James and Peter as Jewish Apostles, and as pillars of the Church (Gal. 2 : 1-9). Down to this time, John seems to have confined his labors to the Jews and to Palestine. Even then, however, he was in possession of a principle strong enough to reconcile the distinctions that held apart the Jewish and Gentile portions of the Church. For it cannot be proven that the Jews appealed to him as an authority, as the followers of Cephas to Peter (1 Cor. 1 : 12,) and the yet more strict party to James (Gal. 2 : 12), or that a school was formed that acknowledged John as its leader. He stood above mere partisan interest. When Paul came for the last time to Jerusalem, A. D. 58, he was not present; otherwise Luke would have certainly recorded it (Acts 21 : 18). For accounts of the closing portions of his life, we must have recourse to his own writings and to ecclesiastical tradition.

At a later period John took up his permanent abode in the distinguished commercial city of Ephesus, in which had been planted by Paul one of his most important congregations. The concordant and unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity places this fact beyond all doubt;¹ from the book of Revelation (1 : 11, c. 2 and 3), it is evident that he had the superintendence of the Churches in Asia Minor. From the data now known, historians are not able to deduce the precise time of the transfer of his labors to Grecian soil. It is certain, however, that he went to Ephesus if not after, at any rate, not long before the

¹ Among the vouchers for this are *Irenaeus*, the pupil of Polycarp who knew John personally, *adv. haer.* III. 1, 3, and other passages, also in the letter to *Florinus* in *Eusebius*, H. E. V. 30, *Clemens Alex.* in the homily *gens dives salvetur* c. 43., *Apollonius* and *Polyrates* of Ephesus at the close of the second century, in *Eusebius*, V. 19. 24 and III, 21., *Origen* and *Eusebius*, &c. In the face of such testimony, it required the obtuse scepticism of the Deist *Lützelberger* to pronounce the residence of John at Ephesus a fable.

death of Paul. For, neither in the farewell address which Paul delivered at Miletum to the elders of the church at Ephesus, nor in the Epistles written during confinement to the Ephesians and Colossians, nor in the second epistle to Timothy, is any mention made of John; Paul still regarded himself then as the overseer of the congregations in Asia Minor. In all probability, the death of the Gentile Apostle, A. D. 64, and the dangers and convulsions consequent upon it which he himself had anticipated (Acts 20: 29, 30), induced John to visit this important city, to take the place of Paul, and to build upon the foundation which he had laid. The place of his residence in the interim (between 50 and 60) cannot be discovered.¹

As the energetic activity that prevailed in the second century which bears upon it the impress of John's influence, fully testifies, Asia Minor was selected as the main theatre for the action of the second period in the history of the Church. Here were gathered all the elements necessary to bring about a thorough purification of ecclesiastical life, the germs of the two fundamental heresies which the Church was called upon to vanquish. On the one hand a Pharisaico-Jewish spirit labored to impose afresh the slavery of the law, as is evident particularly in the Galatian congregations; on the other, there was forming a false gnosis, a speculative tendency composed of Jewish and Pagan elements whose workings arbitrarily overleaped the wholesome bounds of sound thought which is vigorously and successfully opposed in the epistles to Timothy, the Colossians, and in the second epistle of Peter and Jude. At a later period the Gnostic Cerinthus, who was a contemporary of John, gave to this speculative tendency a more sharply defined form. Danger was not only to be apprehended, however, from heretics. Believers both among the Jews and Gentiles were not yet united in the bonds of a consistent, permanent unity, while the former were still disposed to look with suspicious eye on the liberal views entertained by Paul touching the Law. In order to pacify narrow minded Israelites, Peter thought it necessary to set forth in clear light for the benefit of those sections of the Church his substantial agreement with Paul in the faith. John was admirably qualified in this critical posture of affairs to check the pernicious action of

¹ The later report that he preached to the Parthians originated from an inscription on some Latin MSS. on the first Epist of John "ad Parthos," and this inscription from a misunderstanding of the predicate *ραπτός*, which name John obtained on account of his celibacy. Comp. Lücke commen. on the first Ep. John, 2nd Ed. p. 28, &c.

such unscriptural tendencies, and not only to overcome them negatively, but positively also, by recognizing and putting in proper relations the wants and truths of which they were perversions. As a native of Palestine and one who had been an Israelite he enjoyed the confidence of Jewish Christians, while the facility with which he entered into the truth involved in modes of thought foreign to his own, and the susceptibility of his disposition, enabled him to appropriate with ease the Grecian element and adopt the principles of Paul. Inasmuch as he reconciled in his own person these two primary forms of Apostolic Christianity, so far as they were correct, and exhibited the different sides of one and the same truth, he was fitted to bind up the entire Church of Asia Minor in that compact, well-fortified unity, which was absolutely necessary for a defence in conflict with internal foes, as well as in suffering under the bloody hand of persecution.

§. 3. Persecution of Christians under Domitian and the Expulsion of John to Patmos.

He was interrupted in the midst of his efficient labors, the monuments of which are scattered in rich profusion through his Gospel and Epistles, by the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Domitian. His banishment, however, in no wise seriously checked the progress of our holy religion. With prophetic vision, he unfolded the future history of the Church, and contributed in this way to her welfare and edification.

Domitian succeeded his brother Titus, A. D. 81, and reigned to the time of his assassination 96. The happy beginnings of his rule were soon disturbed by an unbounded tyranny, which led to execution or banishment the best and most respectable of his subjects, who became the victims of his murderous suspicions by venturing to check his insatiate ambition. So great was his vanity, that he gloried in the deification of himself, and may fairly be charged with the crime of unlimited blasphemy. If we except Caligula, he was the first of Roman emperors presumptuous enough to arrogate to himself the name of God; he began his letters with the words "Our Lord and God commands;"¹ nay, he thought himself superior to the gods, caused

¹ Sueton Domit. c. 13. "Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet." Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter.

his statue to be erected in the most sacred place of the temple, and whole herds of sacrificial animals to be offered to his divinity.' A man of such character would very naturally regard an open confession of Christ as an offence against the crown, worthy of the severest punishment. In his time, many Christians and amongst them his own cousin, the Consul Flavius Clemens,* died the martyr's death; urged by unfounded suspicions, and fears of attempts to displace him from the throne, he effected the murder of the remaining descendants of David, and even had two relations of Jesus brought from Palestine to Rome for examination, whose poverty and obscurity soon convinced him of the vanity of his fears.'

Tradition affirms that, during the reign of this emperor, the Apostle John was banished to the lonely, barren island of Patmos, (now Patmo or Palmosa), in the *Aegean* sea, not far from the coast of Asia, and in a southwestern direction from Ephesus. Here it was that he received the Revelation, concerning the conflicts and victories of the Church.⁴ To the fact of his having enjoyed a vision while in exile on this island he himself testifies in Rev. 1: 9: "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." To the fact of this

¹ *Pliny*, *Panegyr.* c. 52, cf. 33.

² According to *Dio Cassius*, he with many others was accused of atheism, which was used without doubt to designate the christian faith. See the passages given by Gieseler C. H. I. 1. p. 135.

³ According to *Hegenippus* in Euseb. H. E. III 19 20. According to *Tertullian* de praescr. haer. c. 36 John was brought to Rome (the emperor's name is not mentioned), plunged into a barrel of burning oil, and, having sustained no injury, was banished to Patmos (ubi, namely at Rome, apost. Joh. posse quam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur). As this species of punishment is in itself very improbable and as it is only once more mentioned, namely by Jerome, who bases his remark on the authority of Tertullian, we are perfectly justified in remanding it back into the region either of invented or exaggerated legends.

⁴ To this day travellers are pointed to the cavern at the harbor of de la Scala, in which the beloved Apostle received in rapt vision, on the Lord's day, an insight into the future weal of the Church. Tischendorf (travels in the East II. p. 257, &c.) describes the island in the following terms: "Speechless lay before me, in the light of the dawn of morn, the small island; several olive trees enlivened the dreary desert of the mountain on it. The sea was silent as the grave, Patmos reposed in it like a dead saint. . . . John—this is the thought of the island. It belongs to him, it is his sanctuary. The stones on it preach of him, and every heart cleaves to him."

vision having occurred in the time of Domitian Christian antiquity bears almost unanimous witness. Nor does the proper meaning of the book in any wise conflict with this hypothesis. Irenaeus, the oldest witness, who deserves special attention because of his intimate relations with Polycarp the personal friend of John, says expressly and with great assurance that John enjoyed the visions recorded in the Apocalypse not long before, and almost in his time, namely, towards the close of the reign of the emperor Domitian.⁴ With him coincides Eusebius, who, in several passages in his Church History, based upon the testimony of tradition, places the banishment of the Apostle in the reign of Domitian and, according to his chronology, in the 14th year of it (that is, in the year 95), his return to Ephesus in the reign of Nerva.⁵ So also Jerome⁶ and others. Two other witnesses, Clemens of Alex. and Origen, who in the order of time come directly after Irenaeus, mention indeed the name of the emperor, but designate him, the former as "Tyrant,"⁷ the latter as "King of the Romans."⁸ Both titles, however, suit the character of Domitian full as well as that of Nero. The appellation of "tyrant" expresses more clearly, perhaps, the nature of Domitian, who of all Roman emperors was the most

⁴ Adv. haer. V, 30: ενδέ γάρ τῷ πολλοῦ χρόνῳ ἐκράτη (ἢ ἀποκλειστή), ἀλλὰ σχεδόν οὐτὶ τῆς ἡμερᾶς γενέσθαι τῷ τοῖν τῆς Δομιτίου δρχῆς. The fanciful opinion of Guericke who, in order to harmonise this passage with his present view touching the composition of the Apocalypse (at an earlier period he advocated the correct view in his "contrib. to New Test." p. 55 and in the "continuation" of it p. 20), wishes, in opposition to the rules of languages to regard Δομιτίου as an adjective and to apply it to Domitius Nero, is utterly untenable because of what immediately precedes which by no means accords with the thirty years distant from the time of Nero. The omission of the article proves nothing against the word taken as a substantive; because Eusebius who by it understands Domitian, also omits the article; H. E. III, 23. μετὰ τὸν Δομιτίου τελευτὴν; so also Philostratus, Vita Apoll. VII, 4. τῆς Δομιτίου φορᾶς.

⁵ H. E. III, 18. "In his reign (Domitian) it is said in accordance with tradition that the Apostle and Evangelist John, who then flourished, was condemned to the island of Patmos because of his testimony in behalf of the divine word;" further III, 20, 23, and Chron ad ann. 14 Domitian.

⁶ De viris illustr. c. 9: Johannes quarto decimo anno secundum post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsim.

⁷ Quis dives salv. c. 42 and by Euseb. H. E. III, 23: επούλ γάρ τοῦ παράνοον τελευταρεῖν, εἰς Πάτμον τῆς νησοῦ μετάλλευτος τῆς Ἐφέσου.

⁸ Orig. ad Math. 20: 23, 23, Opp. Ed. de la Rue III, 720. Comp. on this witness the remarks in the first volume of Hengstenberg's Commentary on Revelation p. 4, &c., who ably and thoroughly defends the view of its composition in the time of Domitian against modern criticism.

arbitrary despot. Tacitus says, "that he exhibited his cruel ferocity not only at intervals, and on select occasions, but labored systematically to destroy at one fell swoop the general prosperity."¹ Eusebius also applied to him the passage of Clemens. The uncritical and frivolous Epiphanius first proposed a different opinion, by putting the banishment of the Apostle into the reign of Claudius. His view, however, is utterly untenable and was universally rejected.² In our day the authority of Ewald, Lücke and Neander, has given almost general prevalence to the opinion, that the Apocalypse (which the last mentioned does not consider as a production of the Apostle but of the Ephesian Presbyter John), was composed soon after the death of Nero, in the time of Galba, A.D. 68 or 69. The only witness in this case who deserves respect, is the Syrian translator of this book³ who in no wise confirms his opinion by tradition, but seems to have derived it from his view of its contents. At any rate, as respects authority he cannot be compared with the elder Irenaeus. The view of these modern interpreters rests confessedly for support on *internal* grounds. It is believed that in the book itself are to be found clear evidences that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem (c. 11), whilst the persecution by Nero and the burning of Rome were fresh in the mind, during the reign of the sixth Roman Emperor (Galba), and before the generally expected re-appearance of Nero who

¹ Agric. c 44, comp. the representation which Pliny gives of this "immississima bellua" panegyr. c 48.

² We cannot therefore allow Dr. Lücke the right of speaking about "a fluctuating of the ecclesiastical tradition touching the time of exile and the writing of the Apoc. (see his attempt at a thorough introduction to the Revelation of John," p. 409). Tradition, so far as it has an historical character, delivers unanimous testimony. Variations from it consist of isolated subjective opinions which are mutually contradictory.

³ Namely, in the writing: *Revelatio, quam Deus Joanni Evangeliste in Patmo insula dedit, in quam a *Nerone* Caesare relegatus fuerat.* The Syriac translation, however, of the Apoc. is not found in the original Peschito and belongs to the *hiloxeniana*, or their revision by *Thomas*; it dates therefore from the 7th century, according to the account of a Florentinian MS. from the year 622 (comp. Hug's introd. in N. T., I p. 353 &c., and De Wette's, §11, a.), and its isolated account concerning the composition of the Apoc. has for this reason no critical value. Touching this point *Theophylact* of the 12th century deserves still less attention, because he evidently confounds two things entirely distinct in character, supposing (comment. on Ev. Joh. Int.) the *Gospel* of John to have been composed on the island of Patmos 32 years after the ascension of Christ, in the time of Nero whom he does not mention—an opinion universally rejected. Hence it may be inferred with what reason *Guericke* (Int. p. 286) should in this connection speak of the "critical and discerning" *Theophylact*.

seems to be denoted by the number 666 in the character of Antichrist (c. 17). But these *internal* reasons cannot possibly lead to a decisive judgment, because the interpretation of this mysterious book in general, and of those separate parts in particular, has always induced a strife of discordant opinions.¹ Besides, the persecution under Nero, which did not happen in the year 67, as computed by the erroneous chronology of Eusebius, but, according to the distinct testimony of Tacitus, in the year 64, continued but for a short time, and was, in all probability, on account of its occasion, namely a false charge upon the christians of having set fire to Rome, confined to Rome. At any rate down to the time of Orosius, who, however, deserves little attention because of his slavish adherence to Suetonius, we have no historical testimony to prove its extension to the provinces and to Asia Minor. Finally, we know not whether Nero punished christians with exile; whilst Dio Cassius narrates in express language, that Domitian banished to Pandateria because of her atheism, that is, her faith in the christian system, his relative Flavia Domitilla, the wife of the above mentioned Clemens (according to Eusebius, she was his niece).²

In this conflict of opinions, we feel disposed to adopt the oldest and most generally received view concerning the time of John's banishment, and the composition of the book of Revelation; because Irenaeus had abundant opportunity to learn the truth in the case from the friend and pupil of John. Criticism only injures its character and detracts from its influence, when it stubbornly opposes the clear testimony of history, especially in the interpretation of a writing whose mysterious meaning imposes the duty of modesty and caution.

§. 4. The Return of John to Ephesus and the Close of His Life.

In the year 96, when this tyrant died, the Apostle, after having passed, as is most probable, more than a year in exile, again obtained his freedom. The successor of Domitian, the just and

¹ Comp. Dr. Chr. R. Hofman's Prophecy and Fulfillment (1841) II, p. 301, and in detail the commentary of Hengstenberg and the introduction p. 27, &c.

² Dio. B. 67, 14, Comp. 68, 1, and Euseb. H. E. III, 18. Banishment was a common punishment with Domitian. Tacitus thinks Agricola happy in not having survived under the emperors *tot consularium cædes, tot nobilitatum seminarum exilia et fugas*, (vita Agr. c. 44).

philanthropic Nerva, recalled, according to the account given by Dio Cassius, those who had been banished, and abolished the trade of informers and courtly sycophants. John, having returned to Ephesus, recommenced his labors and ruled to the day of his death the Church in Asia.¹ With the closing period of his life are connected two events, which have impressed upon them the unmistakeable marks of truth.²

Clemens of the Alexandrine school, who flourished at the close of the second century, has given an account of one of them. It sets forth in beautiful portrait a picture of the tender, self denying love, that always characterised the pastoral visitations of the venerable Apostle. Clemens narrates³ that John on his return from Patmos to Ephesus, visited the adjacent countries with the intention of installing bishops and organising congregations. In a town at no great distance from Ephesus he met with a young man, whose extraordinary beauty and ardent zeal so engaged his affections, that he committed him to the special care of the bishop, who instructed him in the precepts of the Gospel and received him into the bosom of the Church by holy Baptism. The bishop however, now relaxed his vigilance, and the young man, who was thus early deprived of parental care, was seduced by evil companions and became the leader of a robber band. His wickedness became proverbial; in acts of violence and bloody ferocity his associates acknowledged his superior proficiency. In no long time John again visited that town, and eagerly inquired for the young man. "Come," said he to the Bishop, "give back to us the pledge which I and the Saviour entrusted to your care in presence of the congregation." The bishop sighed and answered: "The young man has fallen away from his allegiance to God and become a robber. Instead of being in the Church he now dwells with his companions within a mountain." With loud cries the Apostle tore his garments, struck his head, and exclaimed: "O what a guardian I

¹ Clemens Alex. and Euseb. III, 20, 23. The somewhat singular remark of Polycrates by Eusebius that John wore the "petalon," the tiara of the high priest, may be referred to his oversight of the Church in Asia Minor.

² Other traits must be remanded to the region of fables, e. g., that John destroyed the celebrated temple of Diana (Nicephorus, H. E. II, 42) and that, shortly before his death, he drank without injury a cup of poison (first in Augustine's soliloquies). This last is referred by Papias (Euseb. III, 39) to Joses Barnabas, and may have its foundation in Mark 16: 13 and Matth. 20: 23.

³ Quis dives salv. c. 42, and in Euseb. III, 23. Herder has given this beautiful legend a poetical form under the caption "The rescued Youth."

placed over the soul of my brother!" He hastily mounted a horse, and in company with a guide proceeded to the retreat where dwelt the robber-band. Though seized by the guard, he never attempted to escape, but besought them to conduct him to the leader, who, on recognizing John, fled for shame. The apostle, forgetful of his age, pursued him with might and main, crying: "Wherefore fleest thou me, O child! thy father, an unarmed old man? Pity me, O child! be not afraid! Thou hast still hope of life. I will give account to Christ on your behalf. I will lay down my life for you. Stop! believe, Christ has sent me." These words, like so many swords, pierced the very soul of the unfortunate man. He halted; threw down the weapons of his murderous warfare, trembled, and cried bitterly. The venerable apostle having approached him, the young man clung to his knees, prayed with strong lamentations for pardon, and with tears of repentance submitted as it were to a second baptism. The Apostle declared that he had obtained forgiveness for him, fell upon his knees and kissed his hand. He then led him back to the congregation, in which he prayed earnestly with him, and labored with him in fasting, and admonished him in conversations, until he was able to return him to the Church as an example of thorough conversion.

Jerome, one of the Church fathers, in his interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, makes mention of another incident equally pathetic. In the closing period of his life, John was too weak to walk to the Church, and had to be carried thither. He was not able to deliver long discourses, but simply said: "Little children, love one another." On being asked why he continually repeated this exhortation, he answered: "Because this is the command of the Lord, and because enough is done if this holy duty be performed." A most true saying; for as God is himself love, love to Him and to the brethren is the substance of religion and morality, the fulfilment of the law and of the prophets, and the bond of perfection.

All the ancient accounts agree in affirming, that John lived to the reign of the emperor Trajan, who ascended the throne in the year 98 A. D., and that he died a natural death at Ephesus about the ninetieth year of his age.¹ While the majority of the other Apostles were baptised in the bloody baptism of martyrdom, he

¹ Thus *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, Jerome, &c. The last mentioned says de vir. ill. c. 9, of John: sub Nerva principe reddit Ephesum, ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans totas Asiae fundavit rexitque ecclesias, et confectus senio anno octagesimo octavo post passionem Domini (i. e. a. 100,
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passed through the sufferings of the primitive Church in the enjoyment of heavenly peace, and calmly breathed his last, reclining on the bosom of love.* From a misunderstanding of the puzzling language of Jesus, John 21: 22: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" arose the report that John did not really die, but only fell into a state of slumber, and was moving by his breathing the mound over his tomb until the final coming of the Lord.* In his writings, it is true, he lives eternally, the full understanding of which seems to stand in special connection with the future perfection of the Church, and her preparation for the welcome of the heavenly bridegroom. For they close with the significant assurance and prayer (Rev. 22: 20): "Yea, I come quickly. Amen. Yea, come, Lord Jesus!"

§. 5. *The Character of John.*

Let us now endeavor to form a proper estimate of the genius and religious character of John, from the testimony of history, and mainly from his own writings. The theoretic and practical abilities which God bestows upon men as a natural dowry, are not destroyed by the action of regenerating faith, but cleansed from the base alloy of sin, sanctified unto the service of Christ, and carried forward to the point of their fullest growth. John undoubtedly belongs to that class of persons, whose native richness abounds in a spirit of nice sensibility and quiet meditation, in feelings of impressive tenderness and lively action, in an imagination of fiery energy and in a disposition of surpassing loveliness. Yet, every order of talent and trait of character is vitiated by a certain species of original sin, which cleaves to it and is

since this Church-father places the death of Christ in the year 32) mortuus
juxta eandem archem sepultus est.

* When the Ephesian bishop *Polycrates* in Euseb. H. E. III. 31, V. 25 calls John a martyr, reference is had either to his labors in preaching or (because διδόνεται, immediately follows) to his banishment to Patmos. In order to reconcile the above tradition with the prophecy of the Lord touching the fate of the sons of Zebedee Matth. 20: 28, Jerome ad Matth. 20: 23 adopts the legend of Tertullian, which affirms that John was plunged into heated oil without experiencing any injury, and, in this way, proved himself possessed of the spirit of a martyr and drank the calix confessionis.

* *Augustin*, Tract. 124 in *Evang. Joan.* According to a legend of later date (by *Pseudo-Hippolytus de consummatione mundi*, comp. *Lampe* Comment. in. *Ev. Jo. I. p. 98*), John was taken alive to heaven as Enoch and Elias and will appear with these saints of the Old Testament as heralds of the visible coming of Christ, as John the Baptist prepared the way for the first coming of Christ.

in danger of particular abuse. His tendency towards meditation, under the influence of evil principles, might easily have led him to adopt a system of phantastic, pantheistic speculation, destroying the distinction that separates the world from God. A believing sight, however, of the Word made flesh converted this gift into a holy wisdom. By means of intercourse with the living truth he became the leader of Christian philosophers, the representative of knowledge inspired with devotion to God, the "Theologos" in a most emphatic sense. He had the power of setting forth in the simplest style the most profound thoughts, which furnish the ripest thinker with an inexhaustible quantity of food for reflection. The Church has set forth his character under the expressive symbol of an eagle, which flies with eager joy to the highest regions; on this account, the genial Raphaël has represented him as resting on the wings of an eagle, and gazing with keen eye into the heights of heaven. In this significant way the Church designed to convey an idea of the acute prophetic talent, the elevated thought and noble, imposing greatness of John.¹

As respects his religious character, in spite of the good natural tendencies that adorned it, he was not free from sin. Such tender-hearted, loving souls are invariably inclined to suspicion and envy, to refined self-love and vanity. A revengeful spirit seems to have given rise to the account recorded in Luke 9: 49, 50 and Mark 9: 38, 40, and a spirit of unlawful ambition to his petition to the Lord for the first honor in the kingdom of the Messiah (Mark 10: 35). Of special importance is the fact which Luke 9: 51, 56 narrates. The inhabitants of a town in Samaria having refused to receive Jesus, both the disciples John and James gave vent to their feelings in the angry words: "Lord, if thou wilt, we will call fire from heaven to devour them, as Elias did." Here is evidently displayed a hasty, carnal zeal, an impure spirit of revenge, which confounded the nature of the Old Testament with that of the New, and forgot that the Son of

¹ Jerome, *Comment. ad Matth. Proem.* remarks: *Quarta aquilæ (facies, comp. Ezek. 1: 10) Joannem (significat), quia summis pennis aquilæ et ad altiora festinans de verbo Dei disputat.*—An old Epigram says of John: *More volans aquilæ verbo petit astra Joanaes*, and a hymn from the Middle Ages sings of him:

Volat avis sine meta,
Quo nec vates nec prophetæ
Evolavit altius.
Tam impleanda, quam impleta,
Nunquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius.

Man came not to destroy but to save. This fact teaches at the same time that John had not, as is often represented, a weak, sentimental disposition which received impressions without analyzing or resisting them. His love was of a strong, deep order, and might, on this very account, pass over into as strong a hatred, for hatred is only love inverted. Most probably the surname : " Sons of Thunder," which Jesus gave to the sons of Zebedee Mark 3 : 17, had reference to this trait, and denotes the intensity of feeling, the passionate strength of the affections, which might easily give rise to such angry outbursts as occurred on the occasion mentioned. An impetuous disposition grapples to itself with great force the object of its love, and repels with as great force whatever stands in conflict with it. Whilst this temperament was not purified and sanctified by the divine Spirit, it might have operated in a violent, destructive way, like the destroying, dark rolling thunder. In giving John this surname, Jesus rebuked his imprudent zeal and his carnal passion, and gave him a significant hint of the necessity of curbing his nature and rooting out its ungodly elements. But if this temperament were once brought under the influence and guidance of the Spirit, it might, like every other natural gift, bring to pass great things in the kingdom of God. In this respect, the appellation " Sons of Thunder" carries in it something of honor, inasmuch as the same thunder which at one time destroys, at another purifies the air and fructifies the earth with its accompanying showers.¹ That which was good and true in his zeal, remained in the regenerate John, namely, the moral energy and decision with which he loved the good and hated the bad. The natural gift was cleansed from all sinful admixtures, mellowed and made to subserve the interests of Christianity. Over the pages of the Apocalypse rolls loudly and mightily the thunder of his wrath, against the enemies of the Lord and of his bride. In the Gospel and in the Epistles, it is true, there breathes a gentle, quiet spirit, but the storm frowns at least in the distance, when he describes the coming to judgment of the Son of God c. 5 : 25, 30. With what holy abhorrence he speaks of the traitor and of the increasing rage of the Pharisees against the Messiah ! He allows the Lord to call the Jews who harbored murderous thoughts

¹ Incorrect is the opinion of the Greek Church-fathers who refer the title Βαρύπτεις or τινὶ βαρύτις to the striking presentation of profound ideas, and to the convincing power of eloquence. In such case it would convey simply the idea of honor or merit and not at the same time of reproach, and would stand in no connection with the fact in Luke 9 : 51-56.

children of the devil (8: 44); he himself calls every one who does not confirm his christian profession with a godly walk a liar (1 John 1: 6, 8, 10), who hates his brother, a murderer, (3: 15), who commits sin wilfully, a child of the devil (3: 8). How earnestly and urgently he warns men of the denier of the Christ Incarnate, as of the liar and the Antichrist (1 John 2: 18; 4: 1, &c.)! In the second Epistle v. 10 and 11 he even forbids to salute a heretic, and to take him into the house. Bearing this in mind, the narration of *Irenaeus*¹ will appear in no wise improbable. This venerable Apostle, it is said, having met with the Gnostic Cerinthus in a public bath, left it with these words: he was afraid the building might fall to pieces, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth was in it. If we do not consider the character of John as composed to a great extent of weakness in the opinion, at least, of sentimental romance writers, we will be able without much difficulty to reconcile these apparently contradictory traits, his inward glow of love and the consuming wrath, his heavenly meekness and impetuous zeal. It was one and the same inward disposition which exhibited itself in both cases, but in different modes; at one time it drew within its embrace what accorded with the Divine will, at another it rejected what was opposed to it, just as the sun, which shines upon and warms that which has life, but advances the putrefaction of that which is dead. He who supposes christian love to be a good-natured indulgence to sin, has an entirely perverted notion of its nature, and only destroys the moral character of him whom he would save by such sentimental indifference. In proportion to the depth of the love with which a mother loves a child will be her vigilance to discover and punish its faults, that it may by repentance, improve in spirit, and become more attractive. The more intensely and unreservedly a man loves God, the more decidedly and unchangeably will he hate sin and Satan.

If we compare John with *Peter*, we will find that, though agreeing in faith and united by the bond of love, they exhibited in different ways the glorified image of God. Peter had a disposition which took delight in outward activity, in organizing congregations and legislating for their wants; John, on the contrary, loved to retire within the secret chambers of the soul, to converse with its heavenly aspirations and was admirably qualified for training up an organized congregation in the spirit of sound doctrine, and of love. In the *Acts*, we find both at the

¹ *Adv. haer* III, 3, comp. *Euseb.* III, 28, and IV, 14.

head of the infant Church; Peter, however, greatly surpassed John in the imposing grandeur of his deeds; he always stood forth as the convincing preacher, the powerful worker of miracles, the prince of the Apostles, who courageously cleared the way for the advance of the Christian system. The Apostle of love stood modestly by his side, wrapped in mysterious silence, and yet commanding in his very silence; for men felt that he bore in his quiet soul a whole world of ideas, which he would reveal at the proper time and on the proper occasion. Whilst Peter and Paul had the talent of planting, he, like Apollos, had that of watering. Christ did not commit to him the duty of laying the foundation of the Church, but of building it up when laid. As his Gospel both in time and nature presuppose the other three, so, also, his writings in general, in order to be fully understood, require the presence of a matured experience in Christian knowledge. In temperament Peter is of the sanguine order, with a strong admixture of the choleric; on this account, very susceptible of outward influences, quick of decision, easily excited, not always persevering and reliable, because moved by outward impressions, a man for the present, and of direct word and act. John is melancholic; on this account not so easily aroused to action, but when once excited, more deeply agitated, and disposed to cling with more intense affection to the object of his love; indifferent to the affairs of the outward world, he lingered with fond delight along the track of the Past, and has the honor of being a master in knowledge and love. Both disciples loved the Lord with all their might, but, as Grotius truly remarks, Peter was a friend of *Christ* (*φιλόχριστος*), John, a friend of *Jesus* (*φιλοιησοῦς*), i. e. the former admired particularly the office of the Saviour, his Messianic dignity, the latter gazed first upon His person, and, on this account, stood in closer connection with him, and was, so to speak, his bosom friend. Besides, the love of the one was more productive and manly, that of the other more receptive and virgin-like. Peter found his happiness in exhibiting in act his love to the Lord; John in permitting himself to be loved by Him, and in the consciousness of being loved by Him, on which account he so often calls himself the disciple whom Jesus loved. A similar relation obtains in the female characters of the New Testament, between the practical, busy, ever-active *Martha*, and the contemplative *Mary*, who calmly reposed on the love of Jesus and forgot the bustle and noise of the outward world. Yet upon both rested the good pleasure of the Lord; both were necessary for the kingdom of God; the absence of either of them would mar the beauty of the Christian life, as displayed in the New Testament.

John had, in common with *Paul*, profundity of knowledge. They are the two Apostles who have left behind them the fullest and most complete doctrinal system. But their knowledge is of a different order. Paul who received his training in the schools of the Pharisees, is a thinker of extraordinary acuteness, and an accomplished dialectician;—a representative of *Scholasticism*, in the best sense of the term, who exhibits the christian system by a progressive development of ideas from cause to effect, from the general to the particular, from propositions to their conclusions, with logical clearness and acumen. The knowledge of John is intuition and contemplation. He gazes in spirit upon the object of his love, he surveys everything as in a picture, and thus presents the profoundest truths, as an eye-witness, without any proof, in their original, native simplicity and freshness. His knowledge of heavenly things is the profound insight of love, which always darts its look to the central point of things, and from this forth surveys in one view all the parts of the periphery. He is the representative of all genuine *Mysticism*. Both together furnish supplies for the wants of the spirit that thirsts for wisdom, for the acute, discriminating understanding, as well as for the speculating reason which binds in unity the scattered fragments of thought, for the mediated reflection as well as for the immediate intuition. Paul and John have revealed in their two fundamental forms the eternal characteristics of all true Theology and Philosophy; eighteen hundred years have passed, but the contents of their writings have not yet been exhausted. —Peter has been aptly styled the Apostle of *Hope*, Paul the Apostle of *Faith*, John the Apostle of *Love*. The first is the representative of Catholicism, the second of Protestantism, the third of the ideal Church, in which the discordances of the first two will be brought to an end.

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P. S.

TRENCH'S LECTURES.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1845 and 1846. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A. From the Second London Edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. Pp. 322—12 mo.

The Star of the Wise Men; being a Commentary on the Second Chapter of St. Matthew. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B. D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. Pp. 116.

These works have come into our hands, since the preparation of the article which goes before on another work of the same author. We are happy to say, that they serve to sustain abundantly the favorable judgment we have already been led to express in his behalf. They are works which we are able to commend with a good conscience, to all who take an interest in theology and religion. We should be glad to know, that they were widely circulated and read; and especially should we look upon it as no small gain for the cause of our common Christianity, if the ministry generally, not of one denomination only but of all, might be brought to give them their serious and patient attention. Here in a comparatively popular form, with a truly learned culture at the same time, is just such a representation of the gospel as we take to be of most needful account for the present wants of the Church. A sound christological feeling in particular runs through the whole; producing a theology which is at once deep and fresh, and that takes full hold of the understanding, while it powerfully moves the heart. We are not fed with the husks of a dead mechanical tradition merely, whether of the schools or of the conventicle; the forms and shams of a faith which has fallen away entirely from its own original life, and which in these circumstances shows itself too often fanatically full of zeal for the shadow of what is thus gone, only to make up to itself the sense of such loss. Theology, as it meets us in these writings of Mr. Trench, is no tradition, but the power of a present life, the outbirth of religion itself, announcing its own glorious authority for the soul of the world, from Him who is at once its author and perpetual ground. In such form, it is necessarily churchly; for a living Christianity, as distinguished from a doctrinal theory or a philosophical school, necessarily implies the idea of a Church, which is the Body of Christ, the organ and medium of his presence in the world, and in this view "the pillar and ground of the truth" as well as the channel of all spiritual blessings to his people. All this howev-

er in constant union still with Christ, as the head and fountain from which only such spiritual grace can flow in this living way. The idea of the Church as an outward hedge and guard of the truth simply, in the sense which some affect, we hold of course for sheer pedantry; and it finds no countenance whatever in the author, whom we have now under consideration. The authority and glory of the Church with him flow always from the presence of Christ, are made necessary by this only, and have no meaning or force the moment it is withdrawn. The idea of the Church grows forth from the idea of Christ; the first is in no sense accidental to the second, but springs from it as its necessary living product; so that the faith which says, *I believe that the Word became Flesh*, if it be true and not traditional only, involves always this also as its own unavoidable sense at the last, *I believe the holy catholic Church*. The Church proves or authenticates Christ; but it is only as Christ authenticates and makes necessary in the first place the Church; and this is just as the sun authenticates the light of the world, by which at the same time its own presence is proclaimed and revealed. All Christianity begins in Christ, and can never for a moment be parted from his person. Theology then, to be in the right sense churchly, must be also soundly christological. It can never become so, by ceasing to be churchly; although of course the mere cry of *The Church! The Church!* is by no means enough of itself to give it any such character. A sound christology, on the contrary, can never fail to work itself out in the way of a sound church feeling, as its proper and necessary result. A doctrine of Christ which brings with it no doctrine of the Church, as an article of faith in the order of the ancient Creed, must for this very reason be counted incomplete and unsafe.

The Hulsean Lectures consist of two different courses, making in fact two different works. The first is on the "Fitness of Holy Scripture for unfolding the Spiritual Life of Men;" the second is entitled, "Christ the Desire of All Nations, or, the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom." Each course is a contribution to the general argument for the truth of Christianity, over against the infidelity of its enemies. The sphere of proof, in both cases, is the interior life of Christianity itself, as related to the general life of the world; this first as we have it in the whole constitution of the Bible; and then more particularly as it comes before us in the person and work of Christ. It is not meant of course, in this way of treating the Christian Evidence, to exclude or undervalue the force of other proofs which are more outward in their nature; but it falls in well with the char-

acter of Mr. Trench's mind, and as it seems to us with the right-
ful claims also of the subject itself, to urge this inward argument
as that which is of main account in the case, and which must
always come in as the primary and central proof to give the
other its full force.

The little volume, entitled the *Star of the Wise Men*, is written in the same vein, and in some respects, we may say, with the same general tendency and object. It is an interesting commentary, full of learned reference and illustration and yet sufficiently popular and easy of comprehension, on the visit of the Magians to the cradle of the infant Redeemer; a passage which has always filled largely the imagination of the Church, as being pregnant with a world of sense too deep for the common natural eye; while for the very same reason perhaps, it has proved an occasion of more than common difficulty and offence for rationalistic criticism in all ages.

We think it well to set forth here some of the leading *ideas* of Professor Trench, as they stand connected with the question of the Church and the question of Christ's person, (two questions which fall at last into one,) and thus challenge consideration as a part of the living and waking theology of this present time. These come more or less into view in all his writings which we have yet seen; but stand out with special prominence in the works now before us. We shall not feel it necessary to keep to the order of the works themselves, which is ruled of course in each case by the special end in view; nor yet to follow very strictly any order that may be involved in the ideas considered as a whole; although it must be evident enough that they belong to one system, and are in truth bound together by an inward principle of unity and common life throughout. Our object will be sufficiently answered by their simple presentation, in such connection as we may find most readily at hand for the purpose; and this will be best secured, by allowing the author to speak to a considerable extent in his own person.

1. No purely outward evidence, no proof which is beyond the actual substance of the thing itself, can ever be taken as sufficient in such separate view, to establish the truth of Christianity.

This would imply, that Christianity is not the deepest and most comprehensive form of truth for the human mind; that there is truth beyond it more certain, or at least more immediately evident, which is of itself complete without relation to Christianity; and that from this as a previously fixed ground of faith, it is possible and necessary to conclude over to the presence of the other, as a new and different order altogether of

what is to be received for reality and fact. But every such opposition wrongs the proper idea of the glorious gospel, by which life and immortality are brought to light. The *whole* life of man, so far as it is true, must come here to its central, most profound and most universal significance. There is no room then to conceive of this, as something which is upheld for man's apprehension and belief by some other form of existence wholly out of its own sphere. Make the proof of Christianity to be completely on the outside of Christianity itself, and it is necessarily subordinated to this as its necessary condition and measure; for the inference or conclusion can never be more than the premises from which it is drawn. The result thus may easily be seen to be rationalism; by which the truth of Christ is made to be the property and product of man's reason, instead of becoming as it ought to be its inmost soul and life. Thus it is, as we have previously had it under consideration, that miracles of themselves, and as mere signals and notes of preparation from the other world, have no force to show a revelation sure, or to shut men up to the belief of it, without regard to the matter itself which is revealed. The same is true of prophecies, viewed as the superhuman knowledge simply of things future. So of all external proofs for the truth of Christianity. Taken by themselves, they can never form a valid, full and final reason for faith. This must have respect always to the truth itself as a divine word, which as such is to be received on the authority of God, going along with it and making itself felt by its means.

2. It lies at the same time in the nature of Christianity, that its interior life and power should be attested by corresponding external manifestations; which in such connection become of true force, to exemplify and establish its character as a divine revelation.

3. The inward and outward then must go together in the argument for Christianity; not as separate forms of proof; but as different necessary sides of the same general evidence; only with this order always observed however, that the inward shall be counted first, and the outward second, and the last be felt to depend continually upon the first. The outward, in such case, is not of a different nature from the inward, cut off from it and standing out from it in an abstract way; but it grows forth from it rather, and is concrete with it as the power of one and the same life; just as the body stands related to the soul, which it serves at once to reveal and complete in the living world. Christianity could not be without its external seals, in the form particularly of miracle and prophecy; while yet all the force they

have as proof in its favor springs from its own constitution. They have such force, only as they are seen and felt to be the natural, necessary outbirth of the new order of life with which they are thus joined.

4. And as its own proper wonders are in this way part of itself, so also it is found to fall in harmoniously with the order and constitution of the world, universally taken, as it holds before it and beyond it in a lower sphere.

How else could it be from God? The world is his work; which is not to be set aside certainly by Christianity as a failure, but if this be true must be carried out by it rather to its last and only perfect end. Nature looks throughout to Mind; fore-shadows it; prepares the way for its presence; sheds light from all sides on its laws and workings. And so again the world of mind itself, the existence of man naturally considered, looks upwards and forwards always to religion in its highest form—faith, union with God, redemption and salvation in the full sense—as its own natural and right consummation; its true original purpose and destiny, short of which it can never stop without being forever maimed and mutilated in its whole being. In such view of course, the relation of Christianity to the world can never be regarded as being in any way either abrupt or violent. It was one grand error of the ancient Gnostics, to look upon it in this false light. All sound catholic feeling however protests against the view, as one that involves high treason to the Christian religion. The world in its natural constitution has no power to produce Christianity, or to rise of itself into its sphere; this stands related to it in such view as something strictly and absolutely *supernatural*; but it is none the less certain for all this, that the first carries in it a need for the second, and so a preparation for it, and a prophecy of its coming. And thus it is that the supernatural is never *unnatural*; does not contradict the order of nature; does not play into it fantastically only in the way of magic; but so fits itself into organic harmonious union with it that both are plainly seen to be from the same source, and of the same common scheme and plan.

5. The whole constitution of Nature in this way becomes a mirror, which serves to reflect, and so to illustrate and confirm the realities of the higher spiritual world, which comes to its full revelation in Christ.

Not as something independent of his actual revelation; but in virtue of this, and mainly by its means; as the splendors of the risen sun are reflected from earth and sky, in the full blaze only of its own central light. Nature, though multitudinous

and manifold, is still one ; a single whole through all its parts ; a sphere, whose innumerable dispositions look and lean always to a common centre ; a pyramid, that climbs at every point towards the same summit. For modern science, this may be taken as a settled maxim, which it is becoming more desperate every day to fight against or call in question. But having this constitution, it becomes at once no less certain that the world as a whole is framed with reference to the life of spirit, and to this under its highest form which is reached only at last through Christ, as that without which all the inferior stages of creation must be shorn of their significance and sense. Nature thus is necessarily a universal prophecy of Christianity ; the symbol everywhere of its invisible and eternal realities ; a magnificent image and sacrament, we may say, of the high spiritual grace that is made to open on the soul of man by its means.

"The parable, or other analogy to spiritual truth appropriated from the world of nature or man, is not merely illustration, but also in some sort proof. It is not merely that these analogies assist to make the truth intelligible, or, if intelligible before, present it more vividly to the mind, which is all that some will allow them. Their power lies deeper than this, in the harmony unconsciously felt by all men, and by deeper minds continually recognized and plainly perceived, between the natural and spiritual world, so that analogies from the first are felt to be something more than illustrations, happily but arbitrarily chosen. They are arguments, and may be alleged as witnesses ; the world of nature being throughout a witness for the world of spirit, proceeding from the same hand, growing out of the same root, and being constituted for that very end. All lovers of truth readily acknowledge these mysterious harmonies, and the force of arguments derived from them. To them the things on earth are copies of the things in heaven. They know that the earthly tabernacle is made after the pattern of things seen in the mount (Exod. xxv. 40, 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12); and the question suggested by the Angel in Milton is often forced upon their meditations :

‘What if earth
Be but the shadow of heaven and things therein,
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?’

"For it is a great misunderstanding of the matter, to think of these as happily, but yet arbitrarily, chosen illustrations taken with a skilful selection from the great stock and storehouse of unappropriated images ; from whence it would have been possible that the same skill might have selected others as good, or nearly as good. Rather they belong to one another, the type and the thing typified,

by an inward necessity; they were linked together long before by the law of a secret affinity. It is not a happy accident, which has yielded so wondrous an analogy as that of husband and wife, to set forth the mystery of Christ's relation to his elect Church. There is far more in it than this: the earthly relation is indeed but a lower form of the heavenly, on which it rests, and of which it is the utterance. When Christ spoke to Nicodemus of a new birth, it was not merely because birth into this natural world was the most suitable figure that could be found for the expression of that spiritual act, which, without any power of our own, is accomplished upon us when we are brought into God's kingdom; but all the circumstances of this natural birth had been pre-ordained to bear the burden of so great a mystery. The Lord is king, not borrowing this title from the kings of the earth, but having lent his own title to them—and not the name only, but so ordering, that all true rule and government upon earth, with its righteous laws, its stable ordinances, its punishment and its grace, its majesty and its terror, should tell of Him and of his kingdom which ruleth over all—so that 'kingdom of God' is not in fact a figurative expression, but most literal: it is rather the earthly kingdoms, and the earthly kings, that are figures and shadows of the true. And as in the world of man and human relations, so also is it in the world of nature. The untended soil which yields thorns and briars as its natural harvest, is a permanent type and enduring parable of man's heart, which has been submitted to the same curse, and without a watchful spiritual husbandry will as surely put forth its briars and its thorns. The weeds that *will* mingle during the time of growth with the corn, and yet are separated from it at the last, tell ever one and the same tale of the present admixture, and future sundering, of the righteous and the wicked. The decaying of the insignificant unsightly seed in the earth, and the rising up out of that decay and death, of the graceful stalk and the fruitful ear, contain evermore the prophecy of the final resurrection, even as this is itself in its kind a resurrection—the same process at a lower stage—the same power putting itself forth upon meaner things."—*Notes on the Parables*, p. 17-19.

6. In the same general way, only with more direct and immediate relation, History also bears universal testimony to Christ and Christianity as the proper completion of the world.

History is not a mere multitude and succession of facts. It implies organization and process; and in this view belongs especially to man, in distinction from mere nature—which repeats itself, age after age, without going forward in the way of new fact. It becomes properly real, only when we conceive of Man or Humanity as being a single whole, which is animated by one

general life, and in virtue of this moves steadily onward, from period to period, towards some ultimate end in which all is to be brought to a conclusion worthy of itself and of God. But to see and admit this, is necessarily to own at the same time that all this movement has regard from the first to Christianity, and turns upon it at last as the true deepest and most central sense of the world. For how can God be taken to have one object or plan in History generally considered, and another in the revelation of the Gospel? Such an imagination is at once atheistic and profane.

"Properly speaking, where there are no workings, conscious or unconscious, to the great end of the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh,—conscious, as in Israel, unconscious, as in Greece, —where neither those nor these are found, there history does not and cannot exist. For history, if it be not the merest toy, the idlest pastime of our vacant hours, is the record of the onward march of humanity towards an end. Where there is no belief in such an end, and therefore no advance toward it, no stirrings of a divine Word in a people's bosom, where not as yet the beast's heart has been taken away, and a man's heart given, there history cannot be said to be. They belong not therefore to history, least of all to sacred history, those Babels, those cities of confusion, those huge pens into which by force and fraud the early hunters of men, the Nimrods and Sesostrires, drove and compelled their fellows: and Scripture is only most true to its idea, while it passes them almost or wholly in silence by, while it lingers rather on the plains of Mamre with the man that 'believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness,' than by 'populous No,' or great Babylon, where no faith existed but in the blind powers of nature, and the brute forces of the natural man."—*Hulsean Lectures*, p. 40–41.

7. Thus related to Nature and History, as the true completion of man's life in the world, Christianity itself is no doctrine merely or law, but a living constitution; not only capable of falling in with the onward progress of humanity as otherwise known; but destined also to receive the entire stream finally into its own bosom, and to bear it triumphantly forward to that ocean of glory for which all has been set in motion from the beginning. In its full revelation, it comes not first in the order of time; but still it is first in the actual idea of the world, as forming the ground on which only in the end all other spheres of man's life can be brought to their true unity and perfection. It is not one among other such spheres, but a power that is required to embrace and rule all; art, science, politics, social life,

every form of existence that enters normally into the conception of humanity, not only may but must be taken up by it as its rightful property, and can become complete only by entering into it as the spiritual whole of which every such interest is legitimately but parcel and part. Art must become thoroughly christian, in order to be fully worthy of its own name; so science; so business; so civil government. And Christianity can never acknowledge any such interest, as having a right to stand beyond itself. Whatever is human it claims for its own, as being in truth commensurate with humanity, nay the very fact of humanity itself, under its deepest and most comprehensive form.

8. Revealed Religion in this view is a single fact or constitution, reaching historically through successive ages from the first promise in Paradise to the time of its full completion in Christ. Hence the proper unity of the Bible, including the Old Testament as well as the New. It is characterized by endless diversities in the form of its composition; but the idea which pervades it is always the same; it is throughout one harmonious whole, moving onward continually with the force of a living process to its own proper end in the mystery of the Incarnation.

"It is not the history of nature, but of man; nor yet of all men, but only of those who are more or less conscious of their divine original, and have not, amid all their sins, forgotten that great word, 'We are God's offspring';—nor yet even of all these, but of those alone who had been brought by the word of the promise into immediate covenant relations with the Father of their spirits. We have seen it the history of an election,—of, men under the direct and immediate education of God—not indeed for their own sakes only, as too many among them thought, turning their election into a selfish thing, but that through them he might educate and bless the world. That it does not tell the story of other men—that it does not give a philosophy of nature, is not a deficiency, but is rather its strength and glory; witnessing for the Spirit which has presided over its growth and formation, and never suffered aught which was alien to its great plan and purpose to find admission into it—any foreign elements to weaken its strength or trouble its clearness.

Nor less does Holy Scripture give testimony for a pervading unity, an inner law according to which it unfolds itself as a perfect and organic whole, in the epoch at which growth in it ceases, and it appears henceforth as a finished book. So long as humanity was growing, it grew. But when the manhood of our race was reached, when man had attained his highest point, even union with God in his Son, then it comes to a close. It carries him up to this, to

his glorious goal, to the perfect knitting again of those broken relations, through the life and death and resurrection of Him in whom God and man were perfectly atoned. So long as there was any thing more to tell, any new revelation of the Name of God, any new relations of grace and nearness into which he was bringing his creatures,—so long the Bible was a growing, expanding book. But when all is given, when God, who at divers times spake to the world by his servants, had now spoken his last and fullest Word by his Son, then to this Book, the record of that Word of his, there is added no more, even while there is nothing more to add;—though it cannot end till it has shown in prophetic vision how this latest and highest which now has been given to man, shall unfold itself into the glory and blessedness of a perfected kingdom of heaven.”—*Hulsean Lectures*, p. 43–45.

9. The Old Testament bears witness to Christ throughout; not so much by isolated texts, as in its universal life; which is in truth the power of that higher order itself out of which in due time Christ was to spring, and so could not fail to bring into view innumerable analogies and prefigurations on a lower scale of what should at last come to pass in Him on the highest.

The O. T. prophecies and types are not abstract and arbitrary; naked vaticinations, standing out here and there, in an abrupt magical way; but they grow forth always from the living constitution of that revelation as a whole, and have such sense as belongs to them only in virtue of this organic connection with the universal system of which they are a part. They reach to Christ only as the entire system had regard to him as its necessary end, and in such particular utterances gave vent, so to speak, to its general meaning.

“ We dishonour prophecy, when the chief value which it has in our eyes is the use to which it may be turned as evidence; when we regard it as serving no nobler ends, as having no deeper root in the economy of God than in this are presumed; when it is for us merely a *miraculum scientie*, which, with the miracles properly so called, the *miracula protentiae*, may do duty in proving against cavillers the divine origin of our Faith; when all that we can find is that the doers of the works and the utterers of the words did and said what was beyond the reach and scope of common men. But the fact that prophecy should constitute so large an element in Scripture finds its explanation rather in that law which we have been tracing throughout *all* Scripture—the law, I mean, of an orderly development, according to which there is nothing sudden, nothing abrupt or unprepared in his counsels, all whose works were known to him from the beginning. It is part of this law that there

should ever be prefigurations of the coming, that truths so vast and so mighty as those of the New Covenant, so difficult for man's heart to conceive, should have their way prepared, should, ere they arrive in their highest shape, give pledge and promise of themselves in lower forms and in weaker rudiments."—*Hulsean Lect.*, p. 83.

"The rending away of isolated passages, and then saying, This Psalm, or That chapter of Isaiah, is prophetic, and has to do with Christ and his kingdom,—and this without explaining how it comes that these have to do, and those nearest them have not, can never truly satisfy; men's minds resist this fragmentary capricious exposition. The portions of Scripture thus adduced very likely are those in which prophecy concentrates itself more than in any other: they may be the strongest expressions of that Spirit which quickens the whole mass; but it has not forsaken the other portions to gather itself up exclusively in these."—P. 85.

"All the Old Testament, as the record of a divine constitution pointing to something higher than itself, administered by men who were ever looking beyond themselves to a Greater that should come, who were uttering, as the Spirit stirred them, the deepest longings of their souls after his appearing, is prophetic; and this, not by an arbitrary appointment, which meant thus to supply evidences ready to hand for the truth of Revelation, in the curious tallying of the Old with the New, the remarkable fulfilments of the foretold, but prophetic according to the inmost necessities of the case, which would not suffer it to be otherwise.

"For how could God, bringing to pass what was good and true, do other than make it resemble what was best and truest, which he should one day bring to pass? Raising up holy men, how could he avoid giving them features of likeness to the Holiest of all? appointing them functions and offices in which to bless their brethren, how could these otherwise than anticipate his functions and his office, who should come in the fulness of blessing to his people? Inspiring them to speak, stirring by the breath of his Spirit the deepest chords of their hearts, how could He bring forth from them any other notes but those which made the deepest music of their lives; their longings, namely, after the promised Redeemer, their yearnings after the kingdom of his righteousness,—mere longings and yearnings no longer now, since the Spirit that inspired such utterances, being the very Spirit of Truth, gave pledge, in sanctioning and working the desire, that the fulfilment of that desire in due time should not be wanting? If the poet had right when he spake of

"the prophetic soul
Of the great world, dreaming of things to come;"

by how much higher reason must a prophetic soul have dwelt in Israel, by which it not vaguely dreamed, but in some sort felt itself

already in possession, of the great things to come, whereof it knew that the seeds and germs were laid so deeply in its own bosom? We may say of Judaism, that it bore in its womb the Messiah, as the man-child whom it should one day give birth to, and only in the forming and bearing of whom it found its true meaning. This was its function, and according to the counsel of God it should have been saved through this child-bearing; though by its own sin it did itself expire in giving birth to Him who was intended to have been not its death but its life."—*P.* 86–87.

10. All religion culminates in Christianity, as the absolute truth which is in various ways relatively and partially signified in its lower manifestations.

Religion, universally taken, is not a matter of mere outward contrivance and authority joined to man's life, but roots itself in the constitution of human nature itself, as a necessary part of it, without which it must cease to be human altogether. With such common ground and necessity, all religions must have to some extent a common character, must look towards the same ultimate point, must work themselves out into more or less similar and analogous results. The relation of the absolutely true religion then to religions that are false, the various forms for instance of heathenism, is not one of abrupt and total difference; as though all were a lie outright on the outside of this perfect truth, and it could stand in no sort of correspondence whatever with anything beyond itself pretending to be religion. But it is this rather, that the inmost power which is at work in these false religions, the want or need of man's nature from which they spring and in virtue of which only he is capable of religion, whether true or false, finds at last its *full* satisfaction in Christianity, the end towards which it has been everywhere else struggling and striving, and comes in this way to such a solution of its own sense, (the true burden of the riddle of humanity,) as could never be reached in any other way. Thus it is, that even Heathenism becomes on a large scale an unconscious prophecy of Christianity, the proclamation on the four winds of heaven of its glorious advent, and a grand standing argument and testimony to its truth through all ages.

11. The analogies and resemblances then that appear in false religions to the doctrines and facts of that which is true, form no ground for skeptical hesitation in regard to the last, (as some affect to think,) but go powerfully rather to corroborate its claims to confidence and trust. We need not stumble at their presence; but would have reason far more to wonder and be in doubt, if they were altogether wanting.

“These resemblances disturb us not at all,—they are rather most welcome; for we do not believe the peculiar glory of what in Christ we possess to consist in this, that it is unlike every thing else, ‘the cold denial and contradiction of all that men have been dreaming of through the different ages of the world, but rather the sweet reconciliation and exquisite harmony of all past thoughts, anticipations, revelations.’ Its prerogative is, that all whereof men had a troubled dream before, did in Him become a waking reality; that what men were devising, and most inadequately, for themselves, God has perfectly given us in his Son; that in the room of shifting cloud-palaces, with their mockery of temple and tower, stands for us a city, which hath come down from heaven, but whose foundations rest upon this earth of ours;—that we have divine *facts*—facts no doubt which are ideal, in that they are the vehicle of everlasting truths; history indeed which is far more than history, for it embodies the largest and most continually recurring thoughts which have stirred the bosom of humanity from the beginning. We say that the divine ideas which had wandered up and down the world, till oftentimes they had well nigh forgotten themselves and their own origin, did at length clothe themselves in flesh and blood; they became incarnate with the Incarnation of the Son of God. In his life and person the idea and the fact at length kissed each other, and were henceforward wedded for evermore.”

“The Church—we behold it as sitting upon many waters, upon the great ocean of truth, from whence every stream that has at all or at any time refreshed the earth was originally drawn, and to which it dutifully brings its waters again. We may contemplate that Church as having, in that it has the Word and Spirit of its Lord, the measure of all partial truth in itself; receiving the homage of all human systems, meekly, and yet, like a queen, as her right; understanding them far better than they ever understood themselves; disallowing their false, and what of true they have, setting her seal upon that true, and issuing it with a brighter image, and a sharper outline, and a more paramount authority, from her own mint.”—P. 179–180.

12. This sort of analogical testimony must fall in especially at last on the person of Christ himself, as the centre of the Christian revelation, and the full answer to the inmost and deepest want of the world.

The second series of these Hulsean Lectures is particularly taken up with the object of showing Christ to have been thus the “Desire of all Nations,” as fulfilling in a real way the dreams and expectations that have entered most widely into the mind of the race under the character of religion. The hope of the Messiah is no foreign thought forced on men from without; it

has its reason and seat in their own nature; it belongs to the natural history of their life itself, in its general or universal form. "As the earth in its long polar night seeks to supply the absence of the day by the generation of the northern lights, so does each people in the long night of its heathen darkness bring forth in its yearning after the life of Christ, a faint and glimmering substitute for the same. From these dreamy longings after the break of day have proceeded oracles, priests, sacrifices, lawgivers, and the like."

"Coming as did the Son of God in the end of time, it lay in the necessity of things that these signs and symbols, with indeed much that lay yet nearer to the heart of the truth, should have been in a measure pre-occupied by others, that what was truly given in Him—the glory which, in all its fulness, arrayed his person, and centred in it—should have been in some small measure actually lent, or should have been imagined to have been lent, to others that went before Him. Thus to take but a single, yet an illustrious example. The heathen religions boasted of their virgin-born, as of Buddha and Zoroaster, as of Pythagoras and Plato. It much concerns us to determine in what relation and connexion we will put their legend and our history; whether we will use the truth to show that the falsehood was not all falsehood, and for the detecting the golden grains of a true anticipation which lay concealed amid all its dross; or whether we will suffer the falsehoods to cast a slight and suspicion upon the truth, as though that was but the crowning falsehood of them all. In the present position of the controversy with infidelity we cannot let these parallels alone if we would,—even if we were willing to forego the precious witness for the glory and truth of the Christian Faith which they contain. We cannot ignore them; if they are not for us, they will be used against us. But they are for us; since we may justly ask,—and it is no playing with imperfect analogies, for the question may be transferred from the natural to the spiritual world,—Are the parhelia, however numerous, to be accepted as evidence that all is optical illusion, that there is no such true body of light as the sun after all; or rather, does not the very fact of their delusively painting the horizon, tell of and announce a sun, which is surely travelling up from behind?"—*Star of the Wise Men*, p. 27–28.

13. It lies in the true conception of Christ, as the living centre of the world's living history, that his salvation should hold primarily in the form of life, and root itself thus in the very mystery of the incarnation itself, rather than in any word or work merely brought to pass by its means.

All sound christology runs back irresistibly to this conclusion.

Religions which are at best only relatively true—which do but point to the truth under another form—fall short of course necessarily of the substance they thus represent. But if there be any religion which is absolutely the truth itself, and not its mere dream or shadow, it must for this very reason differ from all such relative religions, not by going before them simply in their own character of adumbration, but by *being* in full all that they indirectly signify and proclaim. So in Christianity, the law is turned into “grace and truth;” the letter into spirit; the doctrine into life; and the beginning of all is the Word made flesh, the actual entrance of the divine life into the sphere of our general humanity by the mystery of the incarnation. “The *Life* became the Light of men.” Doctrine followed of course; and work also; especially the great work of atonement, involving Christ’s death and resurrection. But these grow forth from the constitution of his person itself, and stand in it continually as their living ground, and when sundered from it lose all their meaning and force.

“It has not merely been *heroic* men, men who triumphed over all, even death itself, but *divine* men, for whom the world has been craving; in whom it has felt deeply that its help must lie—a most true voice of man’s spirit ever telling him that only from heaven the true deliverance of the earth could proceed. We shall see how men have been ever cherishing the conviction of a real fellowship between earth and heaven, and *that* not merely an outward one, but an inward; a conviction that the two worlds truly *met*, not by external contact only, but in the deeps of personal life, in persons that most really belonged and held on to both worlds. We shall see how the world, with all its discords, has had also its preludes to the great harmonies of redemption; has had its incarnations—sons of God, that have come down to live a human life, to undertake human toils, to die a human death: its ascensions—sons of men, that have been lifted up to heaven, and made partakers of divine attributes: we shall see how men have never conceived of this world around us as totally dissevered from that world above us, with an impassable gulf between them, but always as in living intercommunion the one with the other.”—*Hul. Lect.*, p. 202–203.

“It is possible that we may learn a lesson which we need, or at least remind ourselves of truths which we are in danger of suffering to fall too far back in our minds, by the contemplation of those, who, amid all their errors and darkness and confusion and evil, had yet a sense so deeply imprinted, a faith so lively, that man was *from* God, as well as *to* God; capable of the divine, only because himself of a divine race. Oftentimes it would seem as if our theology of the present day had almost lost sight of this, or at least

held it with only too feeble a grasp ; beginning, as it so often does, from the fall, from the corruption of human nature, instead of beginning a step higher up—beginning with man a liar, when it ought to have begun with man the true image and the glory of God.

" And then, as a consequence, the dignity of Christ's Incarnation, of his taking of humanity, is only imperfectly apprehended. That is considered in the main as a make-shift for bringing God in contact with man ; and not to have been grounded on the perfect fitness of man, as the image of God, of man's organs, his affections, his life, to be the utterers and exponents of all the life, yea, of all the heart of God. It is oftentimes considered the chief purpose of Christ's Incarnation, that it made his death possible, that it provided him a body in which to do that which merely as God he could not do, namely to suffer and to die ; while some of the profoundest teachers of the past, so far from contemplating the Incarnation in this light, have rather affirmed that the Son of God would equally have taken man's nature, though of course under very different conditions, even if he had not fallen—that it lay in the everlasting purposes of God, quite irrespective of the fall, that the stem and stalk of humanity should at length bear its perfect flower in Him, who should thus at once be its root and its crown. But the Incarnation being thus slighted, it follows of necessity, that man as man is thought meanly of, though indeed it is only man as fallen man, as separated by a wilful act of his own from God, to whom this shame and dishonour belong. In his first perfection, in the truth of his nature, he is the glory of God, the image of his Son, as the Son is the image of the Father, declaring the Son as the Son declared the Father :—surely a thought, brethren, which if we duly lay to heart, will make us strive that our lives may be holy, that our lives may be noble, worthy of Him who made us after his image, and when we had marred that and defaced it, renewed us after the same in his Son."—P. 217-219.

We might pursue our method farther. But we have gone as far as our limits allow, and far enough for our present purpose ; which has been to illustrate and exemplify the spirit of the author before us, with a direct contribution at the same time, under the shadow of his popular and excellent name, to the cause of what we conceive to be the true living theology that is needed for the wants of this age. If God permit, we hope to take up the whole subject again in connection with *Liebner's Christology*, an important German work, the first part of which has lately come into our hands.

J. W. N.

THE IMMIGRATION.

Among the special phenomena of our time, the *Emigration* which is going forward on so large a scale *from the old world into the new*, is one that well deserves a thorough consideration, from the American point of view, and with regard particularly to its German relations. One is involuntarily reminded by it of those migrations of whole tribes, which preceded the Etrurian and Grecian states, of the *Volkerwanderung* that helped to bring in the Middle Ages, of the crusades and their associated schemes of colonization, which broke the way for the Reformation and introduced into Europe a new view of the world. True, the emigration of our time may easily be distinguished from these kindred manifestations. It is not the act of any one people as such ; it is not the result of religious fanaticism ; it carries in it no warlike tendency ; it is for the most part the fruit of what may be styled best *family need* ; only in *Ireland* perhaps might we refer it more suitably to a real *national* need. It springs prevailingly, either from the inviting picture of future prosperity which the fancy of the would-be emigrant sets in contrast with the harsh realities of his previous condition, or from vexation and disappointment, in not being able with the best will and at least the imagination also of the best judgment, to get forward rightly in previously existing relations. In the case of the *German* indeed, (with which we are here more particularly concerned,) there comes in besides, in vast many instances, his peculiar tendency out into the wide world, a sort of "Heimwch nach dem All"—that same *cosmopolite* feeling, which is the occasion at once of the genial all sided humanism, as well as of the political weakness, of the German fatherland. There is America open before him, a new world ; and with the opportunity of making it the home of his family, follows without difficulty its full adoption as his proper country. At the same time, the greatest factor of this whole vast movement from East to West would be omitted, if we failed to mention the will of *Providence*, which now again also, by such commotion among the nations, seems only to be opening the way for a new grand period in universal history.

While however we doubt not for a moment, that the Divine Providence is pursuing here, as elsewhere, its own sure course, and will at last reach its own sure end by the co-operation of causes out of our sight, we hold still that we are not in the least authorised for this reason to let the interest now in view take its

own course, without direct care or concern about it, without close attention to the way in which it is going forward at this present time, and the consequences to which it may immediately lead. Would to God, the citizens of the old world and of the new might see this to be part of the plan of Providence, that they should show themselves here also co-workers with God, and actively seek to advance what is good and avert what may do harm.

Many may be ready to say indeed: What good is there that can be done? Who can exercise an influence on these immense crowds, now pouring themselves on the shores of the new world? We grant it is no small task. But this precisely forms the strongest requisition on every man to do his part, and such vigorous concert of effort could not fail to have a good effect. And it is not to be concealed, that every single man must himself undergo a distinct influence from so mighty an influx of foreign life into the United States; so that every inhabitant of the country is more or less concerned in it, whether he choose to lay the fact to heart or not. The complaint is often repeated, *that the immigration is bringing the most important institutions of the land into danger.* This may proceed often, we know, from the most impure motives, from a narrow minded selfishness mistaking even its own interest, from extreme political short-sightedness, or from a generally contracted and malignant nature; but still it carries with it a side also of deeply earnest and solemn significance, which is entitled to serious attention. All goes to settle the reception which the foreigners must meet, on the part of the community whose citizenship they come to share. On the whole, both the General Government and the separate States treat the immigration with every sort of encouragement; and from this it is reasonable to conclude, that those who represent the highest intelligence of the country, not only apprehend no injury to the nation from the enormous accessions it is gaining to its population, but expect from it rather the most real advantage. Every one knows too, that this is wholly in the spirit of the American Constitution; and we believe that nothing has served so much as just this cosmopolitanism to make it a document of world-historical importance. It stands there as the political *Magna Charta*, not of one people only, but of the nations. The confidence which we as citizens of this country repose in its fundamental principles is so great, that we fear no influence from without as likely to undermine them. The American of the common stamp is happily persuaded besides, that every foreigner comes to him only to acquire from him and to learn.

That Church and State are united in Europe, he explains to himself, with an average vast ignorance of history, or a traditional most onesided view of it, as the violence of political and hierarchic powers exercised over masses held in dumb subjection ; and as the Revolution has here cut the knot at one stroke with the sword, and separated the Church from the State, he takes it for granted that there is no room to conceive of any considerable action of one upon the other as in any way possible. We may all congratulate ourselves, if this quiet confidence shall turn out in coming years to have been well grounded. Let us not forget however, that it is not those that have least knowledge of history, the great teacher, who are least able to make such confidence their own, and that it is this same enlightened class who see clouds rising above the horizon of our freedom and peace, without being able to tell how the danger is to be met and turned aside.

The numerical amount of the immigration must itself satisfy any one who considers it without prejudice, that aside from all other relations its mere mass alone forms a highly significant factor, notwithstanding the immense extent of territory over which it is spread. Several thousand came lately in only two days into a single town of the United States ; and from the present condition of Europe, the new facilities that are offered for going abroad, and the political views also that are gaining ground more and more in the old world, it may be concluded, that if no special unforeseen events interpose a bar, the movement for a long time to come will increase rather than diminish. In three months, during the present year, as many as ninety-five thousand emigrants came into the harbor of New York. Great as the West of our continent is, if such numbers are to be taken as anything like a measure, it will not need centuries to cover it with as full a population beyond St. Louis as is found now in any part of the East. What a thought, for those who ponder seriously the onward course of humanity ! The true historical significance of all this, however, its proper meaning for the world, is found in the supposition that this broad vast territory, thus fully peopled, shall continue to be held together by the bond that now makes the country one ; that the same spirit, the same political principles, the same toleration, the same freedom, shall then also pervade and animate the Union, extending from ocean to ocean. This is the great problem, which it may be the will of Providence perhaps that the human race should in due time solve on the American continent. Then indeed would a new stadium be gained for history. The old reproach of European

scholars and statesmen, that America with all its institutions and culture is but an echo of European civilization, would then first find a full reply. The apprehension that its constitution, though seeming to answer some good purpose for a time, will not prove equal to more difficult relations that must rise hereafter, would then at length be fairly put to rest. True indeed, many nations have been bound together in older huge organizations, by one and the same political authority. This was the case for centuries in the Roman empire; so also in the Papacy, whose ban lay more heavily on the nations it professed to spare, than on those that fell under it in form by setting it at defiance. America is the land, where Protestantism should show itself world-historical on the largest scale. Here lies the true mission of the country, in its growth. But just here too must it pass through its refining process. Let us bestow some farther thought on this point.

The most comprehensive expression for the principle of Protestantism, may be found in the idea of *centrifugalism*. History before it was mainly centripetal. All right then, all power, all freedom, all majesty, fell in on some centre, whether as pope in the church, liege lord in the feudal system, or monarch in the state. To these middle points was referred every individual nature and interest from the periphery beyond; in them all else was absorbed as of only transient account; while the entire order rested on one central pillar, drew light from one central sun, and was nourished from the same central fountain. It may easily be seen, that the other half also of the world included in the civilization of the Middle Ages, the nations of Islam, owned properly the very same principle both in politics and religion. The doctrine of fatalism besides of itself causes all individual life to vanish before the unconditional will of God, as before the absolute commands of the ruler of the faithful must vanish too all private will and private opinion. Thus universally was this period pervaded, East and West, with the tendency to centralization. One sees plainly, how narrow that style of thinking is, which after the pragmatical fashion of looking at history affects to refer such general traits of a great world-period, to the personal peculiarities and extravagancies of single conspicuous individuals, as their ultimate cause. We might in this way just as well deny the centrifugal character of our own period, and pretend to account for the spirit of our age, with its whole pressure towards freedom, as the doubtful product simply of some similar agency. Since the revolution however which came in with the 16th century, the history of the civilized world has become one

continued protestation against the former absorption of the individual. Single minds are no longer willing to give up their personal rights, in favor of certain consecrated centres of power. The cry of freedom and emancipation, accordingly, is heard in all lands. In Church and State, centrifugalism has become the order of the day. All seeks to move in its own way by its own light ; and there are now millions of men, who seem actually to have lost all centre for their life and its pursuits. All must inhale liberty, though it be an air in which multitudes, living as it were on oxygen gas, are sure after a brief rapture of intoxication miserably to wilt away. Altogether, however, no spectacle is more affecting, than the wrestling of the new period still held in the fetters of the old. In such throes Europe now labors, and still has no power to bring forth a new birth. Through all its kingdoms, in all relations, a party of stability is engaged in conflict with a party of unconditional progress. Let it not be supposed, that the conservative side is governed only by selfish interests and aims. Nor let it be forgotten either on the other side, that the cry of freedom in our day includes but small enthusiasm for the idea, and springs chiefly from the most crass egoism. It has much more to do with the question of *Hare* and *Shall*, than with any everlasting good ; and political fanaticism shows itself at last of a much more vulgar nature, than that which is religious. Nor is it so easy, alas, to answer the existing political powers and thrones of Europe, when they say that they *must* resist the spirit of revolution, if Europe is not to become a theatre of overflowing desolation, a true murderers' den. But let no one think that we mean by this, to defend the scandalous expeditions of Russia against the mountain tribes of Caucasus, or the old wrong of England towards Ireland. Nay, we are ourselves persuaded rather that just on the self-will of the European potentates, and their policy running counter to the spirit of the century, must lie mainly the blame of that inward dissolution of relations which is now going forward. The gentlemen reap what they have sown. Let any one look only at Germany without prejudice. However quiet may be restored outwardly for a time, the whole rests on a hollow foundation. Silence may be imposed on the mouth, and chains on the restless hand; but thought still goes free, and the spirit of the age is not turned aside from its settled scope. Most significant however is this, that just in Germany the spirit of religious emancipation has reached its extreme. How many of the educated there look upon all positive interest in religion as a want of culture ! They indeed have lost the centre ; they have a world

without God, and their God is only the world and its process. While with the cultivated and learned this religion of unbelief carries a certain show of spirit, it stands forth in its full coarseness among the lower class; and into this circle unfortunately it has already found its way on all sides. Here its ground tone becomes at once the old song: "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die!" And how insecurely do thrones and dignities stand, when bayonets and cannons form their strength, and not the firm conviction of the people themselves that they are divinely sanctioned institutions! Though all seem solid and quiet thus externally, all within is in fact worm-eaten and ready to fall. Did not force and power hold things in order for the present, however, what results should we not be doomed to behold! Germany, in its political relations, in its ecclesiastical dissolution, in its theoretical speculations, well represents the modern centrifugalism with all its abnormities. Make it the present of republicanism, let it go into popular organization—the world will soon see the building of a Babel, and strife without end; the parties will contend with one another, in seeking to set their abstract principles on the throne; but no great centre will they ever find. For liberty also is an abstraction, for which men may be enthusiastic for a time, and its strength lies in opposition; but it is in itself no central force, no cementing power; it is in itself no fountain of peace and life. To become so, it needs other conditions. What is true thus of Germany however, holds here also of France, Italy, and other lands.

And now—the surplus population of this old Europe supplies the mass of our immigration. The Irishman, who there learned to know and hate Protestantism as the great cause of his country's misery, comes here, and sees Romanism and Protestantism peacefully and with fully equal rights dwelling side by side. The French Socialist, on the wide field of the United States, may reduce his theory to practice, and so long as he is not against the law, the law is not against him, but on his side. The German Rationalist, whose heart resented in Germany the necessity of bringing his child to baptism, can here turn his back on Christianity, and the Church will look upon his open honest withdrawal as her real gain. But is not all this along with our circumstances generally a proof, that we have pushed the centrifugalism of our time to its farthest extreme, have clothed the individual with the rights of the absolute? We will not forget however, that this land of liberty has not had within it heretofore in full force the antagonisms, which are now making themselves more and more felt. The *Roman Catholic Church* is

assuming every year a more commanding form ; the state of Protestantism grows confused and helpless ; the land of liberty is in a fair way to become the asylum and home of the *Jesuits*, expelled from despotic countries ; here, where pious sentiment and the fear of God should sanctify law and usage and so uphold our freedom, *infidelity* rears its altars ; here, where nothing should pass for right but actual righteousness, the *Red Republican* finds a retreat, whose bloodthirsty mind seeks to advance right by wrong, and peace with the wild spirit of revenge ; under the protection of our laws, the *Socialist* and *Communist*, who proclaims property to be theft and possession crime, may spread his doctrine in peace. Wondrous land, which for every poison offers an antidote, where every stone, under superior command, turns itself into bread and every curse into a blessing ! Yet—perhaps we say too much, and believe too soon what we should first only hope and wish. May faith among us, and freedom and peace, never be endangered by foreign influence ! We are lost however, when reverence for righteousness and law shall no longer form the centre that binds together all tendencies ; and lost must be also our influence abroad, and gone at the same time our crown in the history of humanity, when we only preach, *Let there be liberty*, but show not by fruitful and happy example how it is to be guarded and preserved !

With this brief notice of the possible bearings of such vast immigration on our country, and the course of its history, showing that it brings with it certain dangers to be feared along with all its advantages, let us now take note on the other side of the *manifold seductions and snares, which the free new world offers to the bewildered strangers thus brought into its bosom*. If the immigration in their case often works badly for the individual at least, though of vast benefit for the whole, the reason lies to a great extent in this, that the new comers are thrown immediately into relations whose questionable operation it is not hard to understand.—With all of us custom does much, that must otherwise be enforced by law and punishment. If we do much that is bad through custom, we do much that is good also out of custom, for which of course we deserve no thanks. The place where we have lived, surrounds us with countless securities for our moral personality. Not only has the law there become usage, but usage has also grown into law. We cannot so renounce our fealty to the traditional and the common, as no longer to show it any outward respect. No one is willing to incur punishment ; and the mere reproach of not regarding what is established as good custom, is for most punishment enough, and such

as they will take pains to avoid. The control which one citizen in this way exercises over another, is of more account than any written law.. With this goes the work of every man's calling, the blessing of which is mainly just that it calls him to diligence and work. Add the love of family, the dearest regard of the heart, and we have named the most powerful factors, that go in regular civil life to hold the individual to the track of a true moral co-operation for the general good. But now take away at once all these restraints, tear the man completely out of this complex chain of motives—and into what danger is he not hurled ! If he be without inward morality, he must fall a prey wholly to his passions; the last bands that held him are rent asunder ; the last restraining considerations are gone ; and then the depth into which he plunges will be in proportion as his new connections may prove to be without salutary force. Another, better grounded in morality, will yet also be brought into danger by such change, the more serious the less may be his knowledge of the world, the less power he has to help himself in the midst of foreign associations, the more he must trust the good disposition of those to whom he is led in his new course. And truly, if this be all that is left, he is then desolate indeed. The man of true education is least compelled, in the midst of such outward change, to undergo also inward change ; but the educated too are just those that are least moved to emigrate. For unless particular reasons prompt the extraordinary step, they have the least prospect of finding it better abroad than at home.

For by far the greatest number of emigrants, the sudden breaking up of their past relations of itself involves serious danger. It may be with them a deliverance from many oppressive restraints, but along with this goes the rupture of many a wholesome living moral check. Now begins however, from the point of quitting home, a still more dangerous period. This is the time strictly of *migration*. It comprehends with the most of our German emigrants a term of from three to six months. In itself considered, a small loss indeed ; but in very many cases, by its consequences, of the most far reaching significance. It would seem, that God has not designed man in general for a vagrant life. It is the curse of the Jew, to be everywhere unsettled and transient. Men also who are carried continually by business and quest of money from place to place, and whose home is the highway, are not usually of the best character. They become talkative and empty, cunning but not noble, and altogether their morality gains but little. Still so long as work and calling accompany the wanderer, the danger is not half so

great. Quite otherwise, when he is consigned during travel to *doing nothing*. That this is the beginning of many vices, is especially verified among emigrants. Many of them lose in a few months the moral gain of many previous years. Lying for days and weeks in taverns, without all earnest employment, they are but too frequently brought to yield, through the distracting play of ever new impressions and fresh solicitations continually to enjoyment, to such a spirit of levity as in a short time turns them into different, and unfortunately also into worse men. As in paradise there, their eyes are opened, but only to miserable delusion.

And this has no mystery. Let it only be considered, with what sort of people these emigrants have ordinarily to deal. More deplorable subjects than those into whose hands they generally fall at the stations and ports they pass through, are scarcely to be found in common prisons. In Germany itself indeed religious care has provided, in the large cities, at least some check on vice and temptation, and police regulations are put in force. But let any one go to a sea-port like Havre in France. There is to be found continually a set of men, who have been forced to quit Germany, and with the purpose of going to America or who can say by what other chance have got to this place, where they now seek to keep up their life by making themselves busy with the emigrants. In all our travels in different countries, we have never met with more miserable men, a class more destitute of morality, than these land sharks, who lie in wait for those that thus come by thousands from Germany, thrust themselves upon them as countrymen and friends, are ready to serve them with word and deed, with ungodly frivolous talk undermine their moral principles, provide them with occasions for every sort of vileness, detain their victims, plunder them, and abuse their inexperience in the most shameful way. If any wish for more particular information, and examples in loathsome detail, let them consult only the German and French colporteurs that labor among the emigrants in Havre. The same dangers and temptations, however, repeat themselves to a great extent in the American sea-ports; and here also it is mainly again German idlers and drunkards, that suck out of the emigrant both his money and his morals, and turn his head especially by their godless talk before him of liberty and independence, deceiving him and filling him with the most false conceptions of the new land of promise, its customs and its rights. There is no doubt but that the subsequent course of life for very many emigrants, has been determined in a great measure by the com-

panions into whose hands they fell during the first three weeks of their life in the new world. Nay, a few days have often been enough in fact to decide a life, to settle the course of whole families. Many a family, received on its arrival with the open arms of pretended love by the Rationalists, has been initiated forthwith in our large cities into their spirit and way, and drawn into their meetings, where public haranguers on Sundays shamelessly make sport of all that is sacred, turning the Bible and its narrations into ridicule; where of course nothing is heard of sin and its consequences, of subduing the evil propensities of the naturally corrupt heart, of the observance of solemn duties to which every one is bound, of the blessing true religion brings on land, house and heart, of everlasting reward and righteous judgment; but the people are flattered, the spirit of the age is magnified, pleasure extolled, and above all liberty, (alas, *what liberty,*) trumpeted to the skies. Often in this way the new comers are imbued in a short time with a view of the world, which exerts the most baleful influence on their whole subsequent character. A dangerous present in truth for many is liberty and independence, which it needs strong limbs rightly to bear! It is the ruin of many, to be raised by liberty to the shining right of helping themselves. Many a German man who had his trade in the old world, has come here, and not knowing at once how to continue it has thankfully hearkened to the advice of his officious friends, and set up forthwith a *beer-shop* or drinking grocery; by which he has neither become a useful citizen, nor led his family in a way of safety—nay, has been himself perhaps the first victim. How many hundred such beer houses, kept mostly by Germans, there are at this time in our cities! In Philadelphia especially they have within two or three years increased frightfully—partly no doubt the result of our Pennsylvania laws, which however otherwise good they may be in this respect at least are heartily bad, and fitted only to undermine the public morals which they should guard and uphold. We Germans however have nothing to expect from it, but that our once good name will more and more sink, the old credit of good and orderly citizenship fall to the ground, and other most questionable notoriety be fastened upon us in its room. But for the immigrant all this is in every view doubly bad. It exposes him to special snares. Every orderly German at the same time must suffer from it, in more than the reputation simply of his nation. Let any one only pass on Sundays by our German beer-shops: there they sit, to use old Homer's harmless simile, like flies round a milk-pan; yet not with *their* gentle buzz; but with noise rather.

er, and senseless cry, at times also with cursing and swearing, or it may be perhaps with quarrelling and fighting outright. And where in the mean time is wife and child? Does the family enjoy the day of rest thus in common? The taverns are full, but how is it with the churches? We have perhaps 30,000 Protestant Germans in Philadelphia alone. Of these not more than 3,000 at most ordinarily attend church on Sundays. But where are the rest? Who can be foolish enough to expect much good from this state of things, as regards domestic life, social position, or public influence? However we may dislike all extreme principles and onesided views, and though we may find in the relations of the foreigners themselves much to account for such evils, and excuse what can bear excuse, the case is still one of real anxiety, that calls for the most vigorous and decisive remedies, and that should stir the heart especially of every capable German to sorrowful feeling, and engage him to the most earnest counteraction both in word and deed.

But we have not yet accompanied the wanderer through the whole of his Ulysses journey. The water travel itself is of no small account. Dangers of all sorts attend it. On the large lakes and rivers of America, he is threatened more than anywhere else with *burning* and *explosion*. In truth these catastrophes have so frequently occurred within the last few years, that we feel bound to notice them here in the name of our immigration. They deserve the most serious attention of the government. The immigrants too have here the hardest lot. What a horrible fate it is, to bid adieu to a beloved fatherland, to tear asunder the tenderest bands, to endure for months long the toil and peril of travel, and at last, almost at the goal, to become the victim of the most reckless and irresponsible carelessness, with a choice only between water and fire! And hundreds of our immigrants have already thus lost their lives. The number of those that perish through wanton neglect on our western waters, is much greater than the number buried in the waves of the ocean. On the sea however, other dangers of a *moral* nature are so much the more at hand. Think only of from 300 to 500 persons crowded together five or eight weeks long in a single ship, where they have nothing properly to do all this time. Consider farther the way in which they are huddled together in the vessel; old and young, male and female, good and bad live there promiscuously together; the time is passed in talking, singing, cooking, eating, drinking, playing, and dancing—anything in short to get rid of weariness. The anxiety of the voyage is generally over in two or three days; afterwards there is so much

the greater outbreak of levity, previously restrained, and things occur which it is better not to trust to the pen. Only a few days since an emigrant told us, who reported his ship companions as over 500, that the levity of the company was beyond all bounds, and when asked if they had no preacher replied, they had one indeed who gave them one sermon, but soon became so merry himself that it would have been better he had not preached at all. A bad business that! We could relate however far worse things still from such mass mingling of so many persons in idleness. If there be no help for the idleness, every other means should be so much the more employed, to uphold order and right manners, and to sow good seed instead of allowing free growth to all sorts of weeds.

Of the many shameless *deceptions* also to which the emigrants are exposed, from ship agents in the old world, and from land speculators and their factors in the new—how they are now detained, now put on false tracks, now grossly robbed of their little money by pretended passports: Of the danger again to which just the best are most exposed, of falling soon after their arrival into the hands of *fanatics* and *sectaries*, so as to exchange their solid principles of practical piety for the show and noise that are here too often current in its stead: Of the difficulties moreover that arise for the German emigrant in particular, from his ignorance of the reigning language, hindering him in his business, keeping him from the knowledge of the laws, and shutting him out often from full insight into the spirit of the nation and a proper view of its relations as a whole: Of all this, we say, and more besides, we might say much. These hints however may suffice, to give us some proper apprehension of the case under consideration, to illustrate the dangers that surround it, and to rouse our zeal for their partial mitigation at least if nothing more.

That much might and should be done for the *reduction of these evils*, admits of no doubt. The military orders of the Middle Ages were founded, to protect the emigrants of the crusades in danger, to take care of them in poverty, sickness and sorrow. And shall *our* time not be willing to do its part?—Societies already exist here and there indeed for the benefit of immigrants, and their activity is blest no doubt a thousand fold. But how much more might be accomplished, if they were united in one common work. Even then however their strength would not be fully answerable by itself to the work or the need. For help here means a great deal. Perhaps the government of this country is itself still behind its duty towards the immigration. That

the German governments at all events neglect the matter, has often been charged upon them as a solemn reproach.

But it is not so easy to determine, *how* or by *what means* the work of relief should proceed. We do not consider ourselves at all able to propose the right measures. The whole object requires a combination of large moral and pecuniary resources. But we have such a sense of its importance, and such faith in the good result of every enterprise prompted by wise human charity, that no sacrifice made for it would seem to us to be too great. Bodily and spiritual care should be secured to the emigrant during his journey. Were a great society formed for this end, and could the European governments be enlisted, printed directions and instructions should be furnished them in trust, with the request to have a copy handed at once to every one thinking of emigration, on the first noise of his purpose; whereby he might gain some proper information on the journey, the ways, the stations, the dangers to be avoided, the necessary cost for individuals and for families, on the proper conduct to be observed in traveling, on the purchase of lands, on the character of trades, &c., so as to have his whole prospect in view, and to be put upon due reflection before starting. At all the leading stations should be placed agents of the society, ready to come forward with counsel and help, who should be themselves raised above the possibility of seeking money from the strangers. On the ships should be found a preacher, and also a library of useful books. Could the society itself own ships, where there might be fixed order, a common table, and separate rooms for different families—how much mischief would it not prevent! In the seaports, where the emigrants set sail and land, should be erected large buildings, where at just cost, and under strict regulations of order, a temporary home should be open for the pilgrims, where sick persons and children especially might find loving care, and from whence adults might find opportunity for work, if choosing to remain as laborers in the cities, or for going on journey as quickly as possible, if bound for the interior of the country—so as to avoid tavern perils and the trickery of false friends. Printed directories to places where they could attend christian worship in the larger American cities, in their own tongue and free from all sectarian exclusiveness, with instructions on the relation here holding between Church and State, and the sacred duty of attaching themselves as members to christian congregations according to the faith of their fathers, as well as on much besides, should be placed in the hands of every individual. Might such means and ways not meet all the evils of

the case, they would at least work much good of a partial sort, which might be expected to issue gradually in a more general influence.

Still the weightiest question remains unanswered. Where is the fountain of this blessing? Who are *the persons that shall or can lay hand to the work?* It is not to be expected of the governments on this side of the Atlantic or the other should undertake it; the whole matter lies beyond their sphere; and if they did offer it their hand, we believe the object would be a failure from the start. That the Roman Catholic Church has undertaken nothing of the sort for its own members, and those who might become such, has always surprised us, since by their diligence and zeal in other similar enterprises they often put us Protestants to shame. It might be expected first from the foreigner citizens of the new world perhaps, that they would be foremost in helping the necessities of immigrants. In part they are so; there are societies among them for this purpose in New-York, Philadelphia, and other places. But however praiseworthy their efforts may be, and in single cases useful, they are not equal to the whole task. So vast a work demands the co-operation of very considerable powers. The great Colonization Society, to which the best citizens of the land belong and which has already won a comparatively glorious success, leaves us not without hope that if the eyes of influential and leading men of the country could be turned to the subject we have had here in hand, and their interest enlisted in it, a benevolence equally effective may yet meet the emigrant coming hither from Europe also, to guide him and shield him from harm. And truly it would be such a sowing of good, as could not fail to bring in a rich return of fruit. For the immigrants and their families begin in some sense a new life with their arrival in our midst; altogether new relations surround them, new duties are laid upon them, new cares overtake them. How much hangs here on a good beginning, how important it is that the new conflict be commenced, not with a spirit of levity, but rather in the fear of God! To this a great *Immigration Society* animated with christian zeal would above all contribute; and the reflex action which its work must have on the population of the country itself would be beyond calculation. The blessing of immigration depends on this, that those who come shall be truly worthy citizens, as friends of order seek to advance all good, and as members of a great association of free people have a lively sense of the importance of every action and of the conduct of every man. It is not the highest end of their adoption here, that they should find in their

new home what to eat, but that they should act on noble public spirited principles, and never lose sight of the bearing of their conduct on the general weal. Then first will they know how to serve the benefit of the whole along with their own. And much would be gained, if all who come were made to feel these sacred duties in their full weight.

Philadelphia.

W. J. M.

PAST AND PRESENT.

To every intelligent observer of the progress of the world's life from one age to another, the signs of our time are fraught with deep and abiding interest. No one can study the scientific and moral lessons which this age has imposed on him, without feeling that more than school-boy mind and skill is needed for their proper mastery. On every hand latent principles are at work, and secret events transpiring, which loudly call for judicious and honest investigation. On all sides strange spiritual phenomena, full of significance and mystery, challenge our solemn regard. Though we only see and know in part the significance of the world's historical process, yet we see and understand enough to prompt our moral instincts to feel after something deeper and more comprehensive, of which these manifestations are only the external revelation. Though we cannot fully see into and through the complex operations of the world's vast time-piece, yet there is an iron tongue in that grand horologe, which strikes the hour of its revolutions. It is not uncommon for man, and many even of high literary reputation, to regard History simply as a pragmatic collection and logical combination of authentic events, chronicled and registered according to the best mechanical ability of the composer. The mighty Past full of life and interest, possessed of infinite conceptions and unfathomable feelings, is eviscerated; cut up in strict anatomical style, and put together like a skeleton. Their world either works, like some brains, by clock-work, or stands still. When such men look back and up to hoary headed antiquity for its wisdom and counsel to instruct and direct them, they only hear, as might be anticipated, the hollow murmurs of another wooden (Trojan) horse. Did this flagrant error abide within the limits of mere theory, the wrong committed would be partially atoned for by the bitter pangs endured in its perpetration. But opinions like

showers, being generated in high places, inevitably descend into lower ones, and ultimately flow down to the unstable mass as rain into the wavering sea. Hence the generality of men have come to look upon and regard the rich instructions of antiquity with glazed eyes and stony hearts. To them its wonderful revelations are unintelligible hieroglyphics ; and if some honest antiquarian attempt to decipher these mysterious writings penned by an invisible hand, he is at once thought to have some secret hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt. Such men would rather pay their compliments to some old fortune-telling dame, and by trick of legerdemain learn the prospects for the future, than sit at the feet of the venerable Past and imbibe its sage lessons.

This widely prevalent error working theoretically and practically manifold pernicious results, which of course we cannot here even notice, is mainly attributable to a false conception of the nature of history. The vast upheavings of thought, and the revolutions in actual life which have occurred in past ages, are regarded only as transient phenomena to excite the wonder and admiration of those who may have seen them. The vast spiritual Gothic domes reared by the genius and application of past ages have been entombed, like Herculaneum and Pompeii, beneath the smouldering ashes of wasting years ; and if a relic has chanced to survive the general wreck, it is preserved simply as a memento of former glory and later ruin. The principles which have struck deep their roots in the fertile soil of the past, and which are now Banian-like spreading wide their branches for the protection and comfort of future ages, are totally disregarded, or at best looked upon with suspicious misgivings. It is moreover pretended to support such an ultra radical and unhistorical theory, by plausible argumentation. The pressing claims of the Present are held out as imperatively demanding all our time and attention. The present startling realities with which we are confronted on every side, are enough to engross our thoughts, and employ our hands. Why geologist-like should we dig into the bowels of the Past, and reveal its hidden treasures, when we have sufficient in our own day and generation. Why shall the canonized bones hearsed in death burst their cerements ? Why shall the sepulchre wherein lifeless bodies have been quietly inurned open its marble jaws to unfold its wisdom, when we are surrounded by living preceptors ? If they hear not the instructions of our age, they will not listen even though one rose from the dead.

The imperfections, and "pious sins" of our honoured ancestors are brought into swell the force of the objection. The

shades of departed spirits are conjured up as if by magic power, and their occult guilt unkennelled. With apparent triumph it is exultingly asked, shall the infant Past, incapacitated for its own self-government, instruct and govern us who long since have laid aside our swaddling clothes? Shall children rise up to teach their parents lessons which they have never learned themselves? But even grant the mental capabilities and moral qualifications of the Past, where is the guaranty that we shall understand its sacred oracles? How shall we be assured that we are not giving heed to the false doctrine, and the seducing spirit of some treacherous Simon!

Now in reply to these several positions, betraying an utter want of faith in the development of the world's past life, we affirm that History is on the one hand the revelation of the Divine reason and will, and on the other the evolution of the life of humanity. God and man mutually co-operate in this vast world-process, form the dignification and perfection of human life, and thereby the glorification of the Divine will. There is in the world, and in every period of its progressive movement, an unseen Divinity, that shapes all our ends, according to the configuration of its own glorious type. To attain this consummation devoutly wished for, is the aim and end of life. To this human nature is ever aspiring like the Pegasus of Achilles,

ος θυγτος εων, και επειδ' ἀθανατος εποιει.

The world then is vastly more than it seems to be at any given time to the eye of sense, or the ear of the understanding. Beyond and beneath its external manifestations, their lies imbedded a quickening spirit only cognizable through the spiritual. Politicians in Faneuil Hall, and ecclesiastics in Nauvoo Temple, with the New York Tribune and the Mormon Gazette for their Bibles, may rant as they like, about the simplicity of the world and its capability of being reduced to some strict mathematical problem. They may attempt to dissect human society, and reconstruct it after their own fashion; but in so doing they repeat with more disastrous consequences the folly of the boy, who cut open his mother's Canary, to find the origin of its sweet notes. This world is not controlled by simply sensuous interests, we are the actors in a drama, in which unseen spirits take part.

It is only the manifestation of this active spirit that we see and handle; its immaterial essence, "mocking all attempts to grasp it" is known only by its felt presence. This Divine power immanently active in the world is creating constantly new

changes, and wonderful transformations, analogous to those vast world-cycles formed by the spirit, when first it brooded over chaos. Violent revolutions mark the progress of the world. We are not drawn along an inclined plane by some stationary engine, but in cars freighted with immortal souls we are whirled along deep, dark ravines on to our destined depot. With the roaring and surging noise of many waters, History moves forward, purifying itself, and clearing others by its supernatural agitation. The moral problem underlying this whole process is profoundly perplexing. Not by a single stroke of the pencil, can it ever be brought to a satisfactory and final solution. How the absolute sovereignty of the law may fall in with the perfect independence and freedom of its subjects, will puzzle many a brain. The magnitude of the work, and the agencies employed, involve in their very nature an extended gradual process for its accomplishment. Every age has its part to play, and its work to perform in this world-historical drama. Every age, being a metamorphosis of the world's life, involves an *idea* corresponding with its peculiar nature, the conscious apprehension and free possession of which, completes one stadium in this vast spiritual curriculum. The action of an age and the conscious comprehension of its *acta*, which like the two-fold action in respiration mutually condition each other, bring that particular age, and its problem to a termination and demonstration. Thus one period dies away, and from its pregnant ashes a new epoch, Phœnix-like, takes its birth. The principles of any single age are *per se* one-sided and incomplete, their true value and signification appearing in the organic structure of which they form component parts. Thus the Mediaeval Ages were called upon to establish the absolute authority of the law over against the private assumptions of individual licentiousness, which like a canker-worm was gnawing at the heart of the social structure, and in vampyre style sucking its very life blood. The red battle grounds of imperial Cæsar were again stained with blood shed in defence of the rights of civil and ecclesiastical law. The chambers of the Quirinal, and the silent halls of the Vatican, were waked up by the tones of eloquence in behalf of human rights and human obligations. For centuries the irrefragable iron arm of the united Papal power struggled in stern conflict, with the radical unbridled Vandalism that threatened the very foundations of Christianity. The conquest was finally achieved in the heroic person of the indomitable Hildebrand, who stands forth as the incarnation and living embodiment of the spirit of his age. The supremacy of the law, once asserted and established through-

out all the departments of thought and life, was carried in the hands of arbitrary men to scornful tyranny on the one hand, and degrading vassalage on the other. This spiritual incubus, depressing the human intellect, led to a reaction in favor of individual rights, and personal responsibilities. To the Protestant age has been committed the onerous task of developing this principle to its ultimate point. And we need but look within us and around, to see the fearful consequences which have ensued. Human freedom is assumed to be the right and duty of every man to think and act as he may please. Theoretical rationalism and practical sectarianism recognize no authority, save a misguided reason and a broad-brimmed hat or buttonless coat. Political libertines understand no government save lynching mobocracy. That the main current of the world in general, and of our money-making practical America in particular, has for some time past tended in this direction, is too evident to need labored proof.

All respect and veneration for the true and good, which is the only legitimate form of absolute freedom, has been swallowed up in the eddying whirl-pool of sensualizing ambition. The fundamental principles of Ethics have been converted into two chapters in political economy—the one for this world and the other for the next. That honesty which makes man at least a noble work of God, has been transmuted by the alchemists of our day into the alloy of base policy.—A strange policy is that, which has carried thousands to the stake and gibbet; and which would carry many more of us there if we only had it; or at least to poverty which some men think worse. But the better spirit of our age promises the dawn of a brighter day. Already the delicate streaks of that day's sun are pencilling the black clouds of this dark night. Beyond the dreary, howling moral wilderness lies the land of bright hopes and blissful realizations. Though we be not permitted to enter in and possess it, yet it is our duty as well as privilege, like Moses on Pisgah's top, to look towards it.

The solution of this vexing problem, *ex parte* at least, over which two ages have stumbled, is reserved for the genius of our day. Girt with the bequeathed mantle of their wisdom and experience, we are called to answer the question: How in actual life shall the opposite, though not contradictory claims of absolute objective authority, and individual subjective freedom, be fully reconciled? How shall these two poles of the world's moral composition be so ordered as to flow together by mutual attraction? That this proposition is to be elaborated in our age

is evident from the developments of the present, as well as from the revelations of the past. What have meant the convulsive throes of Europe, if they be not the birth-pangs of such an era? For a long time there has been a creative spirit struggling for utterance in her sleeping body and dreaming mind, which has at length spoken in tones of frowning terror. And if we understand its voice, is it not a struggle between despotic crowned heads on the one side, and manacled hands and fettered feet on the other? But let us not forget that young America, as well as old Europe, has a vote to cast, in the decision of this perplexing question. Though we be not fortunately required to meet it, like our elder brother, with the wrath-clad brow of the Jupiter Tonans of Virgil, rolling his deep-toned thunder, and darting his vivid lightning, yet we may interpose more effectually, like that same Jupiter discoursing with Venus,

Vultu quo cælum tempestatesque serenat.

Deep conscious reflection will accomplish more than superficial blind-folded action. Moreover it is only by earnest thought, as the ground of action, that the calling of our age can be answered. The God of History has not assigned us a mere outward charge in the world, with a commission simply to lay iron railways, and construct burden cars, for the transportation of merchandise; or to erect posts, and suspend wires, for the transmission of thought. These splendid triumphs of mind over matter, by which the untamed lightnings have been caught and chained, are doubtless unparalleled in the conquests of the Past. The smoke that curls up from the chimney of a puffing locomotive, means more than the dusky columns that rise from blazing battle-fields. The silent operations of the magnetic telegraph are more expressive than the thunder of artillery. But far grander than all this is the magnanimous triumph of the human mind over itself, by which it attains to its normal development. He that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city. The achievements of Mechanical Philosophy, after all, constitute only the outer court of the magnificent spiritual temple, in whose sacred ark, overlaid with pure gold, lies the "living law." To communicate with the Divine idea that rules in the world, and submit to its transforming power, is far nobler, than royal supremacy over the elements of Nature. It is in such active submission that the dignity of human life consists. To be honest with ourselves, and true to our day and generation, we must consciously fall in with the deep spirit of the age, and act manfully under its corrective influence. How many failing

to do this fritter away their lives in useless speculation, or lawless practicalism, and receive for their wrong-doing a mental retribution. "We live in deeds," not years; in thoughts, not breaths; in feeling, not in figures on a dial. He lives most, who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best. But act as we may, we are certified by the trumpet voice of the Past, which gives no uncertain sound, that the spirit of every age will fulfil its mission. Though utter unbelief look on with indifference; and utilitarian Honesty only wield a weapon, like that in the hands of Priam,

Telum imbelli sine ictu,

the invisible spirit of our age will gird on its steel-barred armor, and unsheathe its devouring sword, to maintain the faith once delivered into its hands. How the idle dilettantism and working mammonism of our Midas-eared age will quail and quake, in the day when its wrath shall be kindled!

Trenton, N. J.

S.

THE END OF VOLUME II.

